NEW PERSPECTIVES ON 2 ENOCH

No Longer Slavonic Only

Editors: Andrei A. Orlov
and Gabriele Boccaccini

Associate Editor: Jason Zurawski

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Dedicated to the memory of our friend Hanan Eshel (1958–2010)

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAWG	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AnBib	Analecta biblica
APOT	*The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*. Edited by R. H. Charles. 2 vols. Oxford, 1913
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BBR	*Bulletin for Biblical Research*
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
Bib	*Biblica*
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
EDSS	*Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by L. H. Schiffman and J. C. VanderKam. Oxford, 2000
EJL	Early Judaism and its Literature
EvQ	*Evangelical Quarterly*
GCS	Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte
Hen	*Henoch*
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JE	*The Jewish Encyclopedia*. Edited by I. Singer. 12 vols. New York, 1925

JECS	*Journal of Early Christian Studies*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JJTP	*Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JSHRZ	Judische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period*
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period: Supplement Series
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
JSQ	*Jewish Studies Quarterly*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NT	*Novum Testamentum*
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
Or	*Orientalia*
OrChr	*Oriens christianus*
OTP	*The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Edited by J. H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. Garden City, NY, 1983, 1985
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
RB	*Revue biblique*
RÉJ	*Revue des études juives*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
RHPR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse*
SBL.EJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies

SBLSP	*Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions (supplement to Numen)
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SNTSMS	Society of New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SSEJC	Studies in Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
VC	*Vigiliae christianae*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*
ZRGG	*Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*

INTRODUCTION

Andrei A. Orlov and Gabriele Boccaccini

The days of the Fifth Enoch Seminar in Naples, Italy (June 14–18, 2009) on "Adam, Enoch, Melchizedek: Mediatorial Figures in 2 Enoch and Second Temple Judaism" will always live in our memories with a mixture of sadness and joy. There was much to remember—the passionate debate in the discussion sessions, the friendly atmosphere of collegiality, the beauty of Naples, the hospitality of our colleagues and friends from the University of Naples "Federico II" and the Istituto Orientale di Napoli, the visits to Herculaneum, Cuma, and Puteoli, the climbing of the crater of Mt. Vesuvius at sunset . . .

One thing however we will never forget. It was the last Seminar our dearest colleague and friend and co-founder of the Enoch Seminar, Hanan Eshel, was able to attend before his premature death. He knew and we all knew well that he was gravely sick, and this made his participation so valuable and precious, and his departure at the end of the conference so hard and moving. Hanan took time to say goodbye to all of us as a group, with whom he had shared ten years of experience and scholarly debate, and to each of us individually as friends. He promised that he would do his best to be with us again in Milan in 2011, and we all knew that this would happen only in our memories. Hanan's participation at the Fifth Enoch Seminar was already a miraculous gift he gave to all of us.

The Fifth Enoch Seminar was indeed a place where miracles happened. The greatest hope when one organizes a conference is that a new, unexpected discovery would come just before the beginning of the meeting. We were ready to discuss the "Slavonic" Enoch, when the finding of the first Coptic fragments of the text was announced, early enough to make it one of the highlights of the meeting and the center of our debate.

The publication of the Proceedings of the conference by Brill (and the collection of papers by the journal *Henoch*)[1] represents an important

[1] See J. M. Zurawski, ed., *Enochic Traditions and Mediatorial Figures in Second Temple Judaism and Their Legacy in Early Christianity, Rabbinic Judaism, and Islam, Hen* 33 (2011): 3–144.

advancement in the history of research on this obscure apocalyptic work. Never before has 2 Enoch scholarship seen such a concentrated interdisciplinary exploration of the various aspects of the text. Future generations of scholars will view this volume as a significant conceptual landmark. Besides significantly advancing our understanding of many key themes and issues in 2 Enoch, the conference helped to reaffirm the puzzling and paradoxical nature of this apocalyptic writing. We have come to see with greater breadth and depth of insight that the main obstacle for understanding the text lies not in the fact that it survived in the obscure languages of eastern Christian cultures, but rather in the peculiar nature of its theological universe. At the closing session of the conference scholars suggested that even if 2 Enoch would be available to us in its original language, we would still have problems in discerning its enigmatic theology. Why then is it so difficult to break the conceptual code of this Enochic revelation?

One of the difficulties might lie in the peculiar esoteric nature of the text. It has been previously suggested that the apocalypse represents one of the earliest specimens of Merkabah mysticism, manifesting a portentous transition between early apocalyptic and mystical currents. A puzzling and paradoxical mixture of apocalyptic and mystical traditions, 2 Enoch contains rich esoteric imagery that is often imperceptible to uninitiated eyes. Unlike other early Enochic writings, the text provides several striking depictions that hint to the mystical tendencies of the pseudepigraphon. Among them are the portrayals of Enoch's visions of the Divine Face. Although some scholars have previously doubted that these traditions belong to the original core of the text, the recently identified Coptic fragments of 2 Enoch, introduced to scholars for the first time during the conference, provide additional evidence for the authenticity of these conceptual currents. The Coptic fragments include portions of 2 Enoch 39 where the seventh antediluvian patriarch conveys to his children the vision of the Divine Face and the limbs of the Deity—the pivotal symbolic descriptions that affirm the mystical theology of 2 Enoch.

It is possible that the very presence of these mystical developments might greatly contribute to the puzzling nature of the text. During its long transmission in various cultural, religious, and linguistic environments, 2 Enoch has undergone many changes through translators who, unfamiliar with the cryptic theology of the text, often opted for a literal rendition. The intended meaning of esoteric imagery thus became often covered with an additional veil of literalist renderings oblivious to cultural

and ideological milieus. How then can one begin restoring the garbled theological mosaic of 2 Enoch?

One of the important methodological lessons of the current volume lies in the recognition that the traditions of the exalted patriarchs and prophets, the currents which play an important role in the apocalypse, are central to understanding the symbolic universe of the text. It is therefore no coincidence that the conference chose to focus on the mediatorial figures in 2 Enoch and Second Temple Judaism. It has been previously noted that the stories of Adam, Enoch, Noah, Nir, Methuselah, and Melchizedek provide crucial narrative frameworks for the various parts of 2 Enoch. Most of these traditions develop the familiar interpretive lines well known by scholars of the Second Temple period. The paramount significance of the mediatorial currents associated with Adam, Enoch, Noah, and Melchizedek in the apocalypse does not appear coincidental since this text was written at a time of intense mediatorial debates when various religious groups were competing for the primacy of their unique revelations secured by the authority of different exalted patriarchs and prophets.

Investigation of mediatorial traditions in 2 Enoch also helps to highlight the sacerdotal significance of the mediatorial figures in the apocalypse. The various priestly traditions are closely intertwined in the text with various mediatorial trends. In fact, one can safely assume that every mediator of the story—Adam, Enoch, Noah, Nir, Methuselah, or Melchizedek—becomes a bearer of distinctive sacerdotal concern, which is no coincidence since 2 Enoch originated in the theological climate of the late Second Temple period marked by intense competition between different sacerdotal groups and clans. This contention-ridden sacerdotal environment created a whole gallery of ideal priestly figures that, alongside such traditional sacerdotal servants as Levi, Aaron, and Simon, also included other characters of primeval and Israelite history, such as Enoch, Methuselah, Noah, Shem, Melchizedek, Abraham, and others. This tendency in the "sacralization" of protological characters is paramount in 2 Enoch where the primeval patriarchs become sacerdotal servants *par excellence*. The choice of depicting primeval heroes as ideal priests in the apocalypse provides further support for the intensity of the priestly rivalry in which the primacy of the sacerdotal hero was determined by, among other things, the antiquity of his cultic initiations and practices acquired long before the relevant competitors. In this respect 2 Enoch, as some other early Enochic writings, suggests that the sacerdotal knowledge and initiations received by Enoch, Methuselah, Nir, and Melchizedek from

God in ante- and postdiluvian times were more ancient than the disclosures about sacrificial rites received by Moses many centuries later on Mount Sinai.

By focusing on the mediatorial figures in 2 Enoch the fifth conference of the Enoch Seminar has reaffirmed an important methodological framework for future studies of the text. However, despite making significant advances in 2 Enoch scholarship at the conference, we are aware that we have still "failed" to answer many questions about the provenance and theology of this enigmatic text. It should not be forgotten that in 2 Enoch and other similar mystical writings, the process of "failing" can be instructive in itself. Another Jewish mystical text, *Sefer ha-Bahir*, says that everyone approaching mystical writings about the Account of Creation and the Account of the Chariot "must inevitably fail . . . this refers to things that a person can not understand, unless s/he fails in them."

PART ONE

2 ENOCH

NO LONGER "SLAVONIC" ONLY: 2 ENOCH ATTESTED IN COPTIC FROM NUBIA

Joost L. Hagen

This article contains the first translation of the recently identified Coptic fragments of the short recension of 2 Enoch, together with an introduction describing their discovery and an elaborate commentary comparing the text with the evidence of the Slavonic versions based on their translations. The author is presently preparing the publication of these fragments as part of the ongoing research for his doctoral dissertation about the Coptic manuscript texts from Qasr Ibrim.

Rediscovery and Identification of the Coptic Fragments of "Slavonic Enoch"

During the last fifty years or so, the Egypt Exploration Society excavations at the cathedral-fortress site of Qasr Ibrim in Egyptian Nubia, once elevated high above the Nile, but since the building of the Aswan High Dam in the 1960s reduced to a small island in Lake Nasser, have brought to light, among many other things, a rich variety of textual sources, including papyrus, parchment, paper, and leather manuscripts in the four languages of the late-antique and medieval Christian kingdom of Makuria and Nobadia, Greek, Coptic, Old Nubian, and Arabic. Regrettably, many of these finds still remain unpublished, among them many texts in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic, the language of Christian Egypt, also widely used in Nubia. One example of how important these Qasr Ibrim manuscripts are shall appear in the following pages.[1]

[1] A general introduction to Christian-period Qasr Ibrim and its texts can be found in J. L. Hagen, "A pleasant sense of mild bewilderment: Re-excavating the Coptic texts from Qasr Ibrim," *Ancient Egypt* 10.2 (October/November 2009): 46–54. A more detailed account is given in J. L. Hagen, "'A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid.' Progress report on the Coptic manuscripts from Qasr Ibrim," in *Between the Cataracts, Part Two: Session Papers* (*fasc.* 2), ed. W. Godlewski and A. Łajtar, PAM Supplement Series 2.2/2 (Warsaw: Warsaw University Press, 2010), 719–726.

Probably in April 2006, during one of my working visits to Cambridge in order to prepare my doctoral dissertation on the Coptic manuscripts from Qasr Ibrim, using the EES excavation archive (at that time still kept in the Faculty of Oriental Studies basement, but since then moved to the British Museum in London), I opened one of the notebooks of Coptologist Professor J. M. Plumley (director of the Qasr Ibrim excavations from 1963 to 1976) and came across a transcription of a fragmentary Coptic text on parchment which was identified by the number 72.3.3 (Plumley Notebook 3, 11–17).

When I first saw Prof. Plumley's notes concerning these fragments, excavated in 1972, and later also the photos made at the time of their discovery, I immediately realized these were the remnants of a very interesting text, but I also knew it would be very difficult, maybe even impossible, to make full sense of them. First of all, the fragments were only four in number, with two of them being very small at that. The complete height of the pages had not been preserved, and about half of the width of the lines seemed to be lost, making it very difficult to assess what the text was all about. The content which I could glimpse, however, was intriguing enough (quoted here in the order of Plumley's notes): "The circle of the moon I have measured [. . .] and the . . . (?) of its light," "great heat," "one of the angels," "and the appearance [. . .] was like snow, and [. . .] were like ice," "[. . .] spoke to me all these words," "I have come to know everything," "and their chambers," "my descendants . . ."

First I thought all this might have something to do with the book of Job, but he, of course, in the end had to admit he did not know everything, or anything much, about creation and its secrets. I then concluded that the fragments might belong to a work supposedly written by Cyprian the Magician, who also claimed to have much arcane knowledge; I could find some near-parallels in Coptic texts, but did not manage to identify the fragments as belonging to a copy of a known work. I did not then expect I would ever be able to find a match; too much of the text was lost, and not all of what Plumley had copied in his notes was visible in the photos, making it difficult to establish definitive readings. I have tried to locate the original fragments in the Egyptian and Coptic Museums in Cairo and the Nubia Museum in Aswan, but in vain. Plumley's notebook and the excavators' photos remained and still are my only sources.

As a result of these disappointments, I all but forgot about these fragments and went on to study better preserved Coptic manuscripts from Qasr Ibrim, both literary and documentary in content, of which there are

quite a few. But when in March 2009 I tried to make a final version of the list of texts to be included in, and excluded from, my dissertation, I decided that it would not do to leave these "Cyprian" fragments out. I felt I simply had to make whatever sense of them I could and publish them.

At the time, I was rereading a book I had studied several years before for my MA-thesis about the Coptic encomium on the Four Creatures of the book of Revelation and the visions of Ezekiel, attributed to John Chrysostom, and had just been reminded of the important role of the antediluvian patriarch Enoch in texts concerning the interpretation of Ezekiel and Revelation, like the encomium.[2] Just theoretically at first, I tried reading my four long-abandoned pieces of parchment as if they were, not about Cyprian the Magician, but about Enoch, who, I knew, had been told about the secrets of creation before being made, according to the Coptic tradition, "the scribe of righteousness" in heaven.[3] And suddenly, things started to fall into place, and I recognized things like "I wrote," "in the books," and "of righteousness." The text already seemed to make somewhat more sense. But all the missing parts of the lines and the pages were still there, or rather, not there, and I did not seriously intend to read through all ancient texts about Enoch until I found a parallel to the text preserved in these Qasr Ibrim fragments. Moreover, knowing something about Coptic literature, I realized this could very well be an otherwise unattested, late work originating in Christian Egypt, or something only having to do with Enoch in a marginal way, like John Chrysostom's encomium on the Four Creatures, fragments of which have also been wrongly interpreted as remains of an Enoch apocryphon.[4] But I decided to try my hand at an identification all the same.

I looked again at the "unfinished sentences, amputated stumps of words" (Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose*) and tried to use my

---

[2] MA-thesis: J. L. Hagen, *"Mens en dier verlost Gij, HERE." De Lofrede voor de feestdag van de Vier Wezens, toegeschreven aan Johannes Chrysostomos* (Leiden, 2003; in Dutch; unpublished). The book I reread was D. J. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot. Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel's vision*, TSAJ 16 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1988).

[3] For Enoch in the Coptic tradition, see B. A. Pearson, "Enoch in Egypt," in *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. R. A. Argall, *et al.*, Festschrift for G. W. E. Nickelsburg (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000), 216–231.

[4] B. A. Pearson, "The Munier Enoch Fragments, Revisited," in *For the Children, Perfect Instruction. Studies in Honor of Hans-Martin Schenke on the Occasion of the Berliner Arbeitskreis für koptisch-gnostische Schriften's Thirtieth Year*, ed. H. G. Bethge, *et al.* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 375–383.

experience, and my imagination, to reconstruct enough text to be able to understand what was happening in this work. Enoch the Scribe already seemed to make more sense than Cyprian the Magician. I took several of the phrases quoted above, and others, and typed them (the truth will out!) into Google's Advanced Search, with no very clear results, but what results came up had, indeed, to do with Enoch. Then, I tried the "appearance" that was said to be "like snow." What, or whose, appearance? Before the "was," there was the Coptic equivalent of "that": "And the appearance [of] that [. . .] was like snow." In the line above, mention was made of "one of the angels," so I guessed: "[of] that [angel]." I typed this sentence into the computer, and one second later, thanks to Google Books, I was in the middle of an English translation of the work known as 2 Enoch, Slavonic Enoch and "The Book of the Secrets of Enoch."[5]

Not only did I find this particular sentence, but I also recognized the narrator's claim to "know everything," including "the circle of the moon." It clearly was the same text. (When reading the phrases quoted above, it might have been immediately obvious to some experts!) I could use the English translation of the Slavonic text (I do not read Slavonic) to reconstruct the reading order of the Coptic fragments and the sequences of recto and verso, and I could even start, using again my experience and my imagination, to restore the missing parts of every line. (I have not yet been able to identify the contents of Plumley's fourth fragment, see below.) Translating the English into Coptic, I could fill one gap, and another, sometimes with certainty, sometimes hesitating about a synonym or a grammatical construction; but the mutilated scraps of parchment began to make more and more sense, and my preliminary filling of the lacunae succeeded line after line after line, until there could no longer be any doubt: This was a Coptic version of 2 Enoch.

At the moment of this discovery, I did not yet realize that 2 Enoch was not called "Slavonic" for nothing, or that there were a long and a short recension of the work, or, indeed, that my discovery might be worth more than a short remark in a footnote. But this soon changed. I started looking things up, and within days of my discovery, I sent an e-mail to Professor Christfried Böttrich from Greifswald, of whom I had once attended a lecture about apocrypha in the Slavonic tradition, thinking he might

[5] A. Pennington's translation in *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, ed. H. F. D. Sparks (Oxford: Clarendon, 1984), 321–362, referred to below as Pennington/Sparks.

be interested to hear about my identification of the first non-Slavonic version of 2 Enoch. Little did I know he was one of the world's leading 2 Enoch experts. However, I soon found out. To make a long story short, he kindly recommended me for an invitation to the Fifth Enoch Seminar which was to be held in Naples three months later, in June 2009, specifically devoted to . . . 2 Enoch. The organisers, Professor Gabriele Boccaccini and Professor Andrei Orlov, most kindly saw to it that I could give a lecture there in order to present the preliminary results of my work on the Coptic fragments. During the preparations for this, and while participating in the discussions in Naples, I learned just how important my chance find might be . . .

The Four Fragments and Their Contents

As stated above, two of the four Coptic parchment fragments that presently seem to be the only pieces to survive from this first non-Slavonic version of 2 Enoch discovered so far are quite small, and the contents of only one of them (Fr. 1, Prof. Plumley's no. 3; see below) could be identified so far; the other (Plumley's and my Fr. 4) has been left out of the translation presented in this article. There might be just enough text preserved to identify this piece too, but one of Plumley's readings looks suspect, and I have not yet been able to find a photo of the fragment. The other three fragments can be numbered, and their recto and verso sides identified, according to the sequence of the parts of the text they are bearing (see below).

Two sets of photographs are available for the three fragments translated below: 72V11/16–19 and 72V22/22–25, 30, 31. Three of them are reproduced as Figures 1, 2, and 3 at the end of this article. As far as can be judged from these photos, the dimensions of the fragments are the following (excluding the folded parts, which cannot be measured in this way): Fr. 1 ca. 5 × 5 cm. (with about half of it empty margins), Fr. 2 ca. 8 × 7 cm., and Fr. 3 ca. 6 × 6 cm. Fr. 1 preserves the end (recto) and the beginning (verso) of the first five lines of two sides of a leaf, with part of the upper and the outer margins. Fr. 2 contains 17 (recto) and 16 (verso) lines, with most of the ends of the lines preserved on the recto and on the verso most of the beginnings; between one-fourth and one-half of the width of the lines is lost. On Fr. 3, each side contains the remains of 11 lines of text; reconstruction of the lost parts is more difficult here because both the beginnings and ends of the

lines are lost. According to Plumley's notes, Fr. 4, otherwise not treated here, has four ("recto") and three ("verso") lines of between two and eight letters each, with their beginnings and ends lost.

To judge from the best preserved leaf, Fr. 2, and the part of its text lost between recto and verso, compared to the Slavonic version of 2 Enoch in the translation of Pennington/Sparks, this fragment probably represents about two-thirds of the original height of the leaf (some 16 lines are preserved and probably about eight lines are lost; so, the original number of lines was probably ca. 24). Whether or not the first line of preserved text also was the first line of the page, as in the case of Fr. 1, is uncertain, as with Fr. 3, but both fragments probably represent the upper part of the original leaves. If the number of lines on a complete page was indeed 24 or thereabout, Fr. 1 would be the upper fourth or fifth part of a leaf. Because of the folded state of the fragments at the time when the available photos were made, I do not attempt to reconstruct the original dimensions of the leaves in cms. The average number of letters on a line is thirty.

As can be seen from their contents (see below), fragments 1, 2, and 3 must be remnants of three consecutive leaves of the original codex presumably containing all of 2 Enoch in Coptic translation. Whether Plumley's Fr. 4 represents a fourth leaf or a piece of the lower part of one of the other three remains unclear. Unfortunately, no page numbers seem to be preserved in the upper margins of Fr. 1 (see Fig. 1).

The content of the three fragments translated below is as follows:[6]

Fr. 1R (Pl.: 3V):	36:3 (end); 36:4=39:1; [39:2, 3 (beg.)]
Fr. 1V (Pl.: 3R):	39:3 (cont.)-5; [39:6, 7 (beg.)]
Fr. 2R (Pl.: 1V):	[39:7 (cont.)]; 39:8; 37:1, 2; 40:1, 2; [40:3, 4 (beg.)]
Fr. 2V (Pl.: 1R):	40:4 (cont.), 5, 8–10 (beg.)
Fr. 3R (Pl.: 2V):	[40:10 (cont.)]; 40:11–13; [41:1, 2; 42:1 (beg.)]
Fr. 3V (Pl.: 2R):	[42:1 (cont.)]; 42:2, 3 (beg.)

From this overview, the importance of these Coptic fragments is immediately apparent. Fr. 1 and 2 show that the sequence of the disputed chapters 36–40 in this version of 2 Enoch is 36–39–37–40, without chap. 38, exactly as in the Slavonic manuscripts of the short recension. (Incidentally, the English translation of the short recension by Pennington/Sparks, which I found on the internet thanks to Google Books, is the only one actually

[6] Round brackets: Prof. Plumley's order of the pieces, according to size, and his recto and verso sides; chapter and verse division after Andersen/Charlesworth, on which see the introduction to the translation; square brackets: text lost in lacuna.

giving them in this order, and not adapting them to the "standard" of the long recension.) The transition from chap. 36 to 39 on Fr. 1R is damaged but certain, as are those from 39 to 37 and 37 to 40 on Fr. 2R. Luckily our copy of Coptic 2 Enoch contains these transitions on the middle of its pages; had the chapter transition happened to coincide with a transition between two sides of a leaf or from one leaf to another, there could have been some doubt about the identification of recto and verso and the reading order of the leaves.

Furthermore, Fr. 2V shows that the verses 40:6, 7 are absent in this version: The transition from v. 5 to v. 8 is clearly preserved. As far as the other "additions" of the Slavonic long recension are concerned, which occur in places where the Coptic version is damaged by lacunae: For the extra part of 37:2 (an explanation of what is described in the preceding verse) there clearly is no place, just as for the extras in 40:12a (creation measured) and 40:12b–42:2 (judgement).

Finally, Fr. 1R demonstrates that the Coptic version included the "peculiar material" at the end of chapter 36 (vv. 3 and 4) that is present only in the oldest Slavonic manuscript of 2 Enoch, U (15th cent.), and in manuscript A (16th cent.), which is closely related to U; the "disarray of the text at this point" has been called "a patch job which makes U inferior."[7]

The above facts are sufficient to prove that the Coptic version of 2 Enoch preserved in these fragments was a representative of the short recension. The fact that this, the first non-Slavonic copy of the work, which antedates the oldest surviving Slavonic manuscript by several centuries and might very well be earlier than the time at which 2 Enoch was translated into Slavonic in the first place (on the dating of the Coptic fragments, see the next paragraph), so clearly is a text of the short recension (even sharing "peculiar" readings with the oldest Slavonic manuscript U), seems to call into question the way in which the evidence of the manuscripts of that recension have, by some, been interpreted as secondary, even "inferior" to that of the texts of the long recension (for a preliminary evaluation, see the Conclusion of this article).

[7] F. I. Andersen resp. Andersen referring to Vaillant, in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1983, 1985), referred to here as Andersen/Charlesworth, 1:160, n. 36a.

The Archaeological Context; Palaeographical Evidence for Dating the Fragments

In Prof. Plumley's notebook, where I first came across these Coptic fragments of 2 Enoch, they are given the number 72.3.3, which is also written on the pieces themselves (visible on Fr. 2R, Fig. 2). This number, which does not look like one of the excavation or registration numbers usually given to the Qasr Ibrim finds (but see below), links it to several other Coptic parchment fragments bearing 72.3 numbers, which contain Old Testament and hagiographical texts: 72.3.1, a bifolium and some fragments with parts of Isaiah 16–17, 22–23, and 28–29; 72.3.2, fragments of Jeremiah, including 40:1, 2; 72.3.4, probably also biblical, but not yet identified; and 72.3.7, several fragmentary pages of what must be the best preserved copy of the Coptic version of the Martyrdom of Saint Mark the Evangelist known so far. I have not yet been able to find the pieces to which the numbers 72.3.5 and 72.3.6 refer, and it is also unclear to me whether or not there were more than seven numbers in this series; however, one of these two or more numbers (72.3.9?) should refer to the piece containing the end of Haggai and the beginning of Zechariah transcribed in Plumley's notes as "Fragment 9" (Notebook 3, pp. 29, 31).

The Isaiah and Jeremiah fragments are said to have been found in association with four fragmentary leaves of a parchment codex with the Gospel of Mark in Greek, which were given the number 72.4, and this must be true in the case of the other 72.3 texts, including the 2 Enoch fragments, as well. Whether the finds called 72.1 and 72.2 (and possibly 72.5 and more) also came from the same spot is not yet clear to me, but I expect so. As far as the numbers are concerned, if they are not simply a subdivision of the usual registration numbers (72/3 etc.), 72 surely indicates the year of excavation, the second part might indicate the language (3 for Coptic, 4 for Greek) and the third individual texts, if necessary (this would mean the Gospel of Mark was the only Greek to have been found then and there). The Greek fragments with the number 72.4 and the Coptic fragments of the 72.3 series, at least, were "found in a pit in front of and a little to the south of the altar" of the small church "built alongside the south wall of the great cathedral" of Qasr Ibrim. According to Prof. Plumley, this church "can be dated to the ninth century, but the pit and its contents clearly antedate its building."[8] This suggests that the textual material found in

[8] This and the preceding quotation: J. Martin Plumley and C. H. Roberts, "An Uncial Text of St. Mark in Greek from Nubia," *JTS, New Series* 27 (1976): 34–45 (34).

this pit is older than the first of the two known phases in the existence of this so-called "South Church," whereas more recent references to this building suggest the finds antedate its second phase and stem from the first: The earlier incarnation of the church, built with red brick, was probably destroyed during Saladin's brother Shams ed-Dawla's famous raid on Qasr Ibrim in 1172–3, after which "a dense rubble of broken brick, painted and inscribed plaster, and hundreds of burned and torn fragments of religious manuscripts," here taken to be remains of the earlier phase of the church and its library (or maybe rather that of the cathedral just next door, also damaged in the raid), were buried under the floor of its mud-brick successor, built soon afterwards.[9] This would mean the texts antedate the destruction of the first church in the second half of the twelfth century, rather than its building in the ninth; of course, both would be true at the same time in case they really were older than the ninth century, but that should be proven on other grounds.

The fragments of the Greek copy of the Gospel of Mark have been palaeographically dated to the fifth century and might "have been brought to Nubia . . . in the middle of the sixth century when Nubia became officially Christian."[10] The Coptic finds from the "South Church" most probably are of a less impressive age, but my first attempt to date them by palaeographical means (always difficult and rather imprecise in the case of Coptic manuscripts) suggests an eighth- to ninth-, maybe tenth-century dating for both the 2 Enoch fragments and the Martyrdom of Saint Mark (on their relation, see below). This would be compatible with both the ninth- and the twelfth-century *ante quem* dating described above. Hopefully, future study of published and unpublished records of the "South Church" and its excavation, or a more precise judgement on the palaeography of its textual finds, can shed more light on the problem of the age of the Coptic fragments of 2 Enoch.

However important a possible archaeologically-based dating prior to the building of the "South Church" in the ninth century rather than merely prior to its destruction and rebuilding in the twelfth would be, already the general dating, on palaeographical grounds, of the manuscript to the eighth to tenth centuries (that is, without the possibility to further limit this period of time to its first half), is significant: This means

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[9] W. Y. Adams, *Qasr Ibrim. The Late Mediaeval Period* (London: Egyptian Exploration Society, 1996), 78–9, referred to in W. Y. Adams, *Qasr Ibrim. The Earlier Medieval Period* (London: Egyptian Exploration Society, 2010), 9.

[10] Plumley and Roberts, "An Uncial Text of Saint Mark," 35.

that the fragments antedate the accepted date of the translation of 2 Enoch into Slavonic (10th or 11th century) and that they are some several hundred years older than the earliest Slavonic witness of Merilo Pravednoe ("The Just Balance"), a work with extracts of the ethical passages in 2 Enoch (14th cent.). These Coptic fragments represent the oldest version of "Slavonic Enoch" known so far.

Concerning the Possible Present Location and Condition of the Fragments

In the preliminary report on the finds of the 1972 excavation season at Qasr Ibrim, published in 1974, among the Coptic finds reference is made to "smaller parchment pieces" with "part of what appears to be a homily."[11] This probably refers to the Martyrdom of Saint Mark the Evangelist, but might also include or refer to the fragments of 2 Enoch; even though they were given different numbers (72.3.7 and 72.3.3, respectively) their handwriting and state of preservation look remarkably similar (compare Fig. 1–3 of the present article with Plates I–V of the article by Abdul Moeiz Shaheen mentioned in note 12 below).

Of the texts of the 72.3 and 72.4 series, probably found in October or November 1972, at least the Greek Gospel and the Coptic Martyrdom of Saint Mark and the Coptic Isaiah (I do not remember having recognized the Coptic Jeremiah and Haggai/Zechariah, but these are small, unremarkable fragments) are now kept in the manuscript library of the Coptic Museum in Cairo, and I have not found Coptic material from 1972 elsewhere, that is to say, in the Egyptian Museum or in the Nubia Museum at Aswan. I would therefore expect the 2 Enoch fragments to be in the Coptic Museum too, but I have not been able to find them there (yet). Maybe also they are stored in one of the other museums or magazines of the Antiquities Organization in Egypt.

So at present, as stated before, the photos and, for the parts of the text not visible on the photos, Plumley's transcription are the only sources for the text of the fragments (to get an impression of what this means in practice, see the text accompanying Fig. 3). Like the uncertainty about the interpretation of the archaeological record referred to above, this is not uncommon for textual finds from the Qasr Ibrim excavations. Also in the

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[11] J. Martin Plumley and W. Y. Adams, "Qasr Ibrim, 1972," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 60 (1974): 212–238 (214).

case of another Coptic manuscript from the 1972 season, a documentary text (contrary to the 2 Enoch fragments not small, but said to be 95 cm. long and 48/49 cm. wide, with another 3/4 cm. of its width lost), the other texts belonging to the same group all are in the Coptic Museum and the piece itself cannot (or hopefully, could not yet) be found, there or elsewhere. Also for this text (a very interesting letter written in the summer of 760 C.E.) access to the original would be needed in order to supplement the photos and check the readings from Prof. Plumley's transcriptions.

Whether the 2 Enoch fragments, in case they are eventually found, will still look like they do on the photos is doubtful and can in fact only be hoped. When I first saw the original pages from the Martyrdom of Mark mentioned above, I did not recognize them. In contrast to the state in which they had been excavated and photographed, they are no longer folded but flat, kept between glass. However, what had been merely invisible on the photos is now ugly or even unreadable on the original, making the excavator's transcriptions the only source for those parts of the text; that is to say, provided they could be included in the transcription at the time, before the actual flattening of the parchment. But in the case of the Martyrdom, as in that of 2 Enoch, this apparently was the case (a partly-folded manuscript can be turned around in order to try to look into its hidden corners, which unfortunately cannot be done with a photograph of the same). The fragments from the Martyrdom of Saint Mark the Evangelist have, frankly speaking, been ruined; their original beauty has been destroyed and the text has not gained much in legibility. In a 1981 article, Abdul Moeiz Shaheen of the Coptic Museum describes how the pieces of the Martyrdom, and related finds, were experimented upon in order to find the best way to treat them.[12] It probably is too far-fetched to imagine that some pieces might have fallen victim to this process altogether, being destroyed and thrown away, but reading the article and seeing the difference between "before" and "after treatment" makes one pray the Enoch fragments escaped a similar fate and can be properly treated in the future.

[12] A. Moeiz Shaheen, "Treatment of some pieces of parchment and papyrus found in the excavations of the Society of Egyptian Archaeology, London, in Kasr Ibrim, Nubia, 1972," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 64 (1981): 137–148, with Plates I–XXI. For the experimental phase of the project, the worst to be mentioned is of "the writings" being "slightly damaged" and a "very slight change" in the color of the parchment (138), but this is not how I would describe what happened to the fragments of the Martyrdom of Saint Mark.

Be that as it may, for the time being we must make do with what is available, and that already is a lot, as we shall see. Although it would be quite useful to be able to check some of Plumley's readings with the original, his transcriptions combined with the available photos contain enough material to surprise the world of Enochic scholarship.

Introduction to the Translation

The following translation of the text of the three identified Coptic fragments of 2 Enoch from Qasr Ibrim is adapted from, in the sense that it is as far as possible identical to, the English translation of the Slavonic short recension (based on the oldest manuscript, U, of the 15th cent.) by Pennington published in Sparks's *Apocryphal Old Testament*, pp. 342–345 (chaps. 11:37, 38 and 13:1–27), but with the more generally accepted chapter and verse numbers from the translation of the short recension by Andersen in Charlesworth's *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, pp. 1:161–169 (chaps. 36:3–42:3). The translation of Pennington/Sparks is the only one I have seen giving the chapters in their manuscript order, without adapting them to the allegedly superior sequence in the long recension. As the text of the Coptic fragments seems to be very close to that of the short recension as trustworthily presented by Pennington/Sparks, including the same order of chapters (36–39–37–40–41–42), readers interested to see what a complete Coptic 2 Enoch might have looked like, without the gaps and with all its pages preserved, can get their best first impression of this most curious text by reading the translation used here as my point of departure. The (main) differences between the text of the Coptic fragments and that of the Slavonic manuscripts are referred to in the commentary following my translation, where also the reconstructions of text lost in the lacunae in the manuscript are explained. Other translations than Pennington/Sparks have been used by me as well, first of all the above-mentioned Andersen/Charlesworth (from which I took the idea of indicating the "I, I have . . ." when it appears in the Coptic text of chaps. 39 and 40), but also those by Böttrich, Forbes and Charles, Riessler, Vaillant, and Vaillant-Philonenco, and I have a long list of all observed "translational (if not textual) variants," only a part of which is given below. Sometimes an indicated uncertainty in my translation is based on their differences from Pennington/Sparks; relevant details are referred to in the commentary. Next to the line numbers of the Coptic fragments in italics, chapter and verse numbers

(see above) are added in bold script. In the case of reconstructions in lacunae, their correct place often cannot be exactly determined, especially on Fr. 3, where both the beginning and the end of the lines are lost. I make use of the following brackets and signs:

> [text]: text lost but reconstructed using Slavonic parallel(s) or Coptic context
> [. . .]: text lost and reconstruction too uncertain to be attempted
> <text>: text (probably) forgotten by copyist and added by editor
> (text): text not in the Coptic but added to make the translation clearer
> (and): in the Coptic perfect tense, "and" is sometimes not written but implied
> / separates translation alternatives
> (?) refers to preceding word
> (??) refers to more than the preceding word, sometimes to the complete filling of a gap

The translation presented here is as true to the Coptic, as closely based on Pennington/Sparks, as readable and as reliable, that is, next to the above, avoiding speculation (much more could have been taken from the Slavonic and put within the square brackets of the translation that has no basis in the surviving fragments and could therefore never securely be filled in in the text), as possible, and being the first published translation of the Coptic 2 Enoch fragments it is of course preliminary and subject to change following possible further progress in my work on the text.

Translation of the Coptic Fragments of 2 Enoch 36:3–42:3

(1R) (36:3) [. . . and you shall] be for Me [a witness of / in (?) the judgement of the] last [age (?). All this the Lord said to] me as [a man speaks with his friend].

(36:4=39:1) Now then, (5) [o my children, listen to the voice of your father, and every]thing [I command to you today. . . . (39:2) . . . . (39:3) . . . I, I have seen the face] ***(1V)*** of the Lord, [like iron heated] in the furnace [and scattering sparks (??)] and (?) [. . . . (39:4) I, I have seen the] eyes of the [Lord, like the rays of the shining sun]. (5) (39:5) I, [I have seen the right hand of the Lord,. . . . (39:6) . . . . (39:7) . . . ***(2R)***. . . . (39:8) . . . .] Who shall be able to endure (??) [the infinite fear and] the heat, which is great?

(37:1) [But the Lord] called (?) one of the angels of Tarta[rus (and) set] him by me; and the appearance (5) [of] that [angel] was like snow, and

[his hands] were like ice; and he [cooled] my face with / between (?) them, for I was unable to endure [(that) terror] and that heat. (37:2) And [so the] Lord spoke to me all these words.

(*10*) (40:1) [Now then, o my children,] I, I have learned everything, <some things> (??) from [the mouth of the Lord], and some others I have seen [with my eyes], from the beginning to the end, from [the end to the resur]rection (?).

(40:2) I, I know [every]thing, [and I, I have written] in the books the [extent (*15*) of the heavens, and their] contents I, I have measured, [and I, I have come to know] all their hosts [. . .] . . . [. . . . (40:3) . . . . (40:4) The circle of the sun I, I have measured, . . . ***(2V)*** . . . and its] goings in and its [goings out and its] entire movement, and also its names [I, I have written]. (40:5) The circle of the moon I, I have measured, and [its movements] and the waning of its light, [every day] (*5*) and every hour, and its alte[rations] I, I have written.

(40:8) The dwelling-place of [the clouds and] their mouth and their wings and their [rains and their] drops I, I have explored. (40:9) I have [written the sounds (?)] of the thunderbolts and the wonders [of the lightnings. They] (*10*) showed them to me, (they), that is, their (?) [custodians (?), and] their place of going up <and> the<ir> place (??) [of going down (??)] with measure; they bring them [up by means of a chain / bound (??)] and they lead them [down by means of a chain / bound (??)], lest they turn themselves aside [and (?) . . .] (*15*) rough (?) [. . .]. (40:10) And the [treasuries of the snow and the storehouses of the i]c[e . . . ***(3R)***. . . . (40:11) The dwelling-place of the winds I, I have written. I looked and saw their custodians bringing balances and measures: (??)] first they put [them on the balance], and [then] in the measure, and by [measure they bring them down] over the whole world, [lest (*5*) they shake] the earth with a rough breath.

(40:12) [And then (?) I was taken] down from [that] place [(and) I came to] the dwelling-place of the judgement, [and I saw hell] open, (40:13) and I saw [a certain plain (??)], as if it were a prison, (*10*) [a judgement-place (?) without measure]. And I went [down . . .] . . . [. . . . (41:1) . . . . (41:2) . . . . (42:1) And I saw the keepers of the keys of hell, (??) . . . ***(3V)***. . . .] (42:2) And I spoke [to them, saying: It would] be well if I had not seen [you, and if I had not] seen your chambers; [. . . (?) may none] among my descendants come to you, [or] (*5*) see your chambers!

(42:3) And (?) [I was taken from] that place, (and) I went [up into the paradi]se of righteousness, [and in that place I] saw a [blessed] dwelling-place, [and] every [creature] that was in [that] place [is blessed . . .] (*10*) [. . .] . . . [. . .] . . . [. . .]

Commentary

It does not seem useful or indeed proper to list and justify all variants between these Coptic fragments and the Slavonic manuscripts on the basis of the above translation and of my other work so far, without giving a Coptic text (a first edition of which would involve too many notes and comments to be feasible in the present contribution) and only based on (English, German, and French) translations of the Slavonic texts. Many of the differences I noted down in the long list of "variants" referred to above, from which for the remarks presented below I took only the ones I thought the most important, probably are mere nuances in translation, and therefore not the object of textual criticism proper.

What should at some point be checked in the case of these differences is whether the Slavonic can be translated or interpreted according to the reading of the Coptic. Despite all of the variants listed below, the two versions (Coptic and the earliest short recension Slavonic) are quite close to each other, and they might be even closer than their translations now seem to imply. What this means for their common *Vorlage* remains to be seen (see my Conclusion, below); it would be very instructive to attempt a Greek reconstruction of those parts of chaps. 36–42 that are now available in both Slavonic and Coptic.

In the following commentary I first and foremost list the real and supposed differences between the text of the Coptic fragments and the Slavonic manuscripts of the short recension available to me in translation. Readings of the Slavonic long recension (mostly its "additions") are mainly mentioned in those places (essentially all) where it can be clearly shown that these extras are absent from the Coptic version. Readings of the Slavonic very short recension as given in Forbes and Charles' translation of the 16th-century manuscript N ("minusses") are not referred to, in order not to burden this commentary and confuse the reader, but it is equally clear that the Coptic fragments do not represent a text of that type either. The early Slavonic extracts from 2 Enoch in the 14th-century copy of the Merilo Pravednoe are mentioned only once. Lastly, references to authors are references to their translation of and notes concerning the passage being commented upon.

Fr. 1, Recto

36:3 The first of the three Coptic fragments translated here only preserves the very last words of the Lord's long speech to Enoch before the latter

temporarily returns to earth. The translations from the Slavonic manuscripts seem to be divided between "testimony" and "witness" (in the sense of someone bearing testimony), and between "witness of" (someone present at) and "witness in" (implying closer involvement). The Slavonic reads "great age" (in the sense of "era"), for which the Coptic might have had something like "last [day]" or "last [judgement]," although I tentatively reconstructed "last [age]." There seems to be a variant reading here.

36:4=39:1 Even though the verse is damaged, it is clear that what we have here, after the end of chap. 36, is the beginning of Enoch's long speech to his children (or sons; the Coptic word probably used can mean both, and I noticed both occur in the translations from the Slavonic), without any indication of a transition from heaven back to earth as present in the Slavonic long recension in the form of chap. 38. This does not seem to me as much of a problem as it apparently is for some; it implies that the preceding part of the text, in which Enoch tells about his heavenly journey, was also told to his children (When and where exactly is Enoch supposed to relate or write the present work, and to whom?), and no mention of his return was necessary, especially as the topic continues to be Enoch's vision of the Lord and His words. The same argument can be used to explain the absence of the transition chapter after chap. 37, which in these Coptic fragments, as in the Slavonic short recension, follows chap. 39 (see below).

Fr. 1, Verso

39:2–7 Unfortunately, most of this much-debated passage, in which the situation of Enoch speaking to his children is compared to the situation of the Lord speaking to Enoch, is lost in the Coptic fragments, but it is clear that mention is indeed made of various body parts of the Lord: "[the face] of the Lord" in v. 3, "[the] eyes of the [Lord]" in v. 4, and therefore surely also "[the right hand of the Lord]" in v. 5, with the Lord's "mouth" (or "lips," earlier in v. 3), "body" (by implication, v. 6), and "words" (v. 7) entirely lost in lacunae. What is unclear, however, is whether the Coptic actually mentioned the corresponding body parts of Enoch, with which in the Slavonic text those of the Lord are compared. In fact, in the one instance where this can be judged, between "[I have seen the] eyes of the [Lord]" and "I [have seen the right hand of the Lord]," there is just enough space in the gap to fill in (about the Lord's eyes) "like the rays of the shining sun" or something similar, but not for another whole clause:

"You see my right hand . . ., but." It must be admitted that this is based on a reading in Prof. Plumley's notes that cannot be checked from the photos and must remain authoritative until it can (if ever) be verified using the original fragments. But also just before that, between "[the face] of the Lord, [like iron heated] in the furnace" and our "[I have seen the] eyes of the [Lord]," there is room for something like "[and scattering sparks] and [being incandescent]" (about the Lord's face), but not for "You see my eyes . . ., but." (I tentatively took "being incandescent" from the Slavonic long recension, but did not dare to use it in the translation proper. The lacunae in lines 2 and 3 seem somewhat long for "scattering sparks" only; the interpretation of the beginning of l. 3 as "and" is uncertain). It should therefore be tentatively concluded that, for whatever reason, (this copy of) the Coptic 2 Enoch did not contain references to Enoch's face, eyes, etc., but only to those of the Lord. This almost seems like an ironic answer to those who thought a text like this could (or should) not refer to the Lord's body, and that the "I have seen the Lord's . . ." sentences are secondary; but without them, there would be no need for the "You see my . . ." sentences either, which is not true the other way round.

Fr. 2, Recto

39:8 How the Coptic version treated the comparison between earthly king and heavenly king in this verse remains unknown because of another lacuna. The translations from the Slavonic in their description of the heavenly king agree on "fear" (or "terror") and "heat" (or "burning"), but not on how these two are combined: fear "of" heat, fear "or" heat? (In 37:1, below, the Coptic connects "[terror]" and "heat" with "and," but in the Slavonic, "of" seems to be dominant.) A difference between Coptic and Slavonic appears to be the tense of the verb: "who shall be able to" vs. "who can" endure.

37:1–2 Here, the Coptic version clearly shows that the disputed interpretation "angel of Tartarus" (Forbes and Charles, for which Andersen, according to a footnote accompanying his translation, was "not able to find any basis;" by others translated as "the horror," "the cold" or "terrible, terrifying") is correct. Although I think the idea that this could not be the case, and the angel in question should be an archangel (he is called "elder" or "senior" in the Slavonic texts), being in attendance on the Lord, is somewhat far-fetched, it seems to me it is only logical it should be "one of the angels of Tartarus," with his "appearance like snow," who is given

the task to cool down Enoch in the fiery presence of the Lord (39:8, in this version immediately preceding, unlike in the long recension) with "[his hands] like ice." (Literally, the Coptic reads "like a snow" and "like the ice"). The Coptic text, unlike the Slavonic ones, also expressively shows how the angel did this: "he [cooled]" Enoch's "face with" (or: "between") his icy hands, but whether this was added in the Coptic or left out of the Slavonic remains unclear. What is being described here need not have happened at the very end of Enoch's presence with the Lord, where it is located in the text; it could have happened earlier (or even have been going on all the time, as the Coptic imperfect tense suggests) and be told only now in order not to interfere with the description of the more important part of what happened. The Coptic for "that" referring to "heat" can refer back to the preceding "terror" as well, which for reasons of grammar and space could only have had the definite article, "the." Being protected from both terror and heat (see also the comment on 39:8 above) like this, Enoch was able to listen to the words of the Lord, which in the previous chapters he reported to his children (?). In the fragments, there is no place for the Slavonic longer recension's added comparisons after its variant "the fear of the Lord" at the end of v. 1, nor for its extra sentence in v. 2, which interprets what happened in v. 1 as necessary preparation for Enoch's temporary return to humanity, let alone for a parallel of the transition chapter 38, placed between chaps. 37 and 39 in the long recension.

40:1 With this verse begins the main part of Enoch's long speech, in which he informs his children about the knowledge he has gained in heaven, partly by hearing about it from the Lord and partly by seeing it for himself. (I tentatively emended "<some things>", based on the Slavonic reading, but this might not be necessary.) Whereas the Slavonic has "my eyes have seen," after "I have seen" in the Coptic, the following lacuna can only be restored "[with my eyes]." Enoch now knows "everything," "from the beginning to the end" as well as "from the end to" what the Slavonic versions apparently call "the renewal" or "the return" (but hardly Enoch's return to earth, as Vaillant-Philonenco interprets it!) and the Coptic seems to call "the rising" or "the resurrection."

40:2–3 At the beginning of his list of the heavenly objects and phenomena he described in his "books," Enoch mentions "all hosts" of heaven, the stars (in the Coptic fragments, lost in the lacuna with the second half of v. 2 and all of v. 3). It is a pity these lists are so poorly preserved, because in combination with the way in which the Coptic here and elsewhere focuses on the nominal object by putting it before the verb, after which it

is again expressed in its proper place by means of a resumptive pronoun, this makes it difficult to see whether or not the text is the same as in the Slavonic versions. The present verse, for example, which I reconstructed as closely as possible (see below!) to the Slavonic ("I know [every]thing, [and I have written] in the books the [extent of the heavens, and their] contents I have measured, [and I have come to know] all their hosts"), might also have been interpreted as: "I know [every]thing, [and I have written it (!)] in the books; the [extent of the heavens and their] contents I have measured, [and I have come to know] all their hosts," with "the [extent of the heavens]" as object of "I have measured" rather than of "[I have written] in the books." The Slavonic longer recension is different again: "I know everything, and everything I have written down in books, the heavens and their boundaries and their contents. And all the armies and their movements I have measured" (Andersen/Charlesworth). Actually, the Slavonic short recension is somewhat longer here than the Coptic: In the center of the parallel to "I have written down in the books the extent of the heavens and all that is in them: I have measured their movements and I know their hosts" (Pennington/Sparks), the Coptic has: "[their] contents (cf. Slavonic "all that is in them") I have measured," which looks like a shortened version of "I have written down . . . their contents and their movements I have measured," combining the object of the first with the verb of the second part of the sentence, while leaving out the Slavonic "their movements" (as well as "their boundaries" of the longer recension, which should go without saying). I am not sure how to account for this building-block "and their movements" in the Slavonic texts, which in the short recension seems to be used with the heavens or their "contents" and in the long one with their "armies," and is absent from the Coptic. Finally, the "all" in "[and I have come to know] all their hosts" might be a rare or even unique example of the Coptic version providing us with a reading of the Slavonic long recension ("and all the armies and their movements," also with "measured"). As seen above, the short recension simply has "their hosts."

Fr. 2, Verso

40:4 In the lost first part of Enoch's description of the sun, I do not dare to reconstruct the part referring to "its" (or "their"!) "rays" or "faces" (or "face"!) of the Slavonic versions. In the preserved part, the Coptic reads "[its] entire movement" for Slavonic "all its movements" (that is, singular

rather than plural) and "and also its names" for "and their names," where it has been suggested (by Vaillant) "its" should be read; in this last instance, the Coptic version confirms an emendation of Slavonic textual criticism.

40:5 The description of the moon is better, but not completely preserved; there does not seem to be enough room in the lacuna in which I restored "[its movements]" to include the Slavonic adjective "daily" as well. The Greek word used for the "waning" of the moon's light seems to be rare (see Fig. 3). For the Coptic "its alte[rations] I have written," the Slavonic reads "its names I have written," and adds "in the books," but whether this was left out in the Coptic or added in the Slavonic is unclear.

The extra verses 40:6, 7 of the long recension, which appear to be somewhat out of place here, and therefore probably are secondary (v. 6 about measuring time from seasons and years to days, and especially v. 7 about the fruits of the earth), are clearly absent from the Coptic version.

40:8 In the description of the clouds, the Coptic refers to their "dwelling-place" and their "mouth," in the singular, whereas the Slavonic uses the plural and seems to take "mouths" sometimes not literally, but as "organization" or "ruler." In my translation I have given a clear-cut transition to the next verse, but the two sentences could also be connected by the unexpressed "(and)."

40:9 Also in the case of the sound(s) (proof of work in progress: I have not yet been able to find a Coptic equivalent to "rumblings") and wonder(s) of thunder(bolts) and lightning(s), Coptic and Slavonic go their separate ways, this time Coptic using the plural and Slavonic the singular, but as in the previous verse, this might very well be a matter of idiom and need not reflect any real differences in the underlying text. A very interesting case is the second sentence of the present verse. Here, the translations from the Slavonic, "And they showed me their custodians" (Pennington / Sparks) and "And I have been shown their keepers" (Andersen / Charlesworth) suggest to me a passive construction also possible in Coptic. But in the Coptic version, beginning "[They] showed them to me" ("them" referring back to the thunderbolts and lightnings), the pronominal subject "[they]" of the verb is identified with the help of a focus particle following it, which I translated "that is." Although damaged, probably "their" can be read, and the word following it in the lacuna can only have been "custodians" or "keepers." So, instead of "they" (who? guiding and interpreting angels?) showing to Enoch the custodians of thunderbolts and lightnings after having shown him thunder and lightning itself, "their [custodians]" themselves showed him the above-mentioned sounds and wonders of what they are guarding. Which seems to make sense (too). It

would be interesting to find out whether the Slavonic can also be read in this way or whether an intermediate Greek *Vorlage* could explain both readings. According to the Slavonic versions, thunder and lightning are going, or being brought, first up then down (but see below), where maybe the opposite might be expected, from the perspective of their heavenly storehouse(s). Unfortunately, the Coptic cannot help us here. It clearly reads "their place of going up" first, but of the supposedly following "and their place of going down," the "and" and the possessive part of the article "their" seem to be left out (forgotten?) by the copyist, and the word for "place" is damaged (but the only source for this passage is Plumley's transcription, so maybe it was he who made a mistake here). And in the more detailed description of the process immediately afterwards, the words for "up" and "down" and their order are lost in another lacuna, which also prevents us from learning how the Coptic version expressed the Slavonic "by means of a chain" or (according to Pennington/Sparks) "bound." The Slavonic short recension does not include "and their place of going down" (the long has "going in" and "going out," again maybe not the order one might expect—also in 40:4, about the sun). Although the preserved Coptic text appears to be somewhat strange here, the length of the following lacuna would suggest that something like it was there. In this case, the evidence of these fragments cannot do more than show that there might be something wrong in both the Coptic and the Slavonic versions. In the damaged last part of the verse, "lest they turn themselves aside" does not look like an exact parallel to "lest they tear down the clouds," and the last surviving word, "rough," rather reminds one of v. 11 later on, "lest they shake the earth with a rough breath," unless this be the adjective describing the violence with which escaped thunder and lightning might break through the clouds and destroy everything on earth.

40:10 The next verse, describing Enoch's visit to the treasuries of snow, ice, and cold airs, is almost completely lost in the Coptic fragments, and only its beginning could be reconstructed, thanks to two surviving letters of the word for "ice", transcribed by Plumley.

Fr. 3, Recto

40:11 The entire first part of the following verse is also lost, but can be reconstructed with some confidence at least in the translation, in order to indicate that it is the winds being carefully checked with balances and measures before their custodians release them over the world. The words "and measures . . . on the balance," present in other manuscripts, are said

to be absent from the oldest Slavonic manuscript U; that this is indeed a (*homoioteleuton*) mistake is shown by the presence of this phrase in Coptic. Apparently manuscripts A and U read "he" (who?) "puts" rather than "they put" (in A: the winds on the balance and in the measure); that this is an inferior reading is confirmed by the Coptic version. For the winds' "rough breath," see the comment on v. 9 above.

40:12 This verse is again very damaged, but the gaps can be more or less easily filled with Coptic equivalents to the elements of the Slavonic short recension; there clearly is no place for Enoch's measuring of all the earth, and of all creation from the seventh heaven to the lowermost hell, the detour used by the long recension to arrive at the beginning of the following verse. Although there seems to be too much room in the lacuna to fit in the exact equivalent of the Slavonic "And I was taken" (in my reconstruction, I therefore tentatively add "then"), the presence of the word "down" in the preserved part of the verse proves that there was no need for Vaillant to suspect that "they made me descend" is a mistake for "they conducted me," unless indeed both the Coptic and the Slavonic manuscripts stem from a common mistaken *Vorlage*.

40:13 One of the greatest disappointments of these Coptic fragments must be that, because of yet another lacuna, they do not solve the riddle of the present verse, in which Enoch, next to "hell open" also sees either "something more" (Merilo Pravednoe) or "a certain plain" or the like (Slavonic 2 Enoch proper). However, the gap seems to be too large for just the equivalent of "something more" and I tentatively reconstructed "a certain plain." Also in the case of the choice between "judgement-place" (Pennington/Sparks) and mere "judgement" (all other translators), I chose the former as the longer option.

41:1, 2 This short chapter, in which Enoch wept over the perdition of the impious, is completely lost in the Coptic fragments, but it probably did not contain the mention of Enoch seeing all of his ancestors, including Adam and Eve, which is present in the Slavonic long recension.

42:1 Also the beginning of the next chapter, introducing "the keepers of the keys of hell" with their frightening looks, to whom Enoch addresses himself in the next verse, is lost.

Fr. 3, Verso

42:2 In the Slavonic versions (by means of equivalents of "It would be well" suspected to be corrupt by Pennington / Sparks), Enoch "openly" (for which there is no place in the Coptic lacuna) says he would have

preferred never to have seen (or heard of?) hell's doorkeepers and their "activities," and expresses the wish that none of his kinsmen (or: members of his tribe) need ever meet them. It is unclear whether in the Coptic there was something more (unparalleled in Slavonic) in between the two parts of the sentence or not; there might just have been room for one or two words in the lacuna. Parallel to the "activities" in the first part and unparalleled in the second (with Enoch's "descendants" rather than people of the same or earlier generations) are the Coptic references to seeing the doorkeepers' apparently frightening "chambers" (or "storehouses"). Once again, it hardly needs to be said, the additions of the long recension (eternal punishment for even small sins) are absent also here.

42:3 There seems to be too much room in the lacuna at the beginning of this verse for merely accommodating "And [from];" maybe we could read "And [I was taken away from] that place (and) went . . .," which however does not have a parallel in the Slavonic manuscripts. The letters here interpreted as part of "And" could also be the perfect tense and subject part of the passive construction "They took me" (meaning: "I was taken") which otherwise would be all lost. Before the text of our three Coptic fragments finally breaks off, we get a glimpse of the happier part following in the rest of this chapter, in which Enoch visits "[the paradi]se of righteousness," which in Slavonic is called "the paradise of the righteous." The description of what Enoch saw here is much damaged, but again, the text lost in the lacunae can be restored using the parallel text of the Slavonic short recension.

Conclusion

Although the three fragments of the Qasr Ibrim manuscript containing a copy of a Coptic translation of "Slavonic Enoch" introduced, translated, and commented upon above represent only a small portion of the original codex, they contain one of the most interesting parts of 2 Enoch one could have wished for, the chapters 36–42, with the transition between two of the three main parts of the work: Enoch's heavenly tour with its revelations of the secrets of creation and his brief return to earth before finally assuming his task back in heaven. Because they are witnesses of precisely these chapters, in which the short and the long recensions of the Slavonic manuscript tradition show so many major differences, there can be no doubt that the Coptic version represents a text of the standard short recension, without chap. 38 and the other "additions" of the long

recension, with chaps. 37 and 39 in the order 39 then 37 between chaps. 36 and 40, and including the "minusses" absent in the Slavonic very short recension. The Coptic fragments also contain the allegedly "extra" material at the end of chap. 36 which the oldest Slavonic manuscript U contains and the great majority of the later manuscripts do not. In fact, the Coptic version seems to be very close to the text of MS U as translated by Pennington / Sparks; the variants observed do not seem to be larger in number or more serious in nature than the inner-Slavonic ones. The only exception to this, a major difference remarkable indeed, is the apparent absence of the "you see my . . ." clauses in the "you see my . . ., but I have seen the Lord's . . ." ("face," etc.) part of chap. 39. In general, the Coptic text is quite fragmentarily preserved, but it proved to be possible to reconstruct part of its missing contents using (translations of) the Slavonic versions, and several theories about 2 Enoch formulated by Slavists and theologians have already been confirmed or proven wrong.

Recently, the priority of the longer recension has been advocated (again). But the discovery of this first non-Slavonic witness, at the same time the oldest manuscript of the work known so far, calls for renewed discussion of this matter. Although I sympathize with Andersen's remark "the long recension is more logical whether original or not" (in his comments on chaps. 37–39), the evidence of the short recension, especially that of the oldest Slavonic manuscript U, has to be taken more seriously (again) from now on. No final conclusions, however, can be based on the new evidence provided by the Coptic fragments. The facts now available can still be interpreted in more than one way and need not indicate the priority of the short recension, even though that might now seem more likely than before. Whatever was the original version of the text could already have split up into the two main recensions in the original Greek (on which, see below); if the long one was the first, whatever happened to it to make it short could have happened already before this secondary, short recension was translated into Coptic; and maybe also the long recension was translated into Coptic, but does not survive . . .

The Coptic fragments of 2 Enoch from Qasr Ibrim have been preliminarily dated, on palaeographical grounds, to the 8th–10th centuries; archaeological evidence might be able to limit this period to about its first half. This would mean that the fragments antedate the accepted moment of the translation of 2 Enoch into Slavonic (10th, 11th cent.) and that they are about half a millennium older than the earliest Slavonic witness, a copy of the work Merilo Pravednoe (14th cent.) and the earliest surviving manuscript of "Slavonic Enoch" proper (15th cent.).

The Coptic 2 Enoch manuscript presented here appears to be part of the remains of a church library, found among fragments from copies of biblical books and hagiographical texts like the Martyrdom of Saint Mark the Evangelist, legendary founder of the Patriarchate of Alexandria. We can now read anew the late-antique and medieval texts mentioning Enoch from the Christian continuum of north-east Africa (Egypt, Nubia, and Ethiopia), with the knowledge that at least some of their authors, copyists, and readers also had 2 Enoch available to them, a work certainly tying in well with the fervent interest in angelology and popular theological speculation of the region.

How, when, and where the Coptic version of 2 Enoch came into being must remain unknown. For most Coptic texts, a translation from a Greek original is taken for granted, as it is for 2 Enoch in its Slavonic versions. The existence of a Coptic incarnation of the work might well confirm the assumption of a Greek original of 2 Enoch, from Egypt, probably Alexandria; in fact it is only the discovery of these Coptic fragments which finally proves that the other theory, long abandoned by most scholars, according to which 2 Enoch might be of medieval date and Slavonic, maybe even Bogomile, origin, cannot be valid. Translations from Greek into both Coptic and Slavonic, and a distribution from Alexandria both southwards to Coptic-speaking Egypt and Nubia and northwards to the Slavonic-speaking world seem very likely. As for the attribution of such an original to Alexandrian Jews in the first century, I am in no position to give an opinion here and can only say that experience has taught me to be wary when people try to postulate early originals for texts in late manuscripts. From 14th-century "Slavonia" to first-century Alexandria seems a long distance, and the newly-discovered milestone from 8th- to 10th-century Qasr Ibrim is not yet even halfway. For the time being it seems to me very important to study 2 Enoch from scratch, as it were, both in its already well-known Slavonic context and in its newly-discovered context of the Coptic from Egypt and Nubia. Only when all the evidence, old and new, of the available manuscripts (which essentially is all there is after all) has been sufficiently investigated, it is time to look at the (thus also better-established) contents of the work again, and see in how far it can be connected to first-century, Second Temple Judaism.

One of the results of the presentation of my discovery at the 2009 Enoch Seminar in Naples was the kind and almost immediate acceptance by those present of the statement in my title, "No longer 'Slavonic' only." Now that we also have this work "attested in Coptic from Nubia," it is more appropriate to refer to it only by its other name of "2 Enoch," locating it

between "Ethiopic" 1 Enoch and Hebrew 3 Enoch. If my position as the one who rediscovered, that is, identified, the Coptic fragments of 2 Enoch entitles me to make a few recommendations more, I would suggest to look again at the inner-Slavonic textual variants in light of the readings on the Coptic fragments, and plead for further publication and translation of actual Slavonic manuscripts, not yet postulated recensions, faithfully reproducing their evidence, not adapting them to the standard of others, and translating as literally as possible. Especially a new English translation of and a list of inner-Slavonic variant readings in chaps. 36–42 would be very helpful for a more detailed comparison with the Coptic text, as well as for the eventual reconstruction of the Greek *Vorlage* of (this part of) the work. My own commitment is first of all to publish the Coptic text of the Qasr Ibrim fragments as part of my doctoral dissertation, sometime before the end of 2013, but I would be very willing also before that to work with Slavists and other scholars to further explore "the secrets of Enoch."

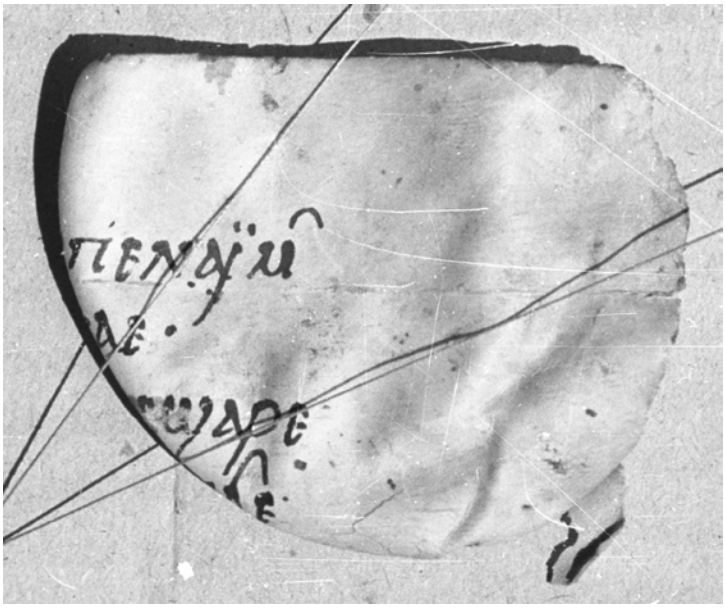


Figure 1. Fr. 1R (From photo 72V11/17—Copyright: The Egypt Exploration Society) A first glimpse of the Coptic fragments of the short recension of 2 Enoch: Surrounded by the upper and wide outer margin of the page, and with part of the text folded away, in l. 1 "[b]e for me (as)," in l. 2 "[l]ast" and in l. 3 something corresponding to "as" are visible, remnants of the end of 36:3, and in l. 4, the "then" from the beginning of 39:1.



Figure 2. Fr. 2R (Photo 72V22/22—Copyright: The Egypt Exploration Society) The key to the identification of the fragments as belonging to a Coptic version of the short recension of 2 Enoch: l. 2: "[the] heat, which is [great]" of 39:8; l. 3: "one of the angels of Tar[tarus]," and l. 4/5: "and the appearance [of that angel] was like snow" of 37:1.

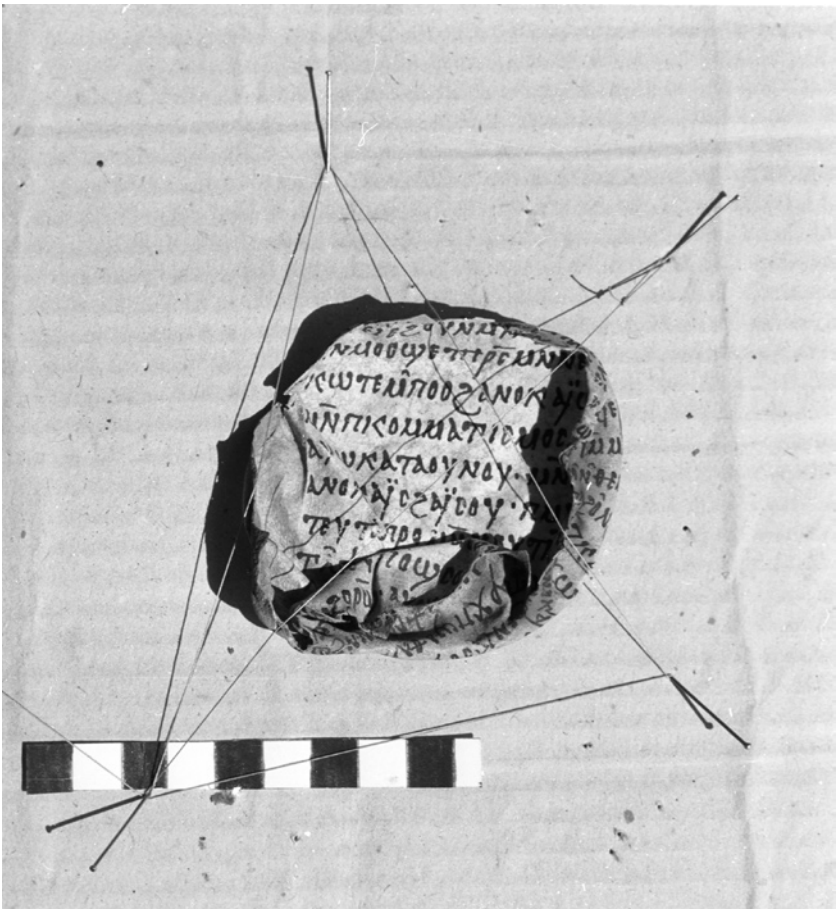


Figure 3. Fr. 2V (From photo 72V11/19—Copyright: The Egypt Exploration Society) To get an impression of how much of the text is visible on the photos, for how much one has to rely on the transcriptions Prof. Plumley made from the original, and how much of the text is lost, compare the translation of 2 Enoch 40:4–10 presented in this article. Readable here is the following: l. 1: "goings in and;" l. 2: "entire movement and;" l. 3: "circle of the moon I, I have;" l. 4: "and the waning;" l. 5: "and every hour;" l. 6: "I, I have written them;" l. 7: "their mouth;" most of l. 8–13 is invisible here, covered by the lower part of the leaf, folded over it; l. 14: "turn [themselves] aside;" l. 15: "rough [. . .]. And." The folded part on the right shows the "beginnings" of the lines of Fr. 2R not visible on the photo of Fig. 2, and one of the lines that are shown upside-down contains the "[from the] beginning to the end" of 2 Enoch 40:1.

TEXT AND DATING OF 2 ENOCH

THE "BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH" (2 EN): BETWEEN JEWISH ORIGIN AND CHRISTIAN TRANSMISSION. AN OVERVIEW

Christfried Böttrich

It was in 1965 that the American Unitarian pastor, Charles Francis Potter, wrote a book about 2 Enoch with the programmatic title "Did Jesus Write This Book?"[1] His answer on 159 pages was clearly "Yes, he did!"—and so he made a serious proposal to include 2 Enoch in the canon of the New Testament. At home, in my bookcase, I have assigned Potter's book to the category of oddities and amusement. But his idea was not entirely groundless. From the time of the first Russian publications of 2 Enoch around 1850,[2] there has been a long discussion about its origin and religious character. Is it a Christian composition, using Jewish sources, or is it a Jewish pseudepigraphon transmitted and interpolated by Christian theologians?

My position is the latter: 2 Enoch is better understood as an original Jewish book. But there are strong arguments against such a position as well. When most of the so-called pseudepigrapha became known during the second half of the 19th century, there was a broad willingness to regard them *a priori* as Jewish writings. Such an increase of source material for the study of Early Judaism was very welcome, and often enough the wish became the father of the analysis. A similar situation arose after the discovery of the Qumran scrolls and the Nag Hammadi codices. The bulk of new material required comparison with contemporary traditions and caused a boom of studies on the pseudepigrapha. But now we have at our disposal a more developed methodology than a hundred or even fifty years ago. Critics today can base their arguments on more solid ground. Since the 1970s, there has been a discussion, inaugurated at first by Adrian

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[1] C. F. Potter, *Did Jesus Write This Book?* (New York: University Books, 1965). A forerunner of such fanciful ideas can be found in Potter's booklet *The Lost Years of Jesus Revealed* (New York: Fawcett World Library, 1962), which deals with the Qumran scrolls and the Nag Hammadi codices; Jesus as "a resident student" at Qumran offers a much more American than Palestinian picture.

[2] The first discoveries of 2 Enoch are described in detail by C. Böttrich, *Weltweisheit-Menschheitsethik-Urkult. Studien zum slavischen Henochbuch*, WUNT 2/50 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 20–23.

de Jonge[3] and Robert Kraft,[4] about the Christian shape of all these texts. In his recent book of 2005, James Davila[5] has made this position a habit, sketching a detailed methodological scheme. So it seems that the time of innocence is over now. Whether one follows Davila's criteria or not—there is no way of avoiding the issue.

2 Enoch (like most of the other Slavonic apocrypha)[6] has to bear a double burden concerning its origin: first, there is only a late translation (11th/12th century) of an originally Greek (Byzantine) text;[7] second, the oldest of the Slavonic manuscripts did not appear before the 14th century.[8] It seems clear that such a long transmission between an assumed origin in the first century and the appearance of the first manuscripts on Slavic soil 1300 years later must have had a significant influence on the shape of the text. The question is whether we are able to distinguish between different

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[3] M. de Jonge, *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. A Study in their Text, Composition and Origin* (Assen: van Gorcum 1953, 1975[2]); de Jonge, "The so-called Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament and Early Christianity," in *The New Testament and Hellenistic Judaism* ed. P. Borgen and S. Giversen (Peabody, MA.: Hendrickson, 1997), 59–71; de Jonge, *Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament as Part of Christian Literature. The Case of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Greek Life of Adam and Eve*, SVTP 18 (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

[4] R. A. Kraft, "The Multiform Jewish Heritage of Early Christianity," in *Christianity, Judaism and other Greco-Roman Cults 3, FS Morton Smith*, ed. J. Neusner (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 174–199; Kraft, "Christian Transmission of Greek Jewish Scriptures. A Methodological Probe," in *Paganisme, Judaïsme, Christianisme. Mélanges offerts à Marcel Simon*, ed. A. Benoît (Paris: De Boccard, 1978), 207–226; Kraft, "The Pseudepigrapha in Christianity," in *Tracing the Threads. Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. C. Reeves, SBL. EJL 6 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 55–86; Kraft, "The Pseudepigrapha and Christianity Revisited. Setting the Stage and Framing Some Central Questions," *JSJ* 32 (2001): 371–395.

[5] J. Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha: Jewish, Christian, or Other?*, JSJSup 105 (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Review by R. Nir, *Hen* 30 (2008): 144–151.

[6] For bibliographical information cf. first of all: A. I. Jacimirskij, *Bibliografičeskij obzor apokrifov v južnoslavjanskoj i russkoj pis'mennosti* (*spiski pamjatnikov*). *I: Apokrify vetchozavetnye*, (Petrograd: Ross. Gosud. Akad. Tipografija, 1921); A. de Santos Otero, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der altslavischen Apokryphen*, PTS 20 and 23, (Berlin: de Gruyter, I 1978 and II 1981); A. A. Orlov, "Bibliography of the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha and Related Literature," in *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism. Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, A. A. Orlov, JSJSup 114 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 3–99.

[7] For the context of translation literature, cf. F. J. Thomson, " 'Made in Russia' " A survey of the translations allegedly made in Kievan Russia," in *Millenium Russiae Christianae. Tausend Jahre Christliches Russland 988–1988*, ed. G. Birkfellner, (Köln: Böhlau, 1993), 295–394; G. Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus'* (*988–1237*) (München: Beck, 1982).

[8] It is imbedded in the context of "Merilo Pravednoe / The Just Balance", a miscellany located originally in Tver at the end of 14th century, containing articles about canonical and secular law. The author has picked out passages from 2 En 39–67 putting them together a rearranged sequence. In doing so he was reshaping and reworking his *Vorlage* in order to construct something like a "compedium of Enochian ethics" as a unit useful for his new volume.

traditions and layers in the text itself or whether we find unquestionable indications of its specific religious character at all. If not, the consequence would be to put the book solely among the documents of old Slavonic literature or of Byzantine biblical narratives.[9]

This paper tries to evaluate the recent state of scholarly work. First, I want to review the so-called "introductory questions." Then I shall present some arguments for and against a Jewish origin of 2 Enoch. Finally, I shall raise some open questions.

1. *Literary Issues*

1.1. *Manuscripts*

Following the first editions of some fragments and two larger manuscripts by several scholars in the second half of the 19th century,[10] the big edition prepared by Matvej Ivanovič Sokolov from 1899/1910[11] became the most important textual basis for our knowledge of 2 Enoch up to this date. Unfortunately, Sokolov had to leave the book unfinished because of his early death; so it appears rather to be a collection of manuscripts and notes than a real critical edition. His great merit was to present a wide range of carefully copied texts with a lot of accompanying material, but most of his readers' critical questions remained unanswered. Ms R, which was destroyed in 1941 by German bombs, is preserved solely in Sokolov's collection today.[12] In 1952, Andrei Vaillant published a careful critical edition of Sokolov's Ms U as a representative of the shorter version.[13] He regarded 2 Enoch generally as a Christian document and attributed

[9] That would be true as well for all the Coptic, Ethiopic, Arabic, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Romanian, Irish, or old English apocrypha and their cultural context.

[10] Apart from some smaller fragments (1862, 1863, 1868), the first was Ms P by A. N. Popov, "Bibliografičeskie materialy IV. Južnorusskij sbornik 1679 goda," ČOIDR 3 (1880): 66–139; and Ms N by St. Novaković, "Apokrif o Enohu," Starine 16 (1884): 67–81.

[11] M. I. Sokolov, *Materialy i zametki po starinnoj slavjanskoj literature. vypusk tretij. VII. Slavjanskaja Kniga Enocha. II. Tekst s latinskim perevodom*, ČOIDR 4 (Moscow 1899); Sokolov, *Materialy i zametki po starinnoj slavjanskoj literature. Vypusk tretij. VII: Slavjanskaja Kniga Enocha Pravednago*, ed. posthumously by M. Speranskij, ČOIDR 4 (Moscow 1910).

[12] Sokolov appreciated Ms R as one of the best; in his collection, it takes precedence over all the other Mss; alongside the Slavonic text there is also a Latin translation for readers in Western Europe.

[13] A. Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch. Texte slave et traduction française*, Textes publiés par l'Institut d'Études slaves IV (Paris: Inst. d'Études Slaves, 1952, 1976²).

the variants of the longer version to Slavic scribes. So we still lack a critical edition which could satisfy our recent desires. Rudolf Schneider published the oldest Ms again in 1986 together with its context in the so-called "Merilo Pravednoe."[14] Liudmila Navtanovich published Ms A in 1999 for the first time (her dissertation about 2 Enoch is hopefully going to be published soon).[15] M. D. Kagan-Tarkovskaja published a passage from the same Ms A (with the story of Melchizedek's birth) separately in 1999.[16] Tomislav Jovanović published for the first time Ms V from Vienna with a detailed comparison to Ms N from Belgrad in 2005.[17] Johannes Reinhart published the instructive Croatian fragment No. 42 in 2007.[18] They have all provided new access to important manuscripts. But an exhaustive critical edition still remains a *desideratum*. In 2007, Grant Macaskill promised such a new effort which will be a major project.[19] Liudmila Navtanovich is working in the same field.[20] Today a critical edition should take account of the wide context of old Slavonic literature in general. It could profit from the editorial experience of recent projects such as the edition of the "Velikie Minei Četii"[21] or the "Corpus Dionysiacum Slavicum."[22]

As long as no comprehensive reliable critical edition exists, all textual discussions will be merely of a preliminary character. This is true most

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[14] R. Schneider, *Die moralisch-belehrenden Artikel im altrussischen Sammelband Merilo Pravednoe*, Monumenta Linguae Slavicae Dialecti Veteris. Fontes et Dissertationes 23 (Freiburg: Weiher, 1986), 93–99.

[15] L. M. Navtanovič, "Kniga Enocha," in *Biblioteka Literatury Drevnej Rusi 3*, ed. D. S. Lichačev, L. A. Dmitriev, A. A. Alekseev, and N. V. Ponyrko (St. Petersburg: Nauka, 1999), 204–241 (= text slav. / russ.), 387–392 (= notes). L. Navtanovič's dissertation was not yet available to me.

[16] M. D. Kagan-Tarkovskaja and R. B. Tarkovskij, "Skazanie o Melchisedeke," in *Biblioteka Literatury Drevnej Rusi 3*, ed. Lichačev, *et al.*, 114–119 (= text slav./russ.), 374–376 (= notes); reprint of the Russian text by R. B. Tarkovskij, "Skazanie o Melchisedeke," in *Apokrify Drevnej Rusi*, ed. M. V. Rožd̆estvenskaja (St. Petersburg: Amfora, 2002, ²2006), 33–37 (= text), 213–214 (= notes).

[17] T. Jovanović, "Apokrif o Enohu prema srpskom prepisu iz Narodne biblioteke u Beču," AP 25, Beograd 2003 (2005): 209–238.

[18] J. Reinhart, "A Croatian Glagolitic excerpt of the Slavonic Enoch (2 Enoch)," *Fundamenta Europaea 4* (2007): 31–46.

[19] G. Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom and Inaugurated Eschatology in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, JSJSup 115, (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 200, note 24: "I am currently preparing such an edition, but it will be several years before it is ready for publication."

[20] This was an item of our communication at the Enoch Seminar in Naples in June 2009.

[21] *Die großen Lesemenäen des Metropoliten Makarij: uspenskij spisok*, ed. E. Weiher, Monumenta linguae Slavicae dialecti veteris, (Freiburg: Weiher since 1997, up to now six volumes).

[22] *Corpus Dionysiacum Slavicum*, ed. S. and D. Fahl, Monumenta linguae slavicae dialecti veteris, (Freiburg: Weiher, 2010–2012, five volumes).

of all concerning the relation between different textual versions, perhaps one of the crucial questions.

1.2. *Versions*

2 Enoch exists in two or perhaps four versions which differ from each other in length and in content.[23] The same phenomenon, which seems to be characteristic of non-canonical texts, is well known from the textual situation of the Testament of Abraham, Joseph and Aseneth, the History of Melchizedek, or the Ladder of Jacob. There is good reason to assume that these texts have suffered from cutting and reworking more than from enlargement in the course of transmission. But unfortunately such analogies are of limited value because all these documents are loaded with their own unsolved problems.[24]

At one time it was a better decision to present both versions synoptically. Gottlieb Nathanael Bonwetsch (1896/1922)[25] and Robert Henry Charles (1913)[26] did so, and Francis Andersen (1983)[27] followed this model as well. After Vaillant's one-sided preference for the shorter version,[28] it was my intention to defend the importance of the longer version again.[29]

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[23] For detailed information cf. F. I. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch. (Late First Century A.D.). Appendix: 2 Enoch in Merilo Pravednoe. A New Translation and Introduction," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (New York: Doubleday, 1983, 1985), 1:92–94; Andersen, "The Sun in 2 Enoch. Book of the Secrets of Enoch," Christianskij Vostok 4 (2002): 380–412.

[24] Cf. the discussion in D. C. Allison, *Testament of Abraham*, CEJL (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003); C. Burchard, *Joseph und Aseneth*, PVTG 5 (Leiden: Brill, 2003); C. Böttrich, *Geschichte Melchisedeks*, JSHRZ.NF II/1 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2010); G. N. Bonwetsch, "Die apokryphe Leiter Jakobs," NGWG.PH 7 (1900): 76–87.

[25] G. N. Bonwetsch, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, AGWG.PH NF 1/3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1896); Bonwetsch, *Die Bücher der Geheimnisse Henochs. Das sogenannte slavische Henochbuch*, TU 3/14.2 = Bd.44.2 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1922).

[26] R. H. Charles and N. Forbes, "The books of the secrets of Enoch," in *APOT*, ed. R. H. Charles (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 425–469.

[27] Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch." 1:91–221.

[28] A single text of the shorter version is translated as well by P. Riessler (Augsburg: Filser, 1928), (N); A. Bugge (Kopenhagen 1974), (U); T. Moriyasu (Tokio 1975), (U); S. Agourides (Athens 1984), (N); A. Pennington (Oxford 1984), (U); L. Navtanovič (St. Petersburg 1999), (A).

[29] C. Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, JSHRZ V/7 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1995), 781–1040. My decision to use Ms R was (still lacking a critical edition) mainly a pragmatic one: R may easily be checked by everyone, because we have Sokolov's carefully published text (who noticed for J only variants); besides R is far better than P, but in text and notes I gave the most important readings from J and P as well. Other translations of the longer version are published only by R. H. Charles and W. R. Morfill (Oxford 1986), (P); S. Székely (Freiburg 1913), (P); B. Angelov and M. Genov (Sofia 1922), (R); A. Kahana

But we should certainly not exclude one version from the discussion *a priori*.[30] The textual transmission is complex enough to be worthy of careful consideration in all its dimensions.

Nevertheless, we cannot avoid formulating a hypothesis. If both versions are representatives of the same book and not independent writings, there must be a greater or lesser distance from an assumed original. Comparing the versions and analyzing their contexts, structure, coherence, or language we can find a lot of significant hints useful for a balanced argumentation. It has been my observation that the shorter version has some irregularities and incoherencies which are difficult for the narrative logic of the text, but possibly due to the transmission-context, so that the shorter version looks more like a result of secondary abridgement and less like the original concept. On the contrary, in the longer version these passages are broader in narration and sketched in accordance with the macrotext. Of course, this is not an unquestionable argument for priority.[31] But if a redactor had enlarged the shorter version, we must presuppose a very learned and clever expert at work. The "additional" passages in the longer version are of a very heterogeneous character—like the work of the six days (24–32), the traditions about Adam (30:8–32:2; 41:1; 42:5),[32] the sun-animals Phoenix and Chalkedrios (12:1–3; 15:1–2),[33] or the Christian

(Jerusalem 1936), (R); J. Bonsirven (Paris 1953), (P/R); M. Pincherle (Faenza 1977), (P); K. Kuev (Sofia 1978), (R); D. Petkanova (Sofia 1981), (R); A. de Santos Otero (Madrid 1984) (R).

[30] Cf. Andersen's wise statement (*OTP* 1:93–94): "All of the material calls for reassessment. At the very least we should remain open to the possibility that some of the passages found only in manuscripts of the longer recension could preserve ancient traditions, some of which might well be original. Abbreviation as well as expansion has almost certainly taken place. In the present state of our knowledge, the genuineness of any disputed passage is difficult to judge." Cf. as well, Andersen, "Sun," 383.

[31] Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom*, 200–201, has questioned these observations, especially concerning 2 En 28:1–33:2: Why should it not be the case "that the sparseness of the account in the shorter recension has left a scribe uncomfortable and prompted him to introduce new material to supplement this?" In that case we would have to explain the sparseness of the account in the shorter version first. How can I understand a "creation-story" (well known from the biblical model as a seven-day procedure) with some sporadic statements only (concerning the creation of man there is only God's plan reported in a single sentence) and absolutely unsuitable to fit into any scheme of seven acts? But in a chronographic context the creation was already broadly told! So abridgment cannot be proven simply, of course, but it has a higher degree of probability.

[32] C. Böttrich, *Adam als Mikrokosmos. Eine Untersuchung zum slavischen Henochbuch*, Judentum und Umwelt 59 (Frankfurt u.a.: Peter Lang, 1995).

[33] M. I. Sokolov, *O fenikse po apokrif. knigam Enocha i Varucha, Drevnosti, Trudy slav. Kommissii imp. mosk. archeol*, Obščestva 4/1 (1907): protocolls; R. van den Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix According to Classical and Early Christian Traditions*, EPRO 24 (Leiden: Brill, 1971); Andersen, "Sun."

interpolations into the story of Melchizedek's birth (71:32–37; 72:6–7).[34] All this material was available in Slavonic translations as well, as Grant Macaskill has maintained correctly against my preference for the longer version. But it comes from a wide range of different sources and it fits so very well into the whole concept (except 71:32–37; 72:6–7) that it would require a high level of ingenuity on the part of the redactor.[35] Undoubtedly, the longer version itself is the result of several enlargements and interpolations, but obviously they are not identical with the gaps or corruptions in the shorter version.

I want to give only two examples. Chapter 39 with its description of God's bodily appearance, similar to that of the Shi'ur-Qomah speculation, is found between the transition from part one to part two, perhaps as a secondary addition. In the shorter version, the foregoing chapter 38 is missing. So Enoch seems to jump directly from heaven to earth. No narrative adapter appears between the heavenly speech of God and the earthly speech of Enoch, leaving no report about his way back. The longer version has a much better plot. Here, part one ends with chapter 38, with Enoch's transfer from God's throne down to his house, alluding back to the beginning of his journey in 2 En 1:2–5, and clearly using the model of 1 En 81:5–6. Most ideas in chapter 38 are traditional and hardly invented by a late redactor. Another striking example is 2 En 71:32–37. Here we find a clear interpolation which consists of all these six verses. The shorter version has only the frame-verses 32 and 37. It is very improbable that a redactor would add into precisely these two already interpolated verses five others to make them more reliable. Far more probable is the assumption that someone removed the strange traditions in the middle, in verses 33–36. But there is yet another aspect. Alongside such intratextual indications we have to consider the influence of the codicological contexts as well. All the manuscripts of 2 Enoch are part of bigger anthologies or so-called "Sborniki." Their "parasite existence"[36] was the reason for adjustments,

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[34] Böttrich, *Weltweisheit*, 118–125.

[35] Concerning 2 En 24–33, see already Andersen (*OTP* 1:94): "But the shorter account is so incomplete and so disjointed that it seems more like a debris left after drastic revision than an original succinct account." The torso of this passage in the shorter version cannot be understood as an original narration only with some clumsiness. It is much more the product of textual destruction.

[36] This phrase comes from Santos Otero, Die *handschriftliche Überlieferung der altslavischen Apokryphen.* Band I, PTS 20 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978), 20–21; for the overall situation cf. Otero, "Das Problem der kirchenslavischen Apokryphen," Zeitschrift für Balkanologie 1 (1962): 123–132; Otero, "Alttestamentliche Pseudepigrapha und die sogenannte 'Tolkovaja Paleja,'" in *Oecumenica et Patristica*. FS W. Schneemelcher, ed. D. Papandreou, W. A. Bienert, and K. Schäferdieck (Köln: Kohlhammer, 1989), 107–122.

alterations and adaptations. The best example is the context of "Merilo pravednoe," which can now be studied conveniently in a critical edition,[37] but also the context of Mss B/U/A (in a chronograph) could be instructive. Here we would need a new approach using the texts of 2 Enoch not as isolated chapters, but as parts of larger documents with their own peculiarities and interests.[38]

One of the main questions raised by Vaillant is whether the two versions represent a phenomenon of Slavonic tradition only or one already existent in the Greek *Vorlage*.[39] Were they both translated independently or should we assume only one translation or one Slavonic prototype later enlarged or abridged? Vaillant pleaded for an enlargement of the shorter version on Slavic soil. Based on my observations on the available textual basis, I argued for the opposite position: a longer text has been made to fit new purposes mostly by shortening it. But the Coptic fragments of 2 Enoch, recently discovered by Joost Hagen, could offer totally new arguments to solve this question.[40] These fragments seem to be a witness of the shorter version. But to be sure we will have to wait for the text in a form suitable to compare it to the Slavonic tradition.

At the moment I am still inclined to the priority of the longer version. But obviously we lack its prototype. So it is much wiser to base the study of 2 Enoch on all the textual witnesses from both versions and to check it again and again in every single case.[41] That means a lot of work still has to be done. Perhaps a further critical edition will provide a new and better basis.

1.3. *Integrity*

Whereas 1 Enoch consists of at least five originally independent writings now put together to form a new composition,[42] 2 Enoch forms a literary

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[37] Schneider, "Merilo pravednoe;" cf. also my description in Böttrich, *Weltweisheit*, 74–79.

[38] It is definitely not enough to check the Mss-catalogues only, as I did in my dissertation, but it was a first step in the proper direction at least. Today it would be necessary to study all these manuscripts again by autopsy as comprehensive documents with their own structure and value.

[39] This was the hypothesis of N. Schmidt, "The Two Recensions of Slavonic Enoch," *JAOS* 41 (1921): 307–312, who placed the shorter version in Palestine before 70 and the longer version in Hellenistic Egypt before the 5th century. His argument was based on the translation of both versions by Charles of 1913.

[40] See his contribution in this volume.

[41] A splendid example is the careful study by Andersen, "Sun."

[42] Cf. the discussion in G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch I. A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapter 1–36. 81–108*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 7–36.

unit from the beginning. The author used the material of the older Enoch tradition to draft the story anew for another audience. His concept offers a well considered structure and works with many intratextual links. So, 2 Enoch is basically a unified whole. When R. H. Charles put 2 En 71–72 into an "appendix" it was clearly a misunderstanding due to his manuscripts.[43] To repeat this judgment today is a mistake which would ignore the ongoing discussion.[44] There can be no doubt from the textual evidence of all manuscripts that the Melchizedek story is an integral part of the book as a whole.[45]

Nevertheless, 2 Enoch became the object of reworking, reshaping, reformulating, and interpolating during its probable long path of transmission.[46] The most important phenomenon is that of the interpolations. Some interpolations survived in both versions.[47] Others are restricted to only one, while most of them are found in the longer manuscripts.[48] Fortunately, there are some obvious indications which allow the identification

[43] Charles had based his text on Ms P which lacks most of the book's last part. He should have known better. His "appendix" came from Sokolov, who had kindly committed his yet unpublished texts to Charles. In the context of Ms R, the story appeared clearly as an integral part of the whole book. But Morfill's translation of Ms P was already finished, and so Charles decided to put the longer end of Ms R from Sokolov into an "appendix." Unfortunately, Bonwetsch followed this example in his translation of 1922 where he published the passage again as an *Anhang*. Thus the verdict was dealt about these chapters for the next few decades.

[44] Cf. Andersen, *OTP* 1:92 note 3; Böttrich, *Weltweisheit*, 43–44. 90–91, 196–209; Böttrich, "Die vergessene Geburtsgeschichte. Mt 1–2 / Lk 1–2 und die wunderbare Geburt des Melchisedek in slHen 71–72," in *Jüdische Schriften in ihrem antik-jüdischen und urchristlichen Kontext*, ed. H. Lichtenberger and G. S. Oegema, JSHRZ-St 1 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2002), 222–249; Böttrich, "The Melchizedek Story of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch. A Reaction to A. Orlov," *JSJ* 32 (2001): 445–470.

[45] It is hard to understand why the *Biblioteka Literatury Drevnej Rusi 3* (St. Petersburg 1999), has printed the story separately again from Ms A, alongside the full text of Ms A in the same volume! Cf. above note 16.

[46] The phenomenon is well known among the so called "pseudepigrapha." There is no single writing which has not been influenced by redactional alterations. The study by G. B. Coleman, "The Phenomenon of Christian Interpolations into Jewish Apocalyptic Texts. A Bibliographical Survey and Methodological Analysis," (Diss. Vanderbilt University 1976), was far from exhaustive, but it should keep alive some sensitivity to the problem.

[47] So 71:32–37 without 71:34–36 in the shorter version (Melchizedek—Christ); and perhaps 39:3–8 (Shi'ur Qoma).

[48] Only the shorter version replaces Michael with Gabriel throughout chapters 71–72 and puts a prophecy into Gabriel's mouth in 71:11 which may resemble Mt 1:20–24. Only the longer version has the following: 14:1 (Julian year); 16:5 (great cycle of 532 years); 20:3 (10th heaven); 21:6–22,1 (8th to 10th heaven); 31:4–5 (Satanael—Satan); 32:1 (Adam was 5 1/2 hours in paradise); 49:1–2 (reflection about the oath); 68:1–4 (biographical sketch with astrological touch); 71:32–37 (esp. 71:34–36) (Christ / Melchizedek at Adam's grave / Cain buries Abel following the example of two birds); 72:6–7 (allusion to the History of Melchizedek).

of a passage as an alien element in its context, by formal criteria as well as by content. But the much more difficult question to answer is who could be responsible for such interpolations? Do they give us any reason to reconstruct something like a route of transmission?[49] Are there connections with specific groups, times, theological settings or developments? I shall come back to this among the final "open questions."

A discussion about interpolations has not made many friends in recent times. After a long predominance of literary criticism, the pendulum has swung to the opposite side. Today texts are usually studied at the synchronic level of their last shape alone. There seems to be a great unwillingness, in German a real *Unlust*, to cope with the diachronic perspective on textual developments and textual growth. But for texts like 2 Enoch this perspective is crucial. Otherwise, we are in danger of mixing ideas originally spread over hundreds of years perhaps and interpreting them on the same level. How misleading this must be is clearly seen when looking at the figure of Melchizedek. We have one basic concept in 2 En 71–72 which is Jewish in my opinion.[50] This concept has been adapted and actualized by a Christian redactor or interpolator in 71:32–37 and 72:6–7 to harmonize it with the Melchizedek-Christ typology according to the Epistle to the Hebrews.[51] The same redactor includes two other traditions: in 71:35 the Melchizedek tradition from the secondary Adam literature depicting Melchizedek as a priest at Adam's final burial place in the middle of the earth[52] and in 72:6 the Jewish-Christian "History of Melchizedek" depicting the hero as a hermit in the wilderness.[53] So we have, in all, four totally

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[49] Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom* 200–203, is not yet convinced by my draft of a possible "route of transmission." But I did not mark such a "route" as a real step by step journey. I only tried to identify some influences. Neither was my starting point for 2 Enoch in early Diaspora Judaism solely based on a survey of the history of scholarly debate. I gave a lot of arguments for an Alexandrian setting in the first century C.E. based on the text itself (see also below). But in the end I would agree with his conclusion: I am not pleased with such a "route of transmission" myself. At the moment we do not have enough data to reconstruct it reliably. We only can try to put some pieces of the puzzle together.

[50] Cf. Böttrich, "Die vergessene Geburtsgeschichte."

[51] Cf. Böttrich, *Weltweisheit*, 118–125.

[52] The basic story is found in the Syriac "Cave of Treasures", cf. Su-Min Ri, *La Caverne des Trésors. Les Deux Recensions Syriaques*, CSCO.SS 208 (Louvain: Peeters, 1987); see further M. E. Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*, SBL.EJL 3 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 84–123; M. de Jonge and J. Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve and Related Literature* (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1997), 79–94.

[53] J. Dochhorn, "Die Historia de Melchisedech (Hist Melch). Einführung, editorischer Vorbericht und Editiones praeliminares," Muséon 117 (2004): 7–48; C. Böttrich, *Geschichte Melchisedeks*, JSHRZ.NF II/1 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2010).

different traditions or concepts woven together by a Christian redactor. If we ask about the Melchizedek figure of 2 Enoch, we have to first distinguish between these four traditions, because the final shape of the text informs us only about the intention of the Christian redactor.

Whether all of the Christian interpolations stem from the same hand is hard to decide. Obviously, the two aforementioned interpolations concerning Melchizedek are part of a common stratum. Another group consists of astronomical-calendrical data[54] which try to improve the hopelessly corrupted basic scheme of a 364-day calendar. Single additions scattered through the text try to introduce some ideas concerning the figures of Adam, Satan, or some ethical statements compatible with Christian traditions.[55]

Some other readings witness to a later stratum in Byzantine times. The most instructive passage is chapter 73 with a final account of the flood. Here we have a bulk of traditions known first hand from Byzantine chronography.[56] The original ending of 2 Enoch has been lost and was replaced by this short chapter actualizing the story for an audience familiar with the chronographic tradition.

An item of its own category is the group of interpolations reflecting the world of Jewish mysticism. Here we encounter the greatest difficulties to delimit interpolations from the basic text because there is already a strong motif line in the original narration that tends towards mystical ideas. Andrei Orlov has made that motif line the object of his profound study about Enoch-Metatron traditions in 2 Enoch. Looking for a broad range of material he was very open to considering most of the "mystical" ideas in 2 Enoch as original. Without any doubt, 2 Enoch is on the way from the older apocalyptic visions of God's heavenly world to the experiences of God's immediate presence among the later mystics. But the question is to which degree or extent such mystical ideas are part of the original book. Or are they part of its later transmission as well? My position is the following: We have a strong motif line of "mystical" ideas, especially in 2 En 22, picking up some elements from the older Enoch tradition and taking a big step towards Merkavah-theology. But directly connected with this chapter

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[54] Calendrical interpolations are most obvious where the 364-days scheme is corrected according to the Julian year. Cf., for example, 2 En 14:1 and 16:5.

[55] For example, 2 En 32:1 (Adam 5 1/2 hours in paradise); 31:4–5 (fall of Satanael); 49:1–2 (warning against oath); 70:24–25 (ruling periods of the devil).

[56] Böttrich, *Weltweisheit*, 125–128; Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, 1036–1039 with notes.

(at the beginning) we have also a clear interpolation, the addition of the 8th to 10th heavens with Hebrew names![57] That means, there was a stratum of redaction using Hebrew traditions and developing the central "mystical" passage in 2 En 22! If that is true, we have to be on the look for other similar interpolations as well. We have to check all the other "mystical" accounts to see whether they fit into the basic concept or whether they go significantly beyond it.

Most controversial in this respect is chapter 39. It presents a clear description of God's bodily appearance and belongs to the tradition of the so-called Shi'ur Qomah. Such speculations had their "golden age" in Gaonic times (after the 7th century).[58] The first texts are known from the 5th century onwards,[59] but the roots of the tradition may be traced back to the second Tannaitic generation in the second century.[60] As an early witness, 2 En 39 would be sporadic and isolated here to a large extent. But the question of the "religious milieu" is not the only issue, which, in any case, is a complex phenomenon, difficult to define precisely.[61] Some literary arguments would support the interpretation of 2 En 39 as an interpolation. The passage duplicates the opening of Enoch's speech to his sons. The detailed descriptions in 39:3–7 seem to be tied to the decisive key word "mouth/lips of the Lord"[62] in 39:2. The strong emphasis on Enoch's humanity in contrast to God's supernatural appearance contradicts the

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[57] This enlargement explodes the well constructed basic scheme of seven heavens. There is no way to harmonize this sharp contradiction. The seven heavens are described carefully with respect to their inhabitants and functions, but heavens 8 to 10 are listed alone without any relation to the former. The Hebrew names have analogies in bChag 12b, but not in the rest of 2 Enoch or the wider, older Enoch-tradition.

[58] M. Gaster, "Das Schiur Komah," *MGWJ* 37 (1893): 179–185; G. Scholem, *Von der mystischen Gestalt der Gottheit. Studien zu Grundbegriffen der Kabbala* (Frankfurt / M.: Suhrkamp, 1977); P. W. van der Horst, "The Measurement of the Body. A Chapter in the History of Ancient Jewish Mysticism," in *Effigies Dei. Essays in the History of Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 56–68.

[59] P. Schäfer, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1981); M. S. Cohen, *The Shi'ur Qomah. Texts and Recensions* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985); K. Herrmann, "Text und Fiktion. Zur Textüberlieferung des Shi'ur Qoma," FJB 16 (1988): 89–142.

[60] H. M. Jackson, "The Origins and Development of Shi'ur Qomah Revelation in Jewish Mysticism," *JSJ* 31 (2000): 373–415.

[61] Jackson, "Origins," presents very interesting material in order to show that the core idea of Shi'ur Qomah (the specification of the size of the figure in a numerical dimension) is already found in pagan and Christian sources at the turn of the era and that it has deep roots in the religion of the Near East. 2 En 39:3–7 perhaps would fit into such a milieu as well. The passage does not use a numerical scheme, but its account of God's body (mouth/lips, face, eyes, right hand, body, mouth/lips) is very close to the later descriptions in the Shi'ur-Qomah tradition.

[62] The noun "oycta" means both στόμα and τὰ χείλη.

report on Enoch's transformation into one of the "glorious ones" in 22:8–10.[63] In 39:3 we have a strange phrase[64] identical with the same phrase in the undoubted interpolation in 22:1. So we should at least hesitate basing too many hypotheses on the uncertain ground of chapter 39. All the other Metatron-traditions which Andrei Orlov has identified in 2 Enoch consist of single terms or phrases and have to be discussed separately.

Looking for the integrity of an original coherent story, we have first to separate the later additions from the basic story. This is an indispensable task in spite of all linguistic unwillingness. Books like 2 Enoch do not simply offer an untouched first-hand edition, but rather something like a *cento* that echoes a long transmission through various regions, cultures and religious influences. To identify these traces as precisely as possible is the necessary preparation for any deeper investigation into the theological character of the assumed original 2 Enoch.

1.4. *Sources*

The main source of 2 Enoch is clearly the pool of the older Enoch tradition found in the Aramaic fragments, translated into a Greek collection and preserved to the fullest extent in the Ethiopic version. The author used material from nearly all parts of the tradition, but he selected it carefully and gave the material a new shape. It is like "Enoch in a second edition" for an audience far from Palestine, and not a pool of traditions like 1 Enoch. The author of 2 Enoch has created a narration along a red thread with a clear intention and calculated proportions, with a discernable narrative strategy and a fundamental shift from an eschatological concept of time (history) to a concept of space (cosmology).[65]

Relations to the older Enoch tradition can be identified in the form of quotations, allusions, structural correspondences, and, above all, in the material itself, such as the story of the "watchers/Grigoroi," the heavenly

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[63] Regarding chapter 37, Enoch's transformation into a "glorious one" (that means an archangel) is not cancelled but slightly reduced only to make it bearable for his sons.

[64] Andersen's translation: "The face of the Lord, like iron made burning hot by a fire, and it is brought out and it emits sparks and it is incandescent".

[65] This aspect seems to be underestimated in Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom*, 207–212. Eschatology in 2 Enoch has not a horizontal but primarily a vertical shape. Cf. N. Walter, "'Hellenistische Eschatologie' im Frühjudentum—ein Beitrag zur 'Biblischen Theologie'?," *ThLZ* 5 (1985): 331–348; Walter, "'Hellenistische Eschatologie' im Neuen Testament," in *Glaube und Eschatologie. FS W. G. Kümmel*, ed. E. Gräßer and O. Merk (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985), 335–356.

journey, the revelation of heavenly secrets, the ethical instruction to Enoch's sons concerning the scheme of a testament, or the tradition around Noah's birth. The calendrical system is the same as in the Astronomical Book (1 En 72–82), but in a corrupted and repeatedly reworked fashion.[66] Only the final part dealing with the provenance of a central cult with a succession of priests installed in orderly fashion seems to be an innovative contribution by the author himself.

The several interpolations betray a wide spectrum of further sources. Behind the insertion of the 8th to 10th heavens there must be a tradition like bChag 12b. In 71:32–37 we find the typos of the great high priest as in the Epistle to the Hebrews, allusions to both the secondary Adam literature as in the Syrian Cave of Treasures[67] and to the haggadic legend about Abel's burial according to the example of two birds.[68] In 72:6–7 we have a clear allusion to the History of Melchizedek.[69] The calendrical and chronographical interpolations pick up widespread ideas from the patristic literature.

1.5. *Language*

2 Enoch is preserved solely in so-called Old Church Slavonic, but the manuscripts offer a variety of dialects like the Russian, Bulgarian, Serbian, Croatian or Moldavian.

All scholars agree that the Slavonic text is the result of translation. In the context of old Slavonic literature, the most plausible assumption is that of a Greek *Vorlage*.[70] Striking arguments are the acrostic of the name Adam in 30:13–14,[71] many words and phrases are modeled clearly

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[66] Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom*, 197, tries to minimize the relation between 2 Enoch and 1 En 72–82. But as may be seen from my notes in *Das slavische Henochbuch*, the Astronomical Book is the main source for 2 En 12–16, especially for 2 En 13 and 16. This relation was recently confirmed again by Andersen, "Sun." For the essentials, cf. E. Rau, "Kosmologie, Eschatologie und die Lehrautorität Henochs. Traditions- und formgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum äth. Henochbuch und zu verwandten Schriften" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Universität Hamburg, 1974), 203–209; M. Albani, *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube. Untersuchungen zum Astronomischen Henochbuch*, WMANT 63 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner Verlag, 1994).

[67] 71:36 depicts Melchizedek as a priest at Adam's burial place which is the "omphalos." Cf. Su-Min Ri, "La Caverne."

[68] Cf. C. Böttrich, "'Die Vögel des Himmels haben ihn begraben.' Überlieferungen zu Abels Bestattung und zur Ätiologie des Grabes," Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995).

[69] Cf. my translation and commentary in *Geschichte Melchisedeks*.

[70] Cf. Thomson, "Made in Russia."

[71] Cf. Böttrich, *Adam als Mikrokosmos*.

according to Greek terminology, and biblical names and allusions which follow the text of the LXX.[72]

Of special interest is the discussion whether there could be a Hebrew text perhaps behind the Greek[73] or whether 2 Enoch has been translated directly from Hebrew into Church Slavonic.[74] The Slavonic text reflects not only a Greek pattern, but also some forms of Hebrew names or syntactical peculiarities.[75] It was the Russian scholar Nikita Alexandrovič Meščerskij who defended the view of a significant translation literature directly from Hebrew in the period of the Kievan Rus' (988–1237)[76] with 2 Enoch as part of it.[77] But his arguments and conclusion remained far from finding a consensus. The existence of such translation literature has been discussed with increasing skepticism and is today widely ignored.[78]

Recently, Alexander Kulik has tested and demonstrated some principles for reconstructing a Greek text from its Slavonic translation in the case of the Apocalypse of Abraham.[79] It should be possible to use his experiments

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[72] A detailed study about the possible linguistic background of a single, corrupted phrase in 2 En 1:5 was provided by L. Navtanovič, " 'Odeania jeju peniju razdaaniju' v slavjanskom perevode Kniga Enocha," TODRL 53 (2003): 3–11.

[73] Meanwhile, the arguments by Charles based on the dependence of 2 Enoch on TestXII have become outdated.

[74] J. D. Amusin, "Novyj eschatologiceskij tekst iz kumrana (11 Q Melchisedek)," VDI 3 (1967): 45–62.

[75] Cf. L. Gry, "Quelques noms d'anges et d'êtres mystérieux en II Hénoch," *RB* 49 (1940): 195–204. See also the notes on names like Adoil, Ariuch, Pariuch, Achuzan, Nir and Sopani by Andersen (*OTP*) and Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*. A. Kahana, "Sefaer Hanok B," in *Ha-Sefarim ha Hitsonim le-Torah* (Jerusalem 1936), 102–141, made a "retranslation" from Slavonic into Hebrew in order to demonstrate the Semitic syntax and phraseology of the book.

[76] N. A. Meščerskij, "K voprosu ob izučenii perevodnoj pis'mennosti kievskogo perioda," in *Učenie zapiski Karelo-Finskogo pedagogičeskogo instituta II/2* (Petrozavodsk 1956), 198–219; Meščerskij, "Problemy izučenija slavjano-russkoj perevodnoj literatury XI–XV vv," TODRL 20 (1964): 180–231.

[77] N. A. Meščerskij, "K voprosu ob istočnikach slavjanskoj knigi Enocha," Kratkie soobščenija Instituta narodov Azii 86 (1965): 72–78; idem, Sledy pamjatnikov Kumrana v staroslavjanskoj i drevnerusskoj literature, TrudyODRL 19, 1963, 130–147; Meščerskij, "K istorii teksta slavjanskoj knigi Enocha (Sledy pamjatnikov Kumrana v vizantijskoj i staroslavjanskoj literature)," VV 24 (1964): 91–108; Meščerskij, "K voprosu o sostave i istočnikach Akademičeskogo chronografa," in *Letopisi i chroniki. Sbornik statej 1973 g*. (Moskva: Nauka, 1974), 212–219.

[78] Cf. for the ongoing discussion A. A. Alekseev, "Perevody s drevneevrejskich originalov v drevnej Rusi," Russian Linguistics 11 (1987): 1–20; H. G. Lunt and M. Taube, "Early East Slavonic Translations from Hebrew?" Russian Linguistics 12 (1988): 147–187; A. A. Alekseev, "Russko-evrejskie literaturnye svjazi do 15 veka," Jews and Slavs 1 (1993): 44–75; Alekseev, "Apocrypha translated from Hebrew within the East Slavic Explanatory Palaea," Jews and Slavs 9 (2001): 147–154.

[79] A. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha. Toward the Original of the Apocalypse of Abraham*, SBL Textcritical Studies 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

for 2 Enoch as well.[80] But methodologically there is no way back behind such a reconstruction.[81] One step backwards will have to be enough.

1.6. *Date*

Some arguments for dating the whole book have in the meantime become outdated and should not be quoted seriously any longer. That is the case for J. T. Milik's proposal to tie 2 Enoch to the 9th/10th century and to the milieu of Byzantine monasticism.[82] His observations concerning the installment of Melchizedek after the model of Byzantine bishops are simply wrong and have no hint in the text.[83] His very questionable interpretation of the term συρμαιογραφεῖν in 2 En 22:11 as a neologism from the same period, on which he places all the weight to date the whole book, depends on a *varia lectio*.[84] Similarly the proposals for a late date made by Maunder (11th/12th century)[85] and Fotheringham (4th–7th century)[86]

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[80] The case of the Corpus Dionysiacum can be instructive. Its recent critical edition (2010–2012, five volumes) is able to parallel the real Greek Vorlage with the Slavonic translation. The edition will include a special dictionary based on the comparison of these closely related manuscripts.

[81] J. R. Davila, "(How) Can We Tell if a Greek Apocryphon or Pseudepigraphon has been Translated from Hebrew or Aramaic?" *JSP* 15 (2005): 3–61, offers an exhaustive overview concerning all Greek texts alleged to be translated from Hebrew, and sketches the methodological problems of such a discussion.

[82] J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 110–112, 114–115.

[83] Milik tries to find in the third part a reflection of "the transmission of monastic vocations from uncle to nephew" regarding Melchizedek as Noah's successor. However, nowhere is there any transmission from Noah to his nephew, but only from Nir, the adoptive-father, to Melchizedek, the adoptive-son (Noah himself has no priestly function in 2 Enoch). Furthermore, Milik postulates the "anointing of Melchizedek by three distinguished people" as reflecting the usual custom for a bishop's consecration, but apart from his confusion of Methusalem with Melchizedek at this place there is just no stereotypical form of "consecration" in 2 Enoch. In 69:8 (Methusalem), 70:13–15 (Nir) and 71:19–21 (Melchizedek) we have three totally different accounts of priestly installation; the participation of "three distinguished people" (the elders) only takes place in the case of Methusalem. These "observations" are invented by Milik. They are not to be found in the text!

[84] Cf. the variants and the discussion in Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, 896, note 22,11g. From the narration it is more plausible that the books in the heavenly treasuries are of precious appearance, "shining / brilliant of myrrh." An allusion to the minuscule script (a "shorthand") looks more like a later correction to legitimate the new script in the ninth century. The term is found only in Ms B^2.

[85] A. S. D. Maunder, "The Date and Place of Writing of the Slavonic Book of Enoch," The Observatory 41 (1918): 309–316.

[86] J. K. Fotheringham, "The Date and the Place of Writing of the Slavonic Enoch," *JTS* 20 (1919), 252; Fotheringham, "The Easter Calendar and the Slavonic Enoch," *JTS* 23 (1922): 49–56.

are based on selected calendrical data, regardless of their corrupted and reworked nature.[87]

Following the discussion culminating recently in James Davila's book about "The provenance of the pseudepigrapha,"[88] the starting point for dating 2 Enoch has to be the material evidence of the manuscripts. The oldest Ms, which is of fragmentary character but presupposes a full version, emerged in the 14th century.[89] Some important Mss date from the 15th,[90] while the bulk of Mss stem from 16th and 17th centuries.[91] The translation of 2 Enoch would not have been made before the 11th/12th century,[92] which must be regarded therefore as the *terminus ante quem*.

The *terminus post quem* is clearly the first century. 2 Enoch must have used the older Enoch tradition, popularized in the Greek translation, prepared shortly before the turn of the era.[93] So we get a time span between the first and the 11th/12th century.

To delimit these ten centuries further, one needs different grids.[94] The first could be the debate about Enoch in Jewish and Christian interpretation. Marcel Poorthuis has sketched a scheme of five stages for the attitude toward the patriarch:[95] 1. Pre-rabbinic Jewish interpretation of Enoch as an intermediary figure; 2. Christian appropriation of Enoch; 3. Jewish reaction to the Christian appropriation of Enoch; 4. Christian downplaying of Enoch; 5. Jewish rehabilitation of Enoch (as Metatron in their

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87 K. Lake, "The Date of the Slavonic Enoch," *HTR* 16 (1923): 397–398, and F. C. Burkitt, "Robert Henry Charles 1855–1931," Proceedings of the British Academy 17 (1931): 437–445 (esp. 443), have followed Fotheringham with uncritical approval, despite Charles' detailed review of Maunder's and Fotheringham's articles. Cf. R. H. Charles, "The Date and the Place of Writing of the Slavonic Enoch," *JTS* 22 (1921): 161–163.

88 See above note 5.

89 It is the fragmentary and rearranged text in "Merilo Pravednoe." See above note 14.

90 These are Mss J, U, Nr. 13–16 (Jacimirskij's list).

91 These are first of all Mss R, A, V/N, P, B/B^2 and all the others.

92 The literary language of the Slavonic Church was created by Cyril and Methodius in the ninth century. The texts translated at first were books for liturgical use. Reinhart, "Croatian Glagolitic excerpt," 41, argues because of philological reasons for a translation before the 12th century. So the most reliable period for translation would be the 11th/12th century.

93 M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, PVTG 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 1–44. For the date, see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 14.

94 B. Schaller, "Zur Methodologie der Datierung und Lokalisierung pseud- und anonymer Schriften dargestellt an Beispielen vornehmlich aus dem Bereich der JSHRZ," in *Jüdische Schriften in ihrem antik-jüdischen und urchristlichen Kontext*, ed. H. Lichtenberger and G. S. Oegema, JSHRZ-St 1 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2002), 59–74.

95 M. Poorthuis, "Enoch and Melchizedek in Judaism and Christianity. A Study in Intermediaries," in *Saints and Role Models in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. M. Poorthuis and J. Schwartz (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 97–120.

mystical tradition). I would not overestimate such mutual reactions. But, the development of Enoch's roles, meaning, and instrumentality seems to have been drawn correctly on the whole. Poorthuis does not mention 2 Enoch explicitly, but the book's picture of Enoch can be accepted only for his first stage. As an intermediary figure, Enoch surpasses the functions attributed to him already in 1 En. In 2 En 22 he becomes transformed into "one of the glorious ones of the Lord" and is moving up to the position of the first scribe and God's highest agent for the final judgement.[96] Among and ahead of the archangels, Enoch is far beyond Christian interpretations which are interested most of all in Enoch as a *typos* for faith or for the resurrection.[97] Enoch's profile in 2 Enoch is different. Depending on passages like 1 En 14, it moves one step further, preparing the patriarch for his later role in Jewish mysticism where he appears under the name Enoch-Metatron, close to God himself.[98] This transitional character of 2 Enoch between the older apocalyptic tradition on the one side and the later Jewish mysticism on the other, observed for the first time by Gershom Scholem and Hugo Odeberg,[99] has recently been proven by Andrei Orlov on the basis of a wealth of material.[100] If we date the first written accounts of the Enoch-Metatron tradition around the so-called 3 Enoch in the 5th/6th century,[101] then 2 Enoch with chapter 22[102] must predate it. So the time can be shortened to the span between the first and the fourth century.

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[96] For the concept of "divine agency" see L. Hurtado, *One God, One Lord. Early Christian Devotion and Early Jewish Monotheism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988). For the ongoing discussion see A. Chester, *Messiah and Exaltation. Jewish Messianic and Visionary Traditions and New Testament Christology*, WUNT 207 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007).

[97] D. Lührmann, "Henoch und die Metanoia," ZNW 66 (1975): 103–116; M. M. Witte, *Elias und Henoch als Exempel, typologische Figuren und apokalyptische Zeugen. Zur Verbindung von Literatur und Theologie im Mittelalter*, Mikrokosmos 22 (Frankfurt u. a.: Peter Lang, 1987).

[98] P. Schäfer, *Synopse zur Hekhalot-Literatur*; H. Hofmann, *Das sogenannte hebräische Henochbuch* (*3 Henoch*), BBB 58 (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, ²1985); P. S. Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch. (Fifth–Sixth Century A.D.). A New Translation and Introduction," *OTP* 1:223–315.

[99] H. Odeberg, *Sefer Henok li-rabbi cohen gadol Jisma'el. 3 Enoch or the Hebrew book of Enoch* (Cambridge: University Press, 1928); reprinted with prolegomenon by J. C. Greenfield (New York: Ktav Pub. House, 1973); G. Scholem, *Die jüdische Mystik in ihren Hauptströmungen* (New York 1941; Zürich: Rhein-Verlag, 1957; Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1980).

[100] A. A. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, TSAJ 107 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005); review by C. Böttrich, *DSD* 16 (2009): 145–149.

[101] According to a widely accepted consensus.

[102] 2 En 22 does not represent something like a single idea or a merely marginal episode. On the contrary, the scenario of Enoch's transformation appears at the summit and in the core of the book's first part (1–38) and is crucial for the concept of 2 Enoch in general.

A further grid consists of intratextual indications. Here, the year 70 C.E. with the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem can be regarded as an important marker or a fixed point, because after that date nothing remained the same for either Jews or Christians.[103] That is why every reflection of the temple must be of some value for constructing a relative chronology. In this respect, many scholars have taken the instructions for offerings and sacrifices in 2 Enoch as proof that the temple must still have existed. But this is a weak argument for two reasons at least. Firstly, the archaic character of the narration is widely independent of a contemporary praxis; and secondly, texts after 70 (like mTamid and others) can also freely write and debate about questions of a temple cult without having its real execution before their eyes. Andrei Orlov finds the priestly tradition reflected in 2 En 71–72 as best fitting into the motif complex of Noachic priestly traditions before 70 C.E.[104]

The most striking argument for me is another one.[105] The last part of the book (68–73) is dedicated to the origin of a cultic life on earth according to the revelations conveyed by Enoch. Crucial for this part is the episode when Methusalem becomes a priest and starts to sacrifice at the central cultplace Achuzan (69:1–19). He is encouraged by the elders of the people at first, then called in a dream vision directly by the Lord, and afterwards installed again by the elders and confirmed by a divine miracle. Every single detail of this episode is sketched very carefully and points to its importance for this last part as a whole. The narrative context is a three day festival after Enoch's final farewell. Methusalem's installation takes place on the festival's last day. Here the author clearly has painted Methusalem with colors borrowed from Sir 50:5–7 and the description of the high priest Simon. He had good reason to do so because the phrase "his face was radiant, like the sun at midday rising up" alludes to another intention of this episode. The festival fits very well into the calendrical chronology of 2 Enoch in general.[106] If we understand the "assigned day in the first month" (1:2) when Enoch starts his heavenly journey as the

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[103] Cf. H. M. Döpp, *Die Deutung der Zerstörung Jerusalems und des zweiten Tempels im Jahr 70 in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, TANZ 24 (Tübingen: A. Francke, 1998); a longer period of correspondence is assumed by D. Boyarin, *Border Lines. The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

[104] Cf. his contribution in this volume: "The Sacerdotal Traditions of 2 Enoch and the Date of the Text." Generally I would agree. But is it possible to fix or to limit such a tradition precisely? Would it enable us to draw a sharp line like "before 70 C.E.?"

[105] I have set out this proposal in *Das slavische Henochbuch*, 813.

[106] Cf. J. van Goudoever, *Biblical Calendars* (Leiden: Brill, 1959, ²1961), 112–115.

beginning of Pesach on 15th of Nisan, then his return after 60 days falls on the 15th of the third month at Shavuot (according to 23:3–6).[107] Enoch's final translation after 30 days takes place on the 15th of the fourth month (according 36:1–2).[108] So Methusalem's installation three days later is fixed for the 17th of the fourth month which is Tammuz. On the same level the 17th of Tammuz is regarded as the day of the summer solstice (48:2) corresponding to Methusalem's radiant face. Such a fitting interplay of calendrical data does not slip out of the author's pen incidentally but betrays a very well reflected conception. Fundamentally, it presupposes the model of a 364-day calendar with identical lengths of the months depending basically on the astronomical concept in 2 Enoch which is (in spite of all later corruptions) the same as in 1 En 72–82. But the most interesting result is that the foundation of an archaic central cult in 2 En 69 is related in 2 En 69 to the summer solstice on the 17th of Tammuz in the context of a joyful festival! From the second century onwards, already shortly after the destruction of the temple, this date became more and more a central day of mourning, combining the remembrance of Jerusalem's conquest in 587 B.C.E. and 70 C.E.[109] If the date had already been associated with such a sad connotation, it would be hardly imaginable to relate a joyful festival for the founding of a cult to it. Or do we find here a deliberate counter-concept to this date of mourning? That seems to be impossible for two reasons: firstly, the significance of the 17th of Tammuz in 2 Enoch is due only to the sun-symbolism, deeply rooted in the calendrical scheme of the book as a whole, and differing from the Jewish lunisolar calendar; secondly, the Jewish mourning on the 17th of Tammuz is linked with the breaking through the wall, and so it is mourning about Jerusalem but not directly about the temple, which should be the analogy if a contrast is intended. So we may conclude that 2 En 69, as an integral part of the whole book's calendrical network, obviously predates the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E. The episode offers an indication for a date before

[107] That is the time for Shavuot according to Jub and the 364-day calendar. Such a relation makes sense insofar as in postexilic times Shavout became occupied by traditions about divine revelations. Later on in bPes 68b Israel receives the Torah at Shavuot.

[108] The longer Mss have corrupted this scheme again in 68:1–4 by correcting it according to the official Jewish luni-solar calendar.

[109] Cf. yTaan 68c and bTaan 26b. The biblical background is Jer 39:2 and Zech 8:19 (breaking through the wall on the ninth of Tammuz). Later both dates were combined and linked with further mournful events. Cf. also H. Jacobson, "The Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum and Tammuz," *JSP* 8 (1991): 63–65.

70 C.E. which is much more plausible than many arguments for other books allegedly written before that historical watershed.

Basil Lourié has recently offered a new and detailed study of the calendrical scheme of 2 Enoch.[110] One of his conclusions is that the figure of 17 (Tammuz) in 2 En 48:2 certainly is not right.[111] That would basically affect my aforementioned hypothesis. But I am skeptical whether his observations and calculations are really the clue to the solving of the problem definitively. In my opinion he gives too much importance to the scheme, regarding it as older than the conception in 1 Enoch and as an independent result of original Babylonian influences.[112] So he finds more logic in it than it possibly ever had.[113] The core material in 2 Enoch depends clearly on the traditions collected in 1 Enoch. Why should the astronomical material be an exception? But above all, one wonders how could the first audience of the book decode all these over complex relations without the learned apparatus Basil Lourié develops on twenty nine pages? What could the readers perceive directly or in the simplest way, confronted with the figures, periods, and dates in the text? I've learned from this study that each reconstruction of a certain "calendrical scheme" still meets slippery ground and should be used with caution. At any rate, this question needs further discussion.

1.7. *Place*

The translation of 2 Enoch into Church Slavonic took place most probably in Bulgaria.[114] At that time, it was obviously known to the bogomilic "Liber Ioannes," located in Bulgaria as well.[115] From the south it must have spread quickly. At the end of the 12th century, it was perhaps used in Tver

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[110] Cf. his contribution in this volume: Calendrial Elements in 2 Enoch.

[111] At least it is in the manuscripts of the longer version, i.e. in a text following its own conception.

[112] Under 5. General conclusions: "The luni-solar calendar could be dated to the fifth or fourth century B.C.E., that is, later than MUL.APIN (12th cent. B.C.E.) but earlier than the astronomical chapters of 1 Enoch (third cent. B.C.E.)." This would be a total reversal of the usual (and obvious) chronological relation.

[113] As for me, the corruptions are not only due to the manuscripts but already to the original tradition.

[114] Cf. Reinhart, "Croatian Glagolitic excerpt," 41, on the basis of fragment No. 42.

[115] That was first observed by Sokolov, "Slavjanskaja kniga" (1910) I:165–175. For the text, see E. Bozóky (Paris: Edit. Beauchesne, 1980); for the discussion see Böttrich, *Weltweisheit*, 95–97.

near Moscow. In the 14th century it was used as an authority in Tver and Novgorod. Later we find manuscripts in nearly all regions and dialects.

Reconstructing the route of 2 Enoch before its translation seems impossible. The most obvious path is to look for the text in Byzantine literature. There we find a Greek treatise called "Disputation between an Orthodox and a Latin" from the 13th century which has some passages in common with 2 Enoch.[116] This treatise was also known in a Slavonic translation, but an analysis of the texts proves that the Greek version is already secondary with regard to 2 Enoch.[117] So we have a literary witness of 2 Enoch somewhere in Byzantium still at the assumed time of its translation. But nothing can be said about the spread or popularity of 2 Enoch before. One single manuscript alone would have been sufficient to become the prototype for the Slavonic translation.

If we presuppose its early date and Jewish character, we have to look for a place of a Greek 2 Enoch in the Diaspora. The book lacks all national or messianic ideas. It is definitely not interested in history at all. One can feel a flair of universalism breathing through the text which is much stronger than any expression of particularism. Some hints about the praxis of the pilgrimage underline the Diaspora situation.[118] If we perceive the interest of 2 Enoch to harmonize Jewish traditions with Hellenistic philosophy,[119] or if we judge the affinity to Philo[120] to be of some importance, an urban background becomes obvious. There are no less than eighteen items which show a close connection to religious ideas originating primarily in Hellenistic Egypt.[121] So a majority of scholars rightly tends to locate the

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[116] For the Greek text, see A. Vasil'ev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina I* (Moscow: Univ. Tipografija, 1893), 179–188. For the Slavonic translation see basically A. N. Popov, *Istoriko-literaturnyj obzor drevnerusskich polemičeskich sočinenij protiv latinjan* (*XI–XV v.*) (Moscow 1875), 238–286.

[117] See the detailed analysis by Andersen, "Sun," 398–402, and his conclusion: "It seems unlikely that a Christian scribe would have expanded a text like the present 'shorter' Enoch by the wholesale incorporation of material from the *Disputatio*, while at the same time eliminating from this secondary material all traces of its distinctively Christian coloring."

[118] In 61:4–5 and 62:2–3 we find warnings not to break a vow for an offering which makes most sense if the audience lives at a distance from the central cult place.

[119] Cf. the notes by Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, to 3:2b; 13:2e ; 14:2d; 15:4b; 16:8a; 23:1e/30:6e/40:9ab; 23:5b; 24:2f; 25:1c; 27:2b; 27:3c/28:1a/48:1c; 29:1c; 29:1e; 30:3a; 30:6; 30:8d; 30:9d; 30:16e; 33:4c; 48:1d; 70:8d.

[120] Cf. the notes by Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, to 1a:3e.5a; 3:2b; 7:4e; 10:4h; 17:1b; 21:5a; 22:2f; 23:5b; 24:2f.5dg; 27:3d; 30:4a.8g-j.15b; 31:6d; 33:4ad; 34:2b; 42:11a; 49:1bdf; 59:2c; 61:5b; 66:5a; 69:8c; 70:6c; 71:2c; 71:19b.

[121] Cf. the notes by Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, to 2:2g; 12:1d; 14:3b; 15:2a; 15:2f; 24:4d; 24:5d; 24:5g; 25:1d; 28:2b; 30:1c; 46:2a; 52:15a; 58:6d; 59:3a; 70:6c; 73:2b; 73:6c.

original of Greek 2 Enoch in the important Jewish metropolis of Alexandria. There seems to be no serious alternative to such a locale.

1.8. *Author/Audience*

The author of 2 Enoch lived at another time and in another world than the authors of the older Enoch literature. But he still thinks the pseudonym is quite useful to justify his own ideas as well as his community's theological intentions. The name Enoch obviously was able to serve as an unquestioned authority for Jewish self-interpretation also outside the apocalyptic traditions.[122]

Through and through 2 Enoch is shaped by the spirit of Hellenistic popular philosophy, harmonized with the traditional Jewish confession of the only one God who has created and will preserve heaven and earth. But it is not the high-level standard of Philo or Josephus despite many resemblances, especially between 2 Enoch and Philo.[123] Most of the items are no more than short allusions or selected ideas without any deep or serious assimilation. Sometimes such passages look a little bit like a "Philo for evening school." At any rate, the book is tuned down to a more popular melody.[124] Of course, one needs a particular level of education to understand the narration, but not the level of a philosophical elite.

Some indications in the book point to an urban background of the audience.[125] The addressees are requested via Enoch's instructions again and again to do good with their possessions, to help the poor, to support the brothers, or to offer donations to God. Sometimes the language betrays mercantile metaphors. In any case, it is not the perspective of the underprivileged. The book seems to be dedicated much more to an urban middle class or better to a lower layer of the Jewish upper class in the diaspora.

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[122] J. J. Collins, "Pseudepigraphy and Group Formation in Second Temple Judaism," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. E. G. Chazon, M. Stone, and A. Pinnick, STDJ 31, (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 43–58, has investigated the Enoch apocalypses and writings with Daniel or Moses as pseudonym. He comes to the conclusion that "we should postulate a multiplicity of groups in the early second century BC" even in the corpus of the older Enoch books. This situation in Maccabean times was much more developed probably around the turn of the era, including the now larger Diaspora as well.

[123] See above note 112.

[124] Concerning a passage like 2 En 12 and 15 (Phoenix and Chalkedrios) Andersen, "Sun," 381, note 4, speaks of a "folkloristic component," "pseudo-scientific ingredients," or generally of the "popular nature" of this material.

[125] Cf. Böttrich, *Weltweisheit*, 190–192.

Some years ago, Shlomo Pines identified the offering of animals in 2 Enoch[126] as a sign of a sectarian custom.[127] That would imply behind the book a group outside or at least on the margins of the Jewish community. But I am skeptical about such an interpretation. First, Judaism was not a monolithic phenomenon, but a very diverse one with space for many customs and forms. Second, the proof of a sectarian custom in Pines' argument is from bTam 31b and possibly postdates the instructions in 2 Enoch. Third, we have a wealth of material which can demonstrate that the custom of sacrificing animals with a four-feet-fetter mirrors the common and usual custom of slaughter only in Egypt.[128] So the custom is not a proof of a sectarian milieu, but of some openness towards the surrounding society in ordinary day life.

Recently, Andrei Orlov has made the proposal to find a clue for group identity in the phrase "man of faith" in 2 En 35:2 by comparing it with a similar expression in Sefer Hekhalot.[129] Could it designate the self-understanding of the community behind 2 Enoch? At first glance it looks quite plausible, but a more detailed analysis raises questions. The phrase appears in the shorter version only. The longer one has "truthful men, pleasing to me."[130] But should we translate the attribute "men of faith" or rather "faithful men?" Only the former tends to have a technical meaning as in 3 En 48D אנשי אמונה.[131] Perhaps a background of biblical language is much closer to the formulation in 2 En 35:2. Often the term אמונה is synonymous with חסד or צדקה in Hebrew texts. And so the phrase sounds much more like a description of "just men" in general, widespread

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[126] The custom to sacrifice animals with a four-feet-fetter is found in 59:3–4; 69:12; 70:20. Obviously, it did not slip into the text by mistake but was included there as a deliberate instruction.

[127] S. Pines, "Eschatology and the concept of time in the Slavonic book of Enoch," in *Types of Redemption. Contributions to the theme of the study conference held at Jerusalem 14th to 19th July 1968*, ed. J. Z. Werblowsky and C. J. Bleeker, Numen Supplement 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 72–87.

[128] A. Eggebrecht, "Schlachtungsbräuche im alten Ägypten und ihre Wiedergabe im Flachbild bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches," (Diss., München, 1973).

[129] A. Orlov, "The Heirs of the Enochic Lore: 'Men of Faith' in 2 Enoch 35:2 and Sefer Hekhalot 48D:10," in *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism. Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, A. A. Orlov, JSJSup 114 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 345–358.

[130] Andersen translates Ms J as: "truthful men, and those who carry out my will." Orlov depends on Ms B, but in cases of such a far-reaching hypothesis we should discuss the text in all its variants. Whatever was in the Greek original or in the first Slavonic translation, the scribes of the longer version understood the phrase differently than those of the shorter one.

[131] Thus Alexander, *3 Enoch*, 315, note v, who speaks of "a quasi technical term for the mystics" which is picked up by Orlov.

in the wisdom tradition. Probably it has no more weight than other standard designations like the "chosen," the "righteous," or the "holy" generally claimed by all pious people.[132] But does it allow us to identify the same milieu of Jewish mystics here as in the later Sefer Hekhalot? The only unquestionable observation seems to be that the group does not regard itself as being outside, but in the core of Jewish tradition.[133]

At least, we must be content with the picture of an open-minded form of Judaism in an urban context, with some wealth and some education, living in accordance with its own tradition and looking for cautious accommodation to the Hellenistic world.[134]

1.9. *Intention*

Why did the author of 2 Enoch pick up the traditions about the seventh antediluvian patriarch again to produce out of this material a coherent and peculiar new narration for his audience?

If the time of 2 Enoch is the first century C.E. and its place is Alexandria, then his intention must have something to do with the Diaspora situation of Jews in Hellenistic Egypt. As we know from Philo and Josephus, there was a flourishing Jewish life in Alexandria, but many tensions and conflicts as well. Jews in Egypt had to find their position between "the law of the fathers" on the one side and the administration of a pagan majority on the other. So we have to ask: What is the main challenge 2 Enoch reacts to? Is it the confrontation with a non-Jewish society? Or is it an inner-Jewish process for formulating a specific theological identity?

These questions have been answered controversially over the past few years. Andrei Orlov, for example, put a strong emphasis on the "polemical nature" of 2 Enoch.[135] Like following a red thread through all his publications, he describes the author's intention in terms of delimitation from

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[132] These are the terms, for example, for the elect group in 1 En 37–71 (BP).

[133] Cf. again Collins, "Pseudepigrapha and Group Formation," 56, concerning the situation in the second century B.C.E.: The various groups "did not necessarily dislike each other, although they had different emphases." Perhaps their common basis was the new covenant, "but we should probably imagine them as distinct communities or schools, nonetheless."

[134] Collins, "Pseudepigraphy and Group Formation," 57, has noted, that "use of pseudepigraphy seems to coincide with low group definition." Perhaps 2 Enoch is quite a useful example for that phenomenon. It reflects a special theological interest more than the profile of an organized group which can be described in sociological terms.

[135] See our literary confrontation in *JSJ* 32 (2001): 445–470 and *JSJ* 34 (2003): 274–303.

other Jewish traditions.[136] So he regards the figure of Enoch as paradigmatic for Adamic and Mosaic polemics, the figure of Melchizedek as paradigmatic for Noachic polemics. Is this plausible? Against whom should such a polemic be directed? Are the figures in 2 Enoch like front men of theological rivalries?[137] And first of all, what does "polemics" really mean? The phenomenon of biblical figures being used to define one's own group identity by segregation from other groups is well known from some gnostic texts for example. But in 2 Enoch we do not have such clear frontiers. The transfer of traditions or motives does not diminish the meaning of the original, but uses its unquestioned authority for a new purpose.

My position is different from Andrei Orlov's here, because I cannot see any polemical intention in the literary structure of 2 Enoch. On the contrary, the main interest of the whole book seems to me to be integration. The author wants to uncover the roots his own Jewish tradition has in common with the knowledge, ethics, and cult of his Hellenistic non-Jewish context. Why should a Jewish community living in Alexandria, challenged and threatened by a hostile neighborhood, waste its time with polemics against the Mosaic tradition, for example? That tradition is the sole basis and shelter for all communities in the Diaspora. To question it would be dangerous. Of course, Moses is the silent hero in all Jewish traditions, interpreted only from different perspectives. That is true as well for the Enoch community. Here we can find the best legitimization for the Torah when we realize that the antediluvian patriarchs had already kept it long before it was given to Moses. And so the author of 2 Enoch, who carefully avoids every anachronism on the level of his narration, tries to tell his audience that there is much similarity between Jews and the nations. Integration is a characteristic feature of religion in the Mediterranean world in general, much more than separation. It has to do with so-called "aspective thinking":[138] the alternative does not inevitably mean opposition. To tell the old stories again and again does not mean to replace or to supersede the "older versions" or to fight other groups. It is much more the process of updating the tradition, to keep and protect the heirs of the fathers in another time. I am convinced that neither the books of the

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[136] This approach is developed broadly in Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron Tradition*.

[137] C. Böttrich, "Biblische Figuren im slavischen Henochbuch," in *Biblical Figures in Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature*, ed. H. Lichtenberger, F. V. Reiterer, and U. Mittmann-Richert, Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature. Yearbook 2008 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 303–335.

[138] Cf. E. Brunner-Traut, "Art. Aspektive," LÄ 1 (1975): 474–488.

Enoch tradition, nor Jubilees, nor the Temple Scroll, nor most of the other Jewish writings from this time had the intention to replace the Torah. An instructive example for a complementary picture is 4 Ezra 14:18–47 which starts an intertextual conversation between "canonical" and other writings. They are not battling against each other. They are together on the same road. What remains is that we have to expect a different audience with a different milieu, education, and socialization. That is why different traditions and writings are needed. But the frame is the same and the Torah functions as a common denominator.

For 2 Enoch, I observe a fundamental inner-Jewish consensus, but with some significant modifications specific to the Diaspora situation. The main intention is shaped by the challenge of a Hellenistic metropolis. This challenge has two aspects. One is directed towards making sure that one's own self-understanding is not in antagonistic contradiction to the surrounding society. The other is directed towards the outside to prove that one's own tradition is rooted in the deepest foundation of humankind. To develop this integrative approach, the author deals with the fields of wisdom, ethics, and cult which are mirrored in divine revelations about the world (1–38), ethical instruction for archaic mankind (40–67), and an etiological story about the origins of a central cult (68–73). This is the reason for so many interfaces between 2 Enoch and its Hellenistic context. Perhaps such a kind of integrative Judaism helped to prepare the ground for early Christian mission beyond the borders of Israel. It could also serve as one explanation for the later success of 2 Enoch among Christian recipients.

2. *Religious Provenance: Jewish or Christian?*

When Charles and Bonwetsch made 2 Enoch known to Western scholars in 1896, the book became a regular part of the so-called pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament. But in spite of that, scholars subsequently hesitated time and again to include 2 Enoch in their studies of Early Judaism. Not without reason, as the late appearance and the Christian form of the text suggest. Are there clear criteria apart from intuition or inclination to identify 2 Enoch as being of Jewish origin?

The fundamental problem is that we do not have any material facts. The date and localization of the manuscripts fail to contribute to this question. An approach via the original language is closed to us. So we can discuss the question only on the level of internal evidence, and that is open to controversial interpretation.

One starting point could be the observation of clearly Christian interpolations. Do they presuppose necessarily a Jewish pattern to become Christianized? Davila has insisted on the possibility that "Christians also sometimes interpolate Christian material into Christian works in order to give them a stronger and a more appropriate Christian flavor."[139] That is basically true. But it still leaves the question open as to why a Christian author of the original should have been so timid about his own identity at a time of growing tensions between Jews and Christians, and why he should hide his face behind a textual veil without any Christian signature?

This leads to Davila's main question. "Did Christians write Old Testament pseudepigrapha that appear to be Jewish?"[140] His "Yes, they could!" is demonstrated by some test cases drawn from patristic authors.[141] But here we find homilies, commentaries, or poetry. These genres are different from the texts in our discussion. The so-called pseudepigrapha claim to be "religious primary literature" and not learned "secondary literature" dealing with clearly identifiable literary traditions.[142] In 2 Enoch we do not find a slightly revised paraphrase of a given text or some detailed explanations of a well known literary model, but a fundamentally new, creative form of an older tradition with new intentions and narrative means. This is not like moving on grounds which are only mentally akin. The author of 2 Enoch tries to do no less than sketch the basics of mankind from a Jewish point of view but in a specific and innovative way, making free use of the archaic material of the older Enoch tradition. If a Christian were to undertake such an effort, what profit would he have? In which context or debate could it be plausible? It seems to me much more convincing to see a Jewish author here in the diaspora reflecting on his position amidst a non-Jewish population.

In spite of all the creativity and innovation, there is still a strong connection to the older Enoch tradition which is clearly Jewish.[143] 2 Enoch is

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139 Davila, *Provenance*, 81–82.

140 Davila, *Provenance*, 74–119.

141 He studies homilies by John Chrysostom, a sermon by Augustine, parts of Ephrem's commentaries, Ps-Cyprian's biblical poetry, and the Latin poem De Martyrio Maccabaeorum.

142 These texts are without any doubt instructive examples for a Christian milieu familiar with Jewish traditions, but we should avoid the danger of comparing pears with apples. For the definition of "religious primary literature," cf. K. Berger, "Die Bedeutung der zwischentestamentlichen Literatur für die Bibelauslegung," *ZNT* 4/8 (2001): 14–17.

143 This is proven most of all by the fragments found in Qumran and also acknowledged by Davila's minimalistic definition of early Jewish texts (120–164).

indebted to this basic story and follows its main line. Both close obligation to and astonishing freedom from the older Enoch tradition mark a Jewish milieu at a time when this tradition was still alive and far from stiff conservation. On the other hand, this tradition does not come to an end in 2 Enoch. It is further developed along a straight line, not only into the field of Christian reformulation, but into the circles of the Jewish mystics as well! Among the authors of the Hekhalot-tracts presenting Enoch-Metatron as a divine agent, 2 Enoch must have been well known. That was the case already for the Jewish interpolator who used an original Greek text. Such clearly Jewish recipients must have regarded the text as congenial. But, even more, one can suppose that 2 Enoch appeared to them to be a Jewish text of their own tradition. The line of transmission between Jewish apocalypticism and Jewish mysticism with 2 Enoch in a transitional position supports the assumption of a Jewish origin.

Of course, all such arguments depend on the basic stratum of 2 Enoch alone, on its peculiar narrative structure, its discernible theological intention, its ethical instructions and its universalistic flair. The final shape which the language took during the long course of transmission has to be treated with caution. Regardless of the possibility of reconstructing single names, phrases, or technical terms, every expression is subject to reservations. Throughout the book, we have to consider the influence of conventions from New Testament language. 2 Enoch 49:1–2 (forbidding the oath) in relation to Mt 5:37 and Jas 5:12 is an example of the problem.[144] But analogies in Christian language also do not exclude a Jewish origin of such phrases if we concede that both were part of the same world. Such observations should only be a warning against too quick conclusions and too big hypotheses.

In my opinion, there is no reason to exclude 2 Enoch from the sources of Early Judaism. It represents an important string of Diaspora theology and sharpens our picture of the Enoch tradition in general. Consequently, without including 2 Enoch, all studies about an "Enochic Judaism" will remain incomplete.

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[144] See M. Vahrenhorst, *"Ihr sollt überhaupt nicht schwören". Matthäus im halachischen Diskurs*, WMANT 95 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchner Verlag, 2002), although his conclusions do not seem to be reflective enough concerning the date of the book and the context of the specific passage.

3. *Open Questions*

Apart from the *desideratum* of a critical edition which is the precondition for dealing with textual problems anew, we are still confronted with a plethora of open questions. I want to name only three fields.

The main problem is the long gap between the Jewish origin in the first century and the emergence of the first manuscripts late in the 14th century with the single fixed point of a translation from the Greek into Slavonic sometime in between the 11th/12th century. All indications which could mark single stops along this way are sporadic and do not allow a reconstruction of the history of transmission in a satisfying way. We have some flashes, but too many missing links. The only concise position can be found in the Enoch tradition in general, in the middle between the older apocalyptic period and the later mystical era. But this only relates to original passages such as 2 En 22. The probable mystical interpolations are still the biggest riddle of 2 Enoch.

I have no idea how to explain this stratum of Jewish mystical interpolations (like 2 En 20:3; 21:6–22:3; 39:3–8) which obviously depends on Hebrew sources by inserting the additions in Greek into a Greek text transmitted by Christian contemporaries. What kind of relation or mutual interchange is mirrored in such a procedure? Where could it be located, and how can it be dated? We have the same open questions concerning the passages in LadJac 2:5–22 (prayer of Jacob) or in ApAb 17:7–21 (prayer of Abraham). Strange as they are, they all belong to texts preserved in Slavonic translations only. The phenomenon does not fit into any plausible model of transmission history. Nor can the so-called "Judaizers" in Russia during the 14th/15th century, who often have been the last hope for some scholars, offer a useful clue.[145] Since this Russian "heresy" is discovered to be mainly a phantom, we should not use it as a way out of the problem.

Finally, little effort has been invested up to now to describe the specific Christian interest in 2 Enoch.[146] But it is not enough to distinguish between

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[145] Cf. E. Hösch, "Orthodoxie und Häresie im alten Rußland," Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa 7 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975), 43–50; A. Pliguzow, "Polemika o novgorodskich eretikach i 'Otvet kirillovskich starcev,' " in *ΙΟΥΔΑΙΚΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ In honour of Professor Moshe Altbauer*, ed. W. Moskovich, S. Schwarzband, and A. Alekseev, Jews and Slavs 3 (1995): 135–155; J. Luria, "Istočniki po istorii 'novojavivšejsja novgorodskoj eresi' ('židovstvujuščich')," Jews and Slavs 3 (1995): 199–223.

[146] This is the approach, for example, of M. A. Knibb, "Christian Adoption and Transmission of Jewish Pseudepigrapha: The Case of 1 Enoch," *JSJ* 32 (2001): 396–415; D. C. Harlow, "The Christianization of Early Jewish Pseudepigrapha: The Case of 3 Baruch," *JSJ* 32 (2001): 416–444.

Jewish and Christian elements or to postulate a Jewish origin (whether by good reason or not). We need to explain why and how Christians have been occupied by this book, including the consequences for the Christian picture of figures like Enoch and Melchizedek.[147] The ethical passages in Enoch's testaments (mainly in 2 En 40–67) can offer a quick answer here.[148] But how would Christian recipients have read the book as a whole in the light of their own christological or soteriological traditions?[149]

To sum up, 2 Enoch deserves much more attention among scholars who deal with Early Judaism. There should be no debate about its place in all studies of the Enoch tradition (at least as the most important witness to its ongoing history) and, with caution, included among the spectrum of theological issues around the turn of the era.

For the honorable Enoch Seminar, 2 Enoch should be accepted as a legitimate child. A little bit strange sometimes and self-willed, but really talented and generally lovable!

[147] Such a Christian concept occupying the original narration can be observed in the Melchizedek-Christ-typology in 2 En 71:32–37 and 72:6–7.

[148] First of all, the many beatitudes must have been of great interest for a Christian audience with respect to their form as well as their material instructions.

[149] How could they relate the Enoch figure of 2 Enoch to the exalted Christ? What was the affinity between the Adam passages and Christian anthropology? Is there any place in the book useful for strengthening a specific Christian eschatology? Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom*, takes some important steps in this direction.

THE PROVENANCE OF 2 ENOCH: A PHILOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE. A RESPONSE TO C. BÖTTRICH'S PAPER "THE 'BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH' (2 EN): BETWEEN JEWISH ORIGIN AND CHRISTIAN TRANSMISSION. AN OVERVIEW"

Liudmila Navtanovich

In his paper "The 'Book of the Secrets of Enoch' (2 En): Between Jewish Origin and Christian Transmission: An Overview," C. Böttrich examines all the issues concerning the provenance and text criticism of 2 Enoch.

From the time of its earliest Russian publications (in the mid-19th century), 2 Enoch has provoked lasting debate over its origin and religious nature. In this paper, Böttrich admits himself that he "cannot solve all the riddles of 2 Enoch," though he carefully evaluates the recent state of the scholarly work, and presents us with an exhaustive review of the most important questions concerning the text as a whole. He not only examines the introductory questions concerning manuscripts, versions, language, etc., he also considers certain arguments for and against a possible Jewish origin of 2 Enoch, as well as raising some open questions about the transmission of the apocalypse. As we well know, all the answers to the main questions concerning the provenance of 2 Enoch given in this particular paper is a result of the fundamental and excellent study of the text in question made by Böttrich.[1]

My doctoral study was also dedicated to 2 Enoch, specifically to a philological analysis of the work which involved the reconstruction of its textual history.[2] But I regret that the conclusions I came to in my research do not always coincide with the ones reached by Böttrich. In this short paper I cannot discuss all the disputable questions and provide all the argumentation required in such cases (for instance, to demonstrate the primary or secondary character of one of the recensions, etc.). My role as a responder

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[1] C. Böttrich, *Weltweisheit. Mehscheitsethik. Urkult*, WUNT 2:50 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebek, 1992); Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 1995).

[2] L. Navtanovich, *Lingvotextologicheskii analiz drevneslavianskogo perevoda Knigi Enoha* (Saint-Petersburg, 2000) As yet unpublished, it is available in Russian on the following website: http://ksana-k.narod.ru/menu/slave/navtanovich.html. Currently I'm working on a book on 2 Enoch in English.

to Böttrich's paper will be limited to providing a series of comments and questions to his observations and conclusions. And I would like to point out that they are not always my personal questions in particular. They concern the Slavic text and can be called a Slavist's questions.

The first block of material dealt with in the paper is literary issues. Surveying the current situation with the manuscripts, Böttrich comes to the conclusion that "as long as no comprehensive reliable critical edition exists, all textual discussions will be merely of a preliminary character. This is true most of all concerning the relation between different textual versions, perhaps one of the crucial questions." Böttrich reminds us that 2 Enoch exists in two or perhaps four recensions (*versions* according to his terminology) which differ from each other in length and content, and he refers to F. Andersen's work[3] for the detailed information (I would like to remind the reader why we talk about two or four recensions: We have two "main" recensions, the short one and the long one, but each contains what can be called "sub-divisions;" Andersen called them "very short" and "very long," respectively).[4] Böttrich is fairly cautious when dealing with the priority of one of the recensions, pointing out that the process of the transmission of 2 Enoch was long and complex, and that one cannot *a priori* exclude one of the versions from the discussion. However, he formulates his hypothesis concerning the relation between the recensions: In his opinion, the long version is primary.

Not only in Böttrich's paper, but in many other papers delivered at the conference, emphasis was placed on the need for a critical edition of 2 Enoch and the reconstruction of the *stemma codicum* of the text (as if we had not had one until now, and as if no text criticism work had been done).[5] I would like to stress that, apart from the separate editions

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[3] F. I. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (New York: Doubleday, 1983) 1:91–222 (93).

[4] To be precise, they are not the only proposed classifications of the recensions: One of the first scholars who studied 2 Enoch, M. I. Sokolov, wrote about three recensions: a long one, an intermediary one, and a short one. A. Vaillant distinguished three different recensions: a short one (primary one), the first revision (based on the short recension), and the second revision (based on the long one, i.e. the first revision). Andersen, as it has been mentioned above, named four recensions: short and very short, long and very long. G. Macaskill proposes again to distinguish three recensions, dividing only the short one into two (see his paper in this volume). M. Sokolov, *Slavianskaja Kniga Enoha pravednogo*, Part 2 (Moscow, 1910), 33–44; A. Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch. Texte slave et traduction française*, Textes publiés par l'Institut d'Études slaves IV (Paris: Inst. d'Études Slaves, 1952, ²1976), V–VIII; Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," 1:93.

[5] See, for instance, J. Magliano-Tromp's paper: "It is impossible to reach a scholarly consensus about the priority of the recension, as long as the fundamental text-critical issues

of almost all the manuscripts, we *do* possess a critical edition of 2 Enoch. It was produced by A. Vaillant, one the most distinguished Slavists in history, in 1952.[6] The only possible problem I can see with that edition is that it may be a little difficult to use: It is based on one copy of the short recension, so one needs time to reconstruct a long recension text using the footnotes and appendices, etc. However, I believe that a new critical edition (ideally, a comprehensive one) presenting the texts of both recensions (possibly synoptically) would be of great help to the scholarly world.

Concerning the relationship between the recensions, let me say that there seems to be a consensus among the Slavists: The short recension is considered to be primary. The first to provide a wide range of arguments for the primary nature of the short recension was A. Vaillant.[7] In his introduction to his critical edition of the text and in numerous notes throughout the book, he gives a large number of examples that illustrate the secondary character of the long recension. For instance, he attributed most of the "extra-material" we have in the long recension (which is lacking in the short one) to their possible sources.[8] Meanwhile, N. Meshcherskii, who discovered and studied new manuscripts that contained 2 Enoch, agreed with A. Vaillant over the primacy of the short recension.[9] My own study on 2 Enoch led me to the same conclusion concerning the primary nature of the short recension.[10] It is not possible to present all the necessary argumentation here, so I will merely make some remarks on certain statements and offer some general observations. For example, Böttrich

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have not been cleared. Only a *stemma codicum* . . .can resolve the question of priority textforms. As long as *no serious attempts are made* to draw such a *stemma* . . .there can be no certainty with regard to the priority of recension" (my emphasis). Nevertheless, I would like to reiterate that *serious attempts have been made to draw a stemma codicum*, and, in fact, it exists. Of course, there is still plenty of work to be done on the research into the textual history of the Slavonic text, but quite a lot has already been carried out. For instance, one can find a *stemma codicum* in Vaillant's edition (*Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch*, XXIV), my *stemma codicum* is close to A. Vaillant's, though it possibly reflects a more precise relationship between the manuscripts inside each recension and the relation between the recensions (Navtanovich, *Lingvotextologicheskii analiz drevneslavianskogo perevoda Knigi Enoha*, 101).

[6] Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch*.

[7] Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch*, III–XXVI. However, the first person to formulate a hypothesis that the short recension is primary was N. Schmidt, "The two recensions of the Slavonic Enoch," *JAOS* 41 (1921): 307–312.

[8] Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch*, XV–XXIV.

[9] N. A. Meščerskij, "K istorii teksta Slavianskoi Knigi Enoha," *Vizantiiskii vremennik* 24 (1964) : 91–108.

[10] Navtanovich *Lingvotextologicheskii analiz drevneslavianskogo perevoda Knigi Enoha*, esp. 83–101.

says: "If a redactor had enlarged the shorter version, we must presuppose a very learned and clever expert at work." I would point out that in the history of Slavic literacy, we have had some *extremely learned* experts. The interpolations come from different kinds of sources, so Böttrich says "it would require a high level of ingeniousness for the redactor." Again, most of the Old Slavic literature, as of medieval literature in general, is of a compilatory nature, and so Slavic redactors were experts in putting things together: inserting quotes, allusions, etc., and doing so in a very organic way. And actually, the style of the redactor's work (if we suppose that the long recension was made on the basis of the short one), which consisted of, among other things, adding more epithets, comparisons, etc., is framed very plausibly in the model of the epoch of the possible appearance of the long version (if we believe it to be secondary, 13th/14th centuries), which developed a complex and rhetorical style known as "word weaving," *pletenie sloves*.[11]

The primary character of the short recension can be demonstrated at different levels. On one hand, most of the "extra material" we find in the long recension (and which, consequently, is lacking in the short recension) has been attributed to its possible sources, and all those sources, such as the Life of Adam and Eve, The conversation of Three Holy Hierarchs (Slavic name: *Beseda trioh sviatitelei*), Disputation of an Orthodox with a Latin (Slavic name: *Prenija Panagiota s Azimitom*) exist in Slavic translations.[12] On the other hand, the linguistic criteria speak for the primacy of the short recension: It has more archaic language features, on both grammatical and lexical levels, than the long one.[13] At the 'micro-level' (i.e. in the fragments that coincide in both recensions), we find such a dependence between the versions that can be explained as a

[11] D. S. Lihachev *Nekotorye zadachi izuchenija vtorogo juzhnoslavianskogo vlianija v Rossii* (Moscow: Izdatelstvo Akademii nauk, 1958).

[12] The "extra material" we have in one recension that we do not have in the other is one of the disputable questions. If a scholar considers the short recension to be primary, he explains "new" material in the long one as interpolations naming their possible source (e.g., Vaillant or Meshcherskii), but if a scholar considers these fragments to be authentic for the 2 Enoch as a text, he explains the lack of this material in the short recension as an abridgment of the primary text (e.g., Sokolov or Böttrich). Since the fragments that do not coincide in both recensions can be regarded as either interpolations or abridgments, in my study on 2 Enoch, I have concentrated on the parts and separate phrases that are common to both recensions, and tried to reconstruct the relationship between the recensions, based, first of all, on this evidence.

[13] See, for instance Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch*, XIII–XXII; Navtanovich *Lingvotextologicheskii analiz drevneslavianskogo perevoda Knigi Enoha*, esp. 83–101, 143–174.

misunderstanding/misreading/reinterpreting or simply changing of the text of the short recension by the author of the long recension (usually, according to a more common model), and not vice versa. As I have mentioned, it is not possible to provide all the necessary data in a short paper, so I have to limit myself to giving what are possibly more striking examples. One of the noteworthy things about 2 Enoch is that it is quite a peculiar text in Slavic literary tradition: It contains a number of Semitisms[14] which are very rare and virtually unused in other Slavic texts. All these "unusual" forms can be found in the short recension, and in the long recension we come across something quite common for the Slavic literature; so, this seems to be another piece of evidence for the primary nature of the short recension. For instance, the Hebrew term לפני was usually translated into Slavic as a calque, "in the face of" (with the meaning "in front of"), and had a common form пр҃ѣдъ лицемь *prědъ licemь*. And this combination *prědъ licemь* can be observed throughout the long recension. Meanwhile, in the short recension we have several combinations of a different kind: въ лице *vъ lice* or на лици *na lici* (also with the meaning "in front of") which are extremely rare, and almost unknown in Slavic texts.

Just one example:

Short recension	Long recension
18.9 взидѣ гласъ ихъ	и възъıдѣ гласъ ихъ
в лице гн҃е	пр҃ѣд лицем гн҃а
vzide glas ix v lice gospodne	*i vъzyde glas ix prěd licem gospodnia*

"and their voice went up into the Lord's presence" [lit. "in front of the Lord"]

If we accept the long recension as primary, we must explain this correspondence: why was something that was common and "normal" in Slavic literacy changed to something unknown and strange?

It also seems noteworthy that the fragment selected by Böttrich as an example of the original character of the long recension is the fragment preserved in the Coptic manuscript discovered by Joost L. Hagen.

[14] About the Semitisms in 2 Enoch see, for example, A. Lods, *Histoire de la littérature hébraique et juive* (Paris, 1950), 938; S. Pines, "Eschatology and the concept of time in the Slavonic book of Enoch," in *Types of Redemption*, ed. R. J. Werblowsky (Leiden: Brill 1970), 72–87 (esp. 72–75), Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," 1:95–97; Meshcherskii, "K istorii teksta Slavianskoi Knigi Enoha," 91–108; E. Turdeanu, "Le livre des Secrets d'Hénoch: son origine, sa diffusion et sa traduction vieux-slave," *Ricerche Slavistiche* 32–35 (1985–1988): 5–54.

Moreover, the Coptic text seems to confirm the Slavists' point of view regarding the textual history of the text: Vaillant and Meshcherskii not only provided arguments for the primary character of the short recension, they also claimed that manuscripts A and U are the copies that contain (in most cases) a more ancient variant of the text, which is possibly closer to the translation (my own research confirmed this). I have seen the Coptic text and its translation, and the fragments coincide with manuscripts A and U, which differ quite notably from the other copies in that part of the text (they have a different order of chapters, etc.).[15] Therefore, the Coptic text represents powerful evidence to confirm the Slavists' conclusion about the textual history of 2 Enoch.

Another important question concerning the versions (recensions) is this: Do they exist only in Slavonic tradition, or did they exist in Greek? And if they did exist, they could have been translated independently. In his paper, Böttrich recalls Vaillant's position as well as his own view on the matter: Vaillant considered the short recension to have been enlarged in Slavic already, while Böttrich's point of view is the opposite: a longer text was shortened in Slavic.

Böttrich states that there was only one translation into Slavic (and I totally agree with him on this point, though I also agree with Vaillant concerning the editing of the text in Slavic). However, since the probable existence of two translations has been mentioned at various times during the conference, I would like to make some remarks about the possibility/impossibility of two different translations into Slavic (based on Vaillant's and Meshcherskii's research as well as my own study on the text). Schmidt was the first to suppose the existence of both recensions in Greek, and consequently two translations into Slavic.[16] Later on, A. de Santos Otero reverted to this idea,[17] and nowadays A. Orlov and G. Macaskill seem to accept the possibility of separate translations of the two recensions (see

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[15] Joost L. Hagen informed us about the following, among other points: "The fragments contain chapters 36–42 of 2 Enoch, probably one of the most interesting parts of the work one could wish for, with the transition between two of its three main parts: Enoch's heavenly tour and his brief return to earth before the assuming of his task back in heaven. Moreover, they clearly represent a text of the short recension, with chapter 38 and some other parts of the long recension 'missing' and chapters 37 and 39 in the order 39 then 37. On top of that, it contains the 'extra' material at the end of chapter 36 that is present only in the oldest Slavonic manuscript of the work, U (15th century), and in manuscript A (16th century), which is closely related to U."

[16] Schmidt, "The two recensions of the Slavonic Enoch," 307–312.

[17] A. de Santos Otero, "Libro de los Secretos de Henoc (Henoc eslavo)," in *Apocrifos del Antiguo Testamento*, Vol. 4 (Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1984), 147–202 (esp. 147–156).

their papers in this book). Again, I have to limit myself by merely naming the features and not providing an exhaustive commentary.[18] The first witness that can be referred to concerning the quantity of the translations is the following: Though the Slavonic text is relatively short, it has a number of *hapax legomena* (for instance, 70.6: ржделѣние *ražděl'nie*, "grief, sorrow;" 63.3: презорьствити *prezorьstviti*, "to become haughty;" and others), and they can be found in *both* recensions. Another important peculiarity of the Slavonic text is that we also find possible common *translation errors* in both recensions.[19] Furthermore, we have a number of related readings in the short and long recensions that can be explained in Slavic, but not in Greek. For example, one of the most noteworthy examples seems to be the following:

Short recension	Long recension
26.2 изиде арѫхазъ с твердию	изъиде арχась тврѣдъ
тажекъ и чернъ зѣло	тажекь и чрьмен зѣло
izide aruxazъ s tverdiju	*izyde arxasь tvrъdъ*
tiažekъ i černъ zělo	*tiažekь i črьmen zělo*
'and Arukhaz came out, hard,[20]	'and Arkhas came out, solid,
heavy and very black'	heavy and very red'

The appearance of these two variants *black* and *red* cannot be explained in Greek, which has two totally different words in this case (μέλας and ἐρυθρός), but it is easily explicable in Slavonic, which had very similar words чрънъ črnъ, "black" and чрьмьнъ črmьnъ, "red," which can easily be confused.

Finally, in both recensions we can find the same "obscure" passages (for example, 1.5: wдѣаніѧ ею пѣнію раздаанію *odějanija eju pěniju razdajaniju*, "and their clothing [was] various singing").[21]

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[18] For more argumentation, consult Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch*, VIII–XXVI; Navtanovich *Lingvotextologicheskii analiz drevneslavianskogo perevoda Knigi Enoha*, esp. 47–101.

[19] See, for instance, Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch*, 37, 57; Navtanovich *Lingvotextologicheskii analiz drevneslavianskogo perevoda Knigi Enoha*, esp. 85–86, 115, etc.

[20] The Slavic с твердию *s tverdiju* is a combination of a preposition with a noun in the instrumental case which can have the meaning of an adverbial modifier, so it can be translated as "hard," but it can also be understood in a different, more literal way: *s* means "with," and the first meaning of *tverdь* (*tvrdь*) is "firmament." With this meaning, for instance, it was used in Slavic as a translation of the Greek τὸ στερέωμα (Gen 1:8, etc.). Thus, the phrase can be translated as "Arukhaz came out with firmament, heavy and very black."

[21] L. Navtanovich, "'Odejania eju peniu razdajaniju' v slavianskom perevode Knigi Enoha," *Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoi literatury*, Vol. 53 (Saint Petersburg: Dmitrii Bulanin, 2003), 3–11.

To sum up, common *hapax legomena*, common *translation error*s, *related readings which can be explained in Slavic and not in Greek*, common *"obscure" passages*—all of these witnesses speak for only one translation rather than two.[22]

Returning to Böttrich's paper, I would like to stress once more that, despite his inclination toward the priority of the longer version, he considers it "much wiser to base the study of 2 Enoch on all textual witnesses from both versions, and to check it again and again in every single case," because we do not have a prototype. The textual history of 2 Enoch seems to be very complex, so I totally agree with the author about the need to carefully assess each witness in every case.

Another aspect of the literary issues concerns integrity. Böttrich signals a very important difference between 1 Enoch and 2 Enoch: 1 Enoch consists of five originally independent writings put together to form a new composition, while 2 Enoch forms a literary unit from the beginning (2 Enoch is basically a unified whole). Nevertheless, 2 Enoch became the object of reworking, reshaping, reformulating, and interpolating during its possibly long process of transmission. And again, I completely share Böttrich's point of view when he writes: "Books like 2 Enoch do not simply offer an untouched first-hand edition, but rather something like a 'cento' that echoes a long transmission through various regions, cultures and religious influences." Böttrich points out that currently "we do not have enough data to reconstruct it reliably. We only can try to put some pieces of the puzzle together." So in every single case there can be doubt and discussion concerning the possible interpolations or any other changes. For instance, in his paper Böttrich gives an example of interpolations made by a Christian redactor (in the Melchizedek story 71:32–37, 72:6–7) in the long recension. As was mentioned during the discussion on the paper, it seems quite surprising that the long recension, which is Jewish on the whole (according to Böttrich), contains these Christian interpolations, and the short one does not. Concerning the Melchizedek story in 2 Enoch, I find the paper presented by Harold W. Attridge at the conference

[22] Even if we suppose that the second translation was not an entirely new one, but was made on the basis of the existing one (i.e., the "first" translation was "corrected" and enlarged, using a long recension which existed in Greek), we could explain the same *hapax legomena* in both recensions, but we could not explain why they share the same obscure passages and translation errors, which should have been "corrected" or "clarified" according to the Greek text, and, of course, we could not explain readings such as чрънъ *črnъ*, "black" and чрьмьнъ *črmьnъ*, "red," which demonstrate strong verbal dependence between both recensions in Slavic.

entitled *Melchizedek in some Early Christian Texts* extremely helpful. The author sees three different "portions" of the legend formed at different times which form the Melchizedek story in 2 Enoch, labeling them Melch A, Melch B and Melch C. What seems to me of particular interest is that Melch A, which Harold W. Attridge attributes as the most ancient part of the legend (later reworked by a Christian hand, adding Melch B and Melch C), can be found in both recensions, while Melch B and Melch C are only in the long one. This might represent yet another argument—this time a theological one—for the primary nature of the short recension, because if we consider the long recension to be primary, we have to answer the question: why did a short recension author deliberately take out later portions of the legend that have a more Christian character? (Especially, if we believe that a new recension had already appeared in Slavonic, i.e. in Slavia Orthodoxa.)

Sources. The main source is clearly the pool of the Older Enoch tradition (found in 1 Enoch): the story of watchers, the heavenly journey, the revelation of heavenly secrets, etc. The author of 2 Enoch used material from almost every part of the book, but he selected it carefully and gave the material a new shape. Böttrich has expressed it nicely: "It is like 'Enoch in a second edition' for an audience far from Palestine."

Language. The Slavonic text is a translation from the Greek. But of particular interest is the question as to whether there might perhaps be a Hebrew text behind the Greek one. Böttrich considers that we could reconstruct a Greek text, but methodologically speaking there is no way back to such a reconstruction. "One step backwards will have to be enough." My research leads me to suppose that there might have been a Semitic text behind the Greek one.[23]

Date. Böttrich starts here by "eliminating" outdated arguments which proposed a late origin of the text (9th–10th century, J. Milik, 11th–12th century, A. Maunder, 4th–7th, J. Fotheringham),[24] and once again I totally agree with Böttrich in this respect.

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[23] Navtanovich, *Lingvotextologicheskii analiz drevneslavianskogo perevoda Knigi Enoha*; Navtanovich, "'Odejania eju peniu razdajaniju' v slavianskom perevode Knigi Enoha," 3–11.

[24] J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 110–115; A. Maunder, "The Date and Place of Writing of the Slavonic Book of Enoch," *The Observatory* 41 (1918): 309–316; J. K. Fotheringham, "The Easter Calendar and the Slavonic Enoch," *JTS* 23 (1922): 49–56. The dates such as the 9th–10th or 11th–12th centuries of the text can be eliminated "forever" thanks to Hagen's discovery of the Coptic fragments, which, according to palaeographic data, can be dated to the 8th–9th centuries.

The starting points, as he indicates, should be the material evidence of the manuscripts. The oldest Slavic evidence dates from the 14th century, and it is of a fragmentary nature. The first complete copy is from the end of the 15th century. However, we now know that the 2 Enoch is no longer solely Slavonic, and the Coptic fragments are the earliest witness at the moment although only the Slavic manuscripts preserve the entire text.

Böttrich believes that the translation into Slavic would not have been made before the 11th and 12th century, which must be regarded as the *terminus ante quem*, although it is not quite clear to me on what evidence such a claim can be made.

The philological criteria in this case provide us with very compelling, important evidence that the translation was made earlier. Normally, it is very difficult to say when exactly a translation was made, but sometimes we have a very strong witness of the time of the translation, and 2 Enoch seems to be such a case: It contains, at least in the short recension, archaic linguistic forms such as the root aorist, the *-te* ending in the 3rd person dual, etc., which were used in the 10th century (possibly 11th, but not later).

The *terminus post quem* for Böttrich is clearly the first century. So we get a time span for about 10 centuries (even if we take in account the Coptic fragments, the gap will still be about eight centuries).

Böttrich suggests using both extra-textual evidence and inter-textual indications to delimit the span. I agree that, with the help of the extra textual evidence we can, possibly, shorten the span to the period from the 1st to the 4th centuries.[25]

Concerning certain inter-textual indications which, in Böttrich's opinion, enable us to propose a date prior to 70 C.E., I am not quite sure I find the author's argumentation totally convincing. The evidence proposed here by Böttrich is the calculation of the day of Methusalem's installation as a priest as the 17th of Tammuz (i.e., the day of the summer solstice).

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[25] It was first noticed by G. Scholem and H. Odeberg, and has recently been proven by A. Orlov: The role of Enoch in 2 Enoch has a transitional character between the older apocalyptic tradition on the one side and later Jewish mysticism where he appears under the name of Enoch-Metatron close to God himself. Thus, 2 Enoch lies somewhere between 1 Enoch and 3 Enoch. In 2 Enoch the patriarch surpasses the functions attributed to him already in 1 Enoch. He becomes "one of the glorious ones of the Lord" and moves up to the position of first scribe and God's highest agent for the Final Judgment. G. Scholem, *Die jüdische Mystik in ihren Hauptströmungen* (New York: Schocken, 1941); H. Odeberg, *3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), A. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, TSAJ 107 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

The starting point of this calculation is the day of the ascension of Enoch to the heavens at the beginning of the text (2 Enoch 1, 2). The text says that it happened on the "assigned day of the first month." So, first of all, we have to assume that this "assigned day" is the 15th of Nisan, the beginning of Pesach.[26] We do not have the exact date of Nisan 15 in the text. Moreover, in two out of three manuscripts of the long recension (in R and P), we have "on the assigned day of the first month, on the *first* day" (and Böttrich believes the long recension to be primary). In any case, even if we accept the assumption of the "assigned day" being Nisan 15, and we agree that the day of Methusalem's installation is the 17th of Tammuz, it does not necessary mean that the core of 2 Enoch is earlier than 70 C.E. Böttrich's main argument goes as follows: Shortly after the destruction of the temple, this date (the 17th of Tammuz) became a day of mourning, but in 2 Enoch it is the day of a joyful festival, so a more plausible interpretation for the author seems to be that the book was written before the date began to be considered a day commemorating various atrocities, i.e., before the conquest of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. However, as the point was made during the discussion of Böttrich's paper, the association of the 17th of Tammuz with the date of mourning must have appeared much later than 70 C.E.; so, not only inter-textual evidence (what we find in the manuscripts), but historical evidence as well do not allow us to draw any conclusions about the date of the text being earlier than 70 C.E. based on this data.[27]

Place. Translation into Slavic, according to Böttrich, probably took place in Bulgaria. This can be confirmed by actual philological data. Some

[26] Vaillant was the first to propose this interpretation of the "assigned day" as a Passover on Nisan 15: Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch*, 3.

[27] It seems that there can be a number of different interpretations of the relation between Tammuz 17 (if we believe the day of Methusalem's installation as a priest in 2 Enoch to be exactly Tammuz 17) in 2 Enoch and other sources. Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, in his response to Larry Schiffman's paper, commented, for instance, that in rabbinic sources Tammuz 17 is a fast that commemorates various unhappy events (i.e. the breaching of the walls of Jerusalem, Moses' breaking of the first tablets of the law), and marks the beginning of a mourning period (Num 12:3). However, Stökl Ben Ezra remarked that it is difficult to say whether this fast day was already kept in the time of the Second Temple. Here I must cite Stökl Ben Ezra's words about the possible interpretation of the joyful festival on Tammuz 17 in 2 Enoch (I am very grateful to Stökl Ben Ezra for providing me with a written copy of his response to Larry Schiffman's paper, and for his permission to refer to it): "If the fast in the fourth month mentioned in Zechariah 8 (19) where no specific day is given refers to Tammuz 17, the Enochic three day festival could be a counter event (cf. Böttrich). Vice versa, if Tammuz 17 was not yet a fast in Second Temple times, the rabbinic fast might have been a counter event to an already established joyous event. Could this festival, related to revelation be the famous Alexandrian festival of unknown date commemorating the translation of the Septuagint?"

features of the text speak not only of the time but also of the place of its origin: Bulgaria (possibly Macedonia) in the 10th/11th centuries.[28]

With respect to the book in general, Böttrich names at least 18 items which show a close connection to religious ideas which originated primarily in Hellenistic Egypt, leading him to conclude that "as the majority of scholars tend to locate the original of Greek 2 Enoch in the important Jewish metropolis of Alexandria, there seems to be no serious alternative to such a localization." The discovery of the Coptic fragments in the region of Egyptian Nubia appears to support this possibility.

Religious Provenance: Jewish or Christian?

Böttrich reminds us that the fundamental problem with respect to this question is that we do not have any material facts; so, we can only discuss the question at the level of internal evidence, this being open to controversial interpretations (and my commentary on Böttrich's paper seems to confirm this once again). However, notwithstanding the difficulty of the problem, Böttrich considers that there is no reason to exclude 2 Enoch from the sources of early Judaism. (On the contrary, he insists on the importance of the text: "Without including 2 Enoch, all the studies about an 'Enochic Judaism' would remain incomplete.")

Referring to some *open questions* raised by the author, I would like to make some comments on the possible provenance of the Jewish mystical interpolations (such as 2 En 20:3; 21:6–22:3, 39:3–8). Böttrich says in his paper that he "has no idea" how to explain them. The interpolations in question are preserved only in two late manuscripts P (17th century) and J (16th century) which, according to Vaillant's research and my own, can be considered the manuscripts that preserved the second revision of the primary translation (possibly made in the 15th century).[29] I am afraid that Böttrich is not quite correct when he claims: "Nor can the so called 'Judaizers' in Russia during the 14th/15th century . . . offer a useful clue. Since this Russian 'heresy' is discovered to be mainly a phantom, we should not use it as a way out of the problem." The "heresy" might have been a phantom, but what is not a phantom is the fact that we have a number

[28] Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch*, esp. XIII–XV; Navtanovich *Lingvotextologicheskii analiz drevneslavianskogo perevoda Knigi Enoha*, esp. 147–174.

[29] Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch*, XXIII–XXIV; Navtanovich *Lingvotextologicheskii analiz drevneslavianskogo perevoda Knigi Enoha*, esp. 74–83.

of direct translations from Hebrew into Russian made in the 15th century! There is a lasting discussion over the possibility of early East Slavic translations from Hebrew (made earlier than the 15th century).[30] However, the existence of direct translations from Hebrew into Russian made in the 15th century *cannot be repudiated.*[31] For example, here is the list of the texts that have already been attributed as direct translations from Hebrew into Russian. Moshe Taube divides them into two groups:[32]

1. Early 15th century translations including excerpts from apocrypha (e.g., on Moses) and historical works (e.g., Yosippon) integrated into East Slavic historical compilations such as the Explanatory Paleja, various chronographs (EL-2, Academy Chronograph).
2. Late 15th century or, in Sobolevskij's words, "Literature of the Judaizers." They include:
   a. Nine books of the Old Testament Hagiographa[33]
   b. Algazel's *Intentions of the Philosophers* (Logic and Metaphysics)
   c. Maimonides' *Logical Vocabulary*
   d. Sacrobosco's *Book of the Sphere*
   e. Emanuel Bar Yaakov's *Six Wings*
   f. Pseudo-Aristotle's *Secret of Secrets* with interpolations:
      1. Maimonides' *On sexual intercourse*
      2. Maimonides' *On poisons and antidotes* (Chapter 2)
      3. Maimonides' *Book of Asthma* (Chapter 13)
      4. Rhazes' *Al-Mansuri* (Chapter 2 "On Physiognomy").

Thus, although we cannot attribute the mystical interpolations to their possible sources at the moment, we can hardly exclude totally the possibility

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[30] See, for instance, M. Altbauer and M. Taube, "The Slavonic Book of Esther: When, Where and from What Language Was It Translated?" *Harvard Ukranian Studies* 8 (1984): 304–320; G. Lunt and M. Taube, "Early East Slavic Translations from Hebrew?" *Russian Linguistics* 12 (1988): 147–187; N. A. Meščerskij, "K voprosu ob izuchenii perevodnoi pismennosti Kievskogo perioda," *Uchenye zapiski Karelo-Finskogo pedagogicheskogo instituta* 2 [humanities] (Petrozavodsk, 1956), 198–219; A. A. Alexeev, "Perevody s drevneevreiskih originalov v Drevnei Rusi," *Russian Linguistics* 11 (1987): 1–20; Alexeev, "Russko-evreiskie literaturnye sv'azi do XV veka," *Jews and Slavs 1* (St-Petersburg/Jerusalem, 1993): 44–75.

[31] See, for instance, Lunt and Taube, "Early East Slavic Translations from Hebrew?"; M. Taube, "Literature of the Judaizers or Literature for Judaizers? The Fifteenth-Century Ruthenian Translations from Hebrew: By Whom, For Whom and Why?" *AATSEEL* (San Francisco, 1998), http://aatseel.org/program/aatseel/1998/abstracts/Moshe_Taube.html).

[32] Taube, "Literature of the Judaizers or Literature for Judaizers?"

[33] The books are Job, Ruth, Psalms, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, Lamentations, Daniel, and Esther.

of the appearance of these interpolations during the transmission of 2 Enoch already in Slavic (for example, in the 15th–16th centuries), since we *do* possess written evidence of Jewish-Slavic literary relationships (at least from the early 15th century).

To conclude my response to Böttrich's paper, I would like to say that although we might not share certain points of view over the history of the Slavonic text, we do seem to have a similar passion for 2 Enoch, and we were both happy that the honorable Enoch Seminar held in Naples most generously dedicated its entire attention to 2 Enoch, which was extremely helpful and gave us (we who have been studying the text for years) a great deal of clues and new ideas for our future research on the apocalypse and for the study of Old Testament Slavonic pseudepigrapha in general.

2 ENOCH: MANUSCRIPTS, RECENSIONS, AND ORIGINAL LANGUAGE

Grant Macaskill

Anyone who undertakes serious study of 2 Enoch quickly comes to appreciate the distinctive problems attached to that work: all manuscripts are late (14th–18th centuries), and are preserved only in various dialects of Church Slavonic;[1] they vary widely from one another, even within their various recensions, and undoubtedly contain interpolated material; consequently all attempts to reconstruct the history of the text, ultimately down to the issue of provenance, and through this to reconstruct a putative urtext, are difficult, to say the least. Such projects involve much more than just the discipline of text criticism that would be familiar to biblical scholars (indeed, text criticism itself must be practiced in a quite different way with Slavonic material). Instead they require an interdisciplinary approach that locates the textual problems within the wider context of the theology of the book as a whole, but also within the historical and theological frameworks of the various cultures that may have played a generative role in the text's history: Jewish, Christian, Byzantine and Slavic. This is clearly an enormous task, one that is perhaps beyond any individual,[2] and this meeting of the Enoch Seminar, drawing together as it did expertise from across the fields, provided an unparalleled opportunity to advance the discussion, one that is now embodied in this volume.

This paper will provide a brief discussion of the manuscripts of 2 Enoch; space will not allow a thorough discussion of these, and in any case there are excellent discussions of the manuscript evidence to be found

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[1] This point will need to be addressed in the light of Joost Hagen's discovery of fragments of 2 Enoch among a collection of pre-12th century Coptic manuscripts from Qasr Ibrm. This discovery will quite possibly turn out to be decisive for many of our questions regarding 2 Enoch.

[2] Despite this comment, there have been major contributions to this discussion in recent times by individuals. In particular, see C. Böttrich in *Weltweisheit, Menschheitsethik, Urkult*, WUNT 2:50 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992) and *Das slavische Henochbuch*, JSHRZ V 7 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 1996), both of which have advanced the debate greatly. Similarly Andrei Orlov's important study, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, TSAJ 107 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), has established some key points of contact with both early and later Judaism.

elsewhere.[3] I will then move on to examine the recensional differences, particularly in relation to the creation account. The issue of original language will be examined much more briefly, with a quite specific focus on the importance of the recensional debates for this subject and a suggestion as to transmission history that may be fruitfully debated in future.

1. *Manuscripts*

There are nine major manuscripts of 2 Enoch (ten, if we include MS 3092, listed in Jacimirskij,[4] which breaks off at 33:8; I have not included this in my table below) and a number of fragments of the text. In addition, there are a number of copies of the juridical text Merilo Pravednoe, which contains a heavily abbreviated version of Enoch's instruction to his sons, but has a distinctive importance as the oldest manuscript witness. All of the texts are in Church Slavonic (not Old Church Slavonic, since they fall outside of the period that is indicated by that very specific term) and reflect the dialects that characterize later texts.[5] None of the texts is autonomous; all are part of collections, whether compendia-type *sborniki*,[6] or more temporally-structured chronographical texts. Table 1 (overleaf) lists the manuscripts, together with the symbols used of the texts in recent studies[7] and the date of the manuscript.

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[3] See, especially, Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, 790–799, which also provides details of the main publications of the manuscripts and is a basic starting point for serious research on the text of 2 Enoch. Also F. I. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (New York: Doubleday, 1983), 92–94.

[4] A. I. Jacimirskij, *Bibliografičeskij obzor apocrifov v južnoslavjanskoj i russkoj pis'mennosti* (*spiski pamjatnikov*) *I. Apocrifi vetchozavetnye* (Petrograd, 1921).

[5] See A. Vaillant, *Le Livre des Secrets D'Henoch: Texte Slave et Traduction Française*, (Paris: Institut d'Etudes Slaves, 1952), v–xxiv. I am not comfortable with allowing the linguistic character of the texts to be too significant in determining their relative worth, as this is methodologically too simplistic.

[6] On the relevance of this category, see the article by Liudmila Navtanovich elsewhere in this volume.

[7] I have listed the symbols that are used in Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, and Andersen, "2 Enoch," since these translations are today, for most, the primary inroads into the text. Vaillant, *Le Livre des Secrets D'Henoch* is also listed as a major study. I have also given the symbols that occur in M. I. Sokolov's edition of the texts (*Materialy i zametki po starinnoj slavjanskoj literature. Vypusk tretij. VII: Slavjanskaja Kniga Enocha. II Tekst s latinskim perevodom. ČOIDR 4* [1899] and *Materialy i zametki po starinnoj slavjanskoj literature. Vypusk tretij. VII: Slavjanskaja Kniga Enocha Pravednago. Teksty, latinskij perevod i izledovanie. Posmertnyj trud avtora prigotovil izdaniju M. Speranskij. ČOIDR 4*, [1910]).

The manuscripts are typically divided into two recensions—longer and shorter—but the differences between the text types within the short recension are significant enough to warrant further division, so that we can speak of three recensions of the text.[8]

Table 1. The Manuscripts of 2 Enoch[9]

Manuscript	Symbol in Sokolov	Symbol in Vaillant/ Andersen/ Böttrich	Extent	Date
a. LONG RECENSION				
NBL 321	A	R	1–73:9	16th–17th Century
BAN 13.3.25	Ja	J	1–71:4	15th–16th Century
GIM Hludov	P	P	1–68:7	17th–18th Century
RM 3058		P^2	28:1–32:2	18th Century
b. SHORT RECENSION				
BAN 45.13.4		A	1–72:10	16th century
GIM Uvarov 3(18)	U	U	1–72:10	15th Century
MS 387(3)		Syn	71,72	16th Century
TSS 793		Tr	Summary of book and chapters 67 and 72	16th Century
GIM Barsov	B	B	1–72:10	17th Century

[8] Andersen divides the manuscripts into 4 recensions, with J, P, and the fragment P^2 classed as "very long" and R as "long." My own sense is that we should probably not make such a distinction within the longer recension. R is certainly different from J and P, but the difference is not as serious as the variations between the text-types of the shorter recension. Vaillant identifies 6 text-types (including that of Merilo Pravednoe), but while probably correct, this takes us down to the level of quite precise distinctions.

[9] The abbreviations are as follows:

BAN Library of the Academy of Sciences, St. Peterburg
GIM State Historical Museum, Moscow
IHP Institute of History and Philology, Nezhin
KBM Kirill-Belozerskij Monastery (now held in Russian National Library)
NLB National Library, Belgrade
RM Rumjancevskij Museum, Moscow (now held in Russian National Library)
TSS Trinity-St. Sergius Monastery
VL The Austrian National Library, Vienna

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Manuscript	Symbol in Sokolov	Symbol in Vaillant/ Andersen/ Böttrich	Extent	Date
RM 578		Rum	General account of 1–67, summary of 68–70, excerpt of 71–73:1	16th Century
KBM 27 (1104)		No. 41	71–72	17th Century
Vrbnika (Ivšic)		No. 42	71–72 and loose summaries of parts of the book.	17th Century
c. VERY SHORT RECENSION V				
NLB 151/443	N	N	1–67:3	16th Century
VL 125	V	V	1–67:3	16th Century
GIM Barsov[2]	B[1]	B[2]	1–67:3	18th Century (1701)
Gennadius		G (Böttrich: No. 38)	65:1–4; 65:6–8	
IHP 39		Chr	11:1–15:3; 16:1–8; 24:2–33:5; 37:1–2; 40:1–42:5; 47:2–48:5; 58:1–6.	17th Century
RM 590 (155)		Chr[2]	11:1–15:3	18th Century
d. MERILO PRAVEDNOE				
TSS 15		MPr	Excerpts from 40–65	14th century
TSS 253		TSS 253		
TSS 489		TSS 489		
TSS 682 (330)		TSS 682 (330)		

Two points may be noted as significant for the discussion at this seminar. First, despite the abbreviated character of MPr, it is of enormous significance for the discussion of variants in 40–65, since, while it abbreviates the text, it does not alter the words themselves. Second, while there is no consistency among the witnesses as to how much of the narrative of 69–72 is reproduced, and while it is lacking from the very short recension, it is striking that those fragments that reproduce parts of it explicitly link their excerpts to a narrative of Enoch, with some kind of summary of 2 Enoch. Thus, the evidence suggests that this passage, while it may have undergone redaction, belongs to the core of 2 Enoch.[10]

2. *Recensions*

As noted above, the manuscripts of 2 Enoch are typically divided into two recensions: longer and shorter. While it is probably better to speak of 3 recensions—long, short, and very short—in what follows I will largely retain the traditional two-fold schema. There can be a great deal of variation between the texts, even within the recensions,[11] but much of this is relatively insignificant, being matters of orthography, dialect, minor omissions, and pronominal difference. An important point to note is that we often find manuscripts from different recensions agreeing with one another against manuscripts from their own recensional family, a point that cautions us against constructing too neat a stemma of relationship. A further important point is that where the texts do correspond, there is a striking degree of verbal similarity. For Andersen, this suggests a common source.[12] A small caveat to this is that the very short manuscripts V and N show more significant variation in the choice of verbs (particularly verbs of motion, which typically are of more precise directional/locational character) and often depart quite strikingly from other manuscripts. I have not yet completed my work on B and B^2, due to difficulties in obtaining manuscripts, but my initial examination has suggested that these manuscripts sometimes contain hybrid readings that appear to be derived from

[10] To say this, of course, is only to comment on the *text* of 2 Enoch: the evidence points to the Melchizedek story always circulating textually within 2 Enoch, but there may have been oral traditions that antedated this.

[11] My work on the shorter recension is still incomplete, but in my study of the longer recension, I list at present 2678 points of variation between J, P, and R, out of a total word count of approximately 11600. This does not include the additional content of the Melchizedek story.

[12] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 93.

both the A/U and V/N traditions, suggesting a dependence on both. A conclusion on this matter must await the completion of my edition of the texts.

The relative length of the two recensions, respectively, is a matter of both style and extent. Although it would be wrong to over-generalize, the readings of the shorter recension are often more terse than those of the longer recension, which are correspondingly more rounded, and often contain substantially more detail. At some points in the text, this difference can be quite striking, with significantly more detail in the longer account. The account of the sun in chapters 11–15 is notable in this regard. In the longer account of chapter 11, the 8 stars that accompany the sun additionally have 1000 stars under them; in chapter 12, where the shorter account of Enoch's glimpse of the flying spirits simply describes these as having "12 wings like those of the angels, who pull the chariot of the sun, carrying the dew and the heat, when the Lord gives the command to descend to the earth,"[13] the longer recension, by contrast, specifies that the spirits are phoenixes and khalkedras and provides greater detail about their appearance. Most striking is the absence, in the short recension, of the description of the praising of the sun by these spirits in 15:1–2, including the hymn that is sung by them. I will return to this issue below.

In addition to these stylistic differences and elaborations there are major blocks of material found in the longer recension that are not found in the shorter one. In some cases the distinction between these and the simple elaborations noted above is, granted, somewhat arbitrary and one that I make primarily on the basis of the scale of the material. The table below outlines these major points of difference. There is no listing for the narrative of 68–73, as this cannot be neatly divided along recensional lines.

Within the blocks that describe the creation, it should also be noted that the longer recension contains a hexaemeric structure modeled on the creation account of Genesis 1, a structure lacking entirely in the shorter account.

Special mention must also be made of 39:1–6, where the two recensions differ greatly but overlap with one another in terms of their content. I will say little more about this as it has been discussed and debated at length elsewhere.[14] The news of Joost Hagen's discovery of the Coptic

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[13] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 123.

[14] See A. Orlov, "The Melchizedek Legend of *2 Enoch*," *JSJ* 31, (2000): 23–38; C. Böttrich, "The Melchizedek Story of *2* (*Slavonic*) *Enoch*: A Reaction to Andrei Orlov," *JSJ* 32

Table 2. Blocks of Material Unique to the Longer Recension

Text	Content
21:6b–22:1a	The eighth–tenth heavens.
27:3–4	The creation of seven crystal circles as routes for the seven great "lamps".
29:4–6	The casting of Satanail from the height.
30:2–7a	The seven "lamps" named and placed on the seven crystal circles; their relation to the horoscope; the creation of animal life.
30:8b–33:2	The seven components of man and their properties; the naming of man after the compass stars; the placing of man in Eden and the temptation by the devil; the cursing and expulsion from Eden; the eighth day.
38:1–3	Methuselah awaits the arrival of Enoch.
42:4–5	The "last one" brings out Adam to the banquet.
46:1–2	The earthly king and the gift of the one thinking treachery in his heart. The seduction of a person into untruth by fair speech.
48:1–4	The movements of the sun along the seven celestial circles, through 364 thrones.
49:1b–2a	The taking of oaths by means of the words "yes, yes" and "no, no."
68:1–4	The summary of Enoch's career.

fragments of 2 Enoch will probably prove significant, however. The key point of this new Coptic evidence relates to the order of the material. The order of chapters 36–40 varies enormously between the recensions;[15] Andersen sees the order of the longer recension as original based on its narrative logic and allows it to dictate the shape of his translation, though I must confess to finding the argument rather subjective.[16] The very short

(2001): 445–470, and A. Orlov, "On the Polemical Nature of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch: A Reply to C. Böttrich," *JSJ* 34 (2003): 274–303.

[15] The order in the short recension is: 36, 39, 37, 40, with chapter 38 omitted. Andersen ("2 Enoch," 160) comments that this chapter is "surely authentic," but does not support this statement with any real argumentation.

[16] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 160.

manuscripts V and N abbreviate this material further, but essentially follow the order of A/U. The Coptic fragments, according to Hagen, also follow the order of A/U; if correct, this provides support for the existence of the shorter recension outside of the Slavic environment (refuting the idea that the abbreviation took place after the book was translated into Slavonic) and lends support to the priority of the shorter recension. Proceeding from this, it also supports the version of the chapter 39 found in the shorter recension.

Some of the blocks listed in table 1 correspond to the interpolations identified by Christfried Böttrich. I will say no more about these, since I think that he is correct in his conclusions and can add nothing to his research. (I will, however, note that these interpolations are almost exclusively unique to the longer recension, a point that I will return to in my own conclusions.) Instead, I will focus my own discussion on the creation account of chapters 24–30, which is the point where the most extensive divergence of the recensions is to be seen. It is also the section of the book where much of the debate over the priority of longer or shorter recensions has been focused and thus deserves to be at the heart of our study.

Böttrich has argued that the longer account is here closest to the original; in fact, he regards the creation account as one of the main pieces of evidence for the priority of the longer recension (although he does not simply identify the longer recension with the original text): "The secondary character of the shorter recension can be seen most clearly in 28:1–33:2, which has a description of the *hexaemeron.* In the longer recension it is a well-rounded unit, carefully woven together with other parts of the book, constructed under a plausible theological concept. In the shorter recension this part is given as a torso (containing a fifth of the verses only) without a clear conception."[17] Böttrich's comments here rightly correct the methodological weakness of the approach epitomized by Vaillant, that approaches the recensional question on primarily philological grounds;[18] he rightly notes the importance of the relationship of the creation account to the rest of 2 Enoch for establishing the integrity of readings. Despite my general admiration for Böttrich's work, however, I am not yet convinced by his claim that the longer account of the creation is well-rounded and

[17] Böttrich, "The Melchizedek Story," 448.

[18] This is not to dismiss the significance of philological analysis, merely to locate it within a wider framework. Recent analysis of the text that essentially supports Vaillant's position has been undertaken by Liudmila Navtanovic, in her doctoral study, "Lingvotekstologicheskii analiz drevneslavianskogo perevoda Knigi Enoha" (St Petersburg, 2000).

"carefully woven together with other parts of the book." In my 2008 SBL paper, entitled "Creation and Ethics in 2 (Slavonic) Enoch," I explored this very question, particularly in terms of the relationship of this section to the ethical instruction in chapters 42–67; some of the findings bear repeating here, together with further reflections on inner textual traces of redactional activity.

a. *Common Material*

The material that is common to both recensions is certainly well integrated into its wider context. On one hand, it is connected to the earlier ascent narrative, as Enoch sees the various aspects of creation, the treasuries of the snow, rain, and dew that sustain life, the movements of the heavenly bodies, the fate of the various angelic beings and of the humans who have rejected their creator and worshipped vain gods. On the other hand, much is significant for the ethical material of 40–65. The status of God as Creator and the obligations due to him as such are foundational to the ethics of 2 Enoch and are repeatedly alluded to (42:14; 44:1; 47:2–6; 51:5 52:5–6, 58:1–6; 65:1–11; 66:4); the story of Adoil and Arukhas serves to present the post-judgment eschatological age as part of the creational design and thus to provide a unified concept of creation and eschaton, reflected by the judgment passages (49:1–3; 50:1–2; 58:6; 61:2, and particularly by 65:8);[19] respect for animals as God's creatures is maintained in several places (52:5–6; 58:1–6), and seems to be part of the distinctive requirements for sacrifice (59:1–5). As will be noted below, the status of man as God's image bearer and as the pinnacle of creation is also maintained. The material that is unique to the longer recension, however, is rather less well-integrated.

b. *The Crystalline Circles and the Heavenly Bodies*

As Andersen notes, the schema of circles described in 27:3–28:1 and 30:2–7 is somewhat at odds with the cosmology described in the narrative of Enoch's ascent in chapters 3–22.[20] On these seven circles are placed respectively Kronos, Affridit, Arris, the Sun, Zeous, Ermis and, finally, the

[19] "The righteous, who escape the Lord's great judgement, will be united with the great age, and the age will unite with the righteous and they will be eternal." Trans. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 193.

[20] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 145, note a.

moon. The suggestion of 27:3 is that each of these stars, and thus the circle upon which it travels, occupies a heaven of its own. When we examine the ascent narrative of chapters 3–22, however, we find the solar and lunar tracks are located in the fourth heaven (chapters 11–16), along with a group of stars. The 200 angels who control the stars and the heavenly combinations are in the second heaven (4:2) with another group in the sixth heaven studying those motions (ch. 19). The two schemas are clearly contradictory, but the details of the ascent narrative are at least supported by both recensions, albeit with some minor variation.

As we examine the ethical material, it is the schema of the ascent narrative that is maintained. 40:2–6, for example, discusses the measurement of the movements of sun and moon, details provided in the ascent, not in the creation narrative. A multitude of stars is mentioned in these verses, the names of which are known only to Enoch and God, a detail that again runs against the schema of the creation narrative, where the stars are named. The longer recension also mentions the solar movements in chapter 48, reflecting a 364-day calendar (possibly with two additional non-computed days) which is compatible with the calendrical details provided in chapters 13 and 16. Additionally here, though, the sun is described as passing along seven celestial circles. If these are the same circles as those mentioned in 30:2, their function has changed in a way that is frankly incompatible with that described in 30:2. In this case, the detail looks like a secondary development, with elements from the ascent and creation narratives being conflated to the point of confusion. Another possibility, of course, would be that this is an original detail at this point in the narrative and that 30:2 constitutes an attempt to bring this system into line with Ptolemy's *Almagest.*[21] In either case, the secondary character of the creation account in the longer recension would be borne out.

That said, Andersen sees a vestigial trace of a larger account in the short manuscripts V and N, with the word *put* ("orbit") surviving in the phrase "road of water" ("from the road of water I hardened stones.") The spellings vary between the manuscripts, but V, N, Chr, and B all contain some mention of "road," though A and U do not. The point cautions us against any simplistic conclusions that regard the short recension as pristine.

[21] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 149, note b.

c. *The Rebellion of Satan*

The Satan myth in 2 Enoch is encountered first of all in 29:4–5, in the context of the account of the creation of the angels: "But one from the order of the archangels deviated, together with the division that was under his authority. He thought up the impossible idea that he might place his throne higher than the clouds which are above the earth, that he might become equal to my power. And I hurled him out from the height, together with his angels."[22] The passage seems to draw upon Isaiah 14, with the traditional notion of the fall of Lucifer. It is anticipated in the longer version of the ascent narrative as Enoch sees, in the fifth heaven, the myriads of angels that turned aside from the Lord with "their prince Satanail" (18:3). Earlier still, in 7:3, there is a parallel reference to those that turned away being held prisoner in the second heaven; the longer recension adds to the detail that these ones turned away "with their prince." These angels are called the Grigori, the Watchers; together with their number (200) and the reference to Mount Hermon, this establishes a link with the traditions found in 1 Enoch, in the Book of the Watchers. The form of the story reflected here, however, has lost the primary figures of Asa'el and Shemikhazah; the longer recension has devolved all of their significance onto Satanail, while the shorter recension leaves unspecified the nature of their rebellion and the names of their leaders.

In 31:3–8 we find a further block of material referring to Satanail. Here we find a form of the myth of Satan's rebellion connected to the Adam and Eve traditions of Satan's refusal to honor Adam:

> The devil understood how I wished to create another world, so that everything could be subjected to Adam on the earth, to rule and reign over it. The devil is of the lowest places. And he will become a demon, because he fled from heaven; Sotona, because his name was Satanail. In this way he became different from the angels. His nature did not change, but his thought did, since his consciousness of righteous and sinful things changed. And he became aware of his condemnation and of the sin which he sinned previously. And that is why he thought up his scheme against Adam. In such a form he entered paradise, and corrupted Eve. But Adam he did not contact. But on account of her nescience I cursed them. But those whom I had blessed previously, them I did not curse . . . neither mankind I cursed, nor the earth, nor any other creature, but only mankind's evil fruit-bearing. That is why the fruit of doing good is sweat and exertion.[23]

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[22] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 148.
[23] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 154.

Andersen's translation masks a text that is highly garbled and that, in his view, is shot through with Slavonic punning. The devil will become a demon (*běsŭ*) because he "fled" (*běže*). This is followed by the word "create" (*sŭtvoriti*: different forms are attested by the manuscripts of the longer recension; P reads *sotvori*) which precedes the preposition *sŭ* ("with") and the word for heaven. Andersen's translation masks the syntactical awkwardness of the construction, although he discusses it in depth in his footnotes, suggesting that the word *sŭtvoriti*/*sotvori* is in fact the basis for a second pun, flagged up by the dual use of the word *jako* (as) and found in the name Sotona. Strikingly, these puns work only in Slavonic. The sense of the passage, then, is that the devil will become a demon because he fled, creating heaven and thus will be called Sotona. It may be that Andersen is pressing too far the evidence for deliberate puns,[24] and it is wise not to make too much of them. Whether or not he is correct, however, the theology of the passage could reflect Bogomil interpolation, with the idea that Satan creates his own lower realm or heaven.

There is little to hold these two accounts of Satan's rebellion together, and one is left with a sense that they are simply, to borrow Andersen's language, fragments of Satan stories loosely mixed.[25] It is particularly striking, though, that when we move into the ethical material we find no further mention of Satan/Sotona/Satanail. Given the prominence that the rebellion of Satan has in the creation narrative in the longer account, we would surely expect to find further references to him, either by way of warning not to be led astray by him or by way of contrast with his rebelliousness. Yet after chapter 31, Satanail simply vanishes from the narrative. This, I would suggest, is best accounted for by proposing that his presence in the creation narrative of the longer recension is the result of interpolation, with at least some of this happening in Slavonic contexts.

d. *The Creation of Man*

The creation of man is barely described in the shorter recension. The terse statement, "After this I commanded my wisdom to create man," is all that we find. By contrast, the longer account presents man being created from seven natural elements:

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[24] In his thoughtful response to may paper in Naples, Alexander Kulik suggested several possible explanations for the phonetic and lexical coincidences that proceed from the qualities of the dialects reflected in the manuscripts.

[25] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 155, note d.

> His flesh from earth; his blood from dew and from the sun; his eyes from the bottomless sea; his bones from stone; his reason from the mobility of angels and from clouds; his veins and hair from grass of the earth; his spirit from my spirit and from wind. And I gave him 7 properties: hearing to the flesh; sight to the eyes; smell to the spirit; touch to the veins; taste to the blood; to the bones—endurance; to the reason—sweetness.
>
> Behold, I have thought up an ingenious poem to recite:
>
> From visible and invisible substances I created man. From both his natures come both death and life. And (as my) image he knows the word like (no) other creature. But even at his greatest he is small, and again at his smallest he is great.
>
> And on the earth I assigned him to be a second angel, honored and great and glorious. And I assigned him to be a king, to reign on the earth and to have my wisdom. And I assigned him a name from the four components:
>
> from East—(A),
>
> from West—(D),
>
> from North—(A),
>
> from South—(M).[26]

Scholarship often repeats, without examination, the assertion that this passage in 2 Enoch is the ancient fountainhead of the extensive traditions of Adam Septipartite and Octipartite that are so widely scattered throughout medieval Christian literature, often in the context of question-answer texts and usually linked, as here, with the account of Adam's naming after the four cardinal points. My own sense, however, is that 2 Enoch stands near the end, not the beginning, of this tradition. My reasons for suggesting this require us to consider some examples of the Adam creation traditions.

It is generally held that the earliest Latin witness is that of the seventh-century manuscript No. 1083 held in the Town Library, Sélestat (Schlettstadt). This text presents Adam as being made from seven elements, though it lists eight, probably indicating that a septipartite and an octipartite tradition are already interfering with one another: "Incipit: Of the seven measures, from which Adam is formed. A measure of dirt, because of dirt he is formed. A measure of sea, from which are salt tears. A measure of fire, from which is sustained warmth. A measure of wind, which is cool breath. A measure of dew, which is the sweat of the human

[26] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 150–152. The bracketed letters are found only in P.

body. A measure of flowers, which is the variety of [color of] eyes. A measure of grass, from which are the diverse kinds of hair. A measure of cloud from which is stability of mind.[27] Significantly, there is a one-to-one correspondence of Adam's constituent parts to the elements from which he is made. This tradition is repeated in Codex Vaticanus Reginae Christianae 846, fol. 107a, with the "seven measures" corrected to "eight measures." That same manuscript also contains a somewhat different version of the Octipartite tradition:

> Now the first man was made of eight[28] parts.[29] The first part of the soil of the earth. The second part of the sea. The third part of sun. The fourth part of the clouds of the sky. The fifth part of the wind. The sixth part of the stones. The seventh part of the Holy Spirit. The eighth part of the light of the world.
>
> Now this is its interpretation. [The first part is] of the soil of the earth, from which, it is said, is formed his flesh. The second, it is said, is of sea, from which is his blood. The third is of the sun, from which are his eyes, which are the lamp of the body. Fourth, from the clouds of the sky are formed his thoughts. The fifth [part] is of wind, which is his inhalation and exhalation. The sixth is of stones, from which are his bones. The seventh is of the Holy Spirit, which God has placed in man. The eighth is of the Light of the World, which being interpreted, is Christ.[30]

Again, there is a one-to-one correspondence of the various elements. When we examine other texts within this tradition, we find some variety among the elements from which Adam is made, but—at least among the earliest texts, those in Latin and Irish—there is always a one-to-one correspondence.

When we turn to the Slavonic texts that preserve the Adam Octipartite/Septipartite tradition, the waters become a bit muddier. The traditions are preserved in the context of manuscripts of the *Conversation of the Three Saints* and another family containing a parallel question-answer text, *Razoumnik* (Wisdom).[31] These broadly parallel the Latin texts but with

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[27] The translation is my own.

[28] There is a parallel tradition, discussed above, that has Adam formed from seven elements (hence Adam Septipartite).

[29] The passage is introduced in various ways. Sometimes, as here, this is with a statement, but often it is with some variation of the question "of what (or 'from whence') was Adam made?"

[30] The manuscripts vary throughout this paragraph in wording, but the elements are consistently represented in the Latin tradition. They vary in later traditions, though, such as the Slavonic one.

[31] These texts date from the 16th century onwards.

more fluidity, both in the list of the elements themselves and, indeed, in the macrostructure of the account, with sections of the account sometimes left out. Alongside these, however, are texts that present a Septipartite version of the account. The 16th century manuscript No. 794 in the Trinity St Sergius Monastery Library contains one such witness, listing man as being made from seven elements: "Question: from how many parts did God make Adam? The first part was his body from the earth. The second were his bones from stone. The third part his eyes from the sea. Fourth, his thoughts were from the motion of angels. Fifth, his soul and breathing from the wind. Sixth, his reason from the clouds of heaven. Seventh his blood from dew and from sun."[32] The key points of note here are: (i.) the sevenfold structure, (ii.) the seeming collapse of two parts of Adam's constitution (breathing and soul) as they are linked to a single element (the wind), and (iii.) the mention of "the mobility of angels." When we examine the passage in 2 Enoch, we seem to encounter a similar collapsing of elements from different versions of the tradition, so that while the texts introduce Adam as made from seven components, he is, in fact, made from ten, all of which can be identified in different versions of the Adam texts: "His flesh from earth; his blood **from dew and from the sun**; his eyes from the bottomless sea; his bones from stone; his reason **from the mobility of angels and from clouds**; **his veins and hair** from grass of the earth; his spirit **from my spirit and from wind**." This collapsing is best explained as the result of interference and collapsing of different traditions and points to the late, not the early, character of the creation story. This would fit the view that the longer account of the creation of man is a secondary interpolation, drawn from widespread Christian monastic tradition, and would be highly problematic for the view that it is original.

If we examine the integration of the story of the creation of man into the wider book, we find little evidence that might counter this conclusion. While there are numerous references to the honor that is due to God as creator, and the respect that is to be paid to his creation, there are two passages that specifically describe the dignity of man as God's

[32] Another manuscript parallels this one closely, though not precisely. The text is noted by R. Nachtigall, "Ein Beitrag zu den Forschungen über die sogennante 'Beseda Trech Svjatitelej' (Gespräch dreier Heiligen)," *Archiv für Slavische Philologie* 23 (1901): 81–83, and reads: "Question: from what did God make Adam? Answer: from seven parts. 1. His body from the earth. 2. His bones from stone. 3. His blood from dew and from sun. 4. His breath from wind, his soul from the Spirit of God. 5. His understanding from clouds. 6. His eyes from sea. 7. His thought from the motion of angels."

image-bearing creation: chapters 44 and 65. The former reads: "The Lord with his own two hands created mankind; and in a facsimile of his own face. Small and great the Lord created. Whoever insults a person's face insults the face of the Lord; whoever treats a person's face with repugnance treats the face of the Lord with repugnance. Whoever treats with contempt the face of any person treats the face of the Lord with contempt."[33] Man is here described as being made in a "facsimile" (*podobii*) of God's own face (*lice svoeveo*). This becomes the basis for the subsequent ethical exhortations to respect and almsgiving (44:4), exhortations that recur at points throughout the subsequent instruction. The emphasis, then, falls on man as the image of God, with no further elaboration that might direct us to the longer version of the creation account.

The second passage, in 65:2, reads: "After all that he created man according to his own image and put in him eyes to see, ears to hear, heart to think and reason to argue."[34] This is followed by a description of the times and seasons as put in place to cause man to think of his own mortality. A stronger case could perhaps be made here for a link to the longer account of man's creation, given the mention of eyes, ears, heart and reason, which call to mind the list of Adam's constituent parts in chapter 30. On closer examination, however, this breaks down. We have here, of course only four parts and only three of those can be connected to the list of chapter 30, where there is no mention of ears. The lists, then, simply do not parallel one another; instead, we have here an emphasis on the thinking qualities of man. There is, then, no support to be found here for the longer recension's reading of the creation account.

Before rushing too quickly to the conclusion that the shorter recension is pristine, however, we must note that the reference to creation in God's image is missing entirely[35] from the shorter recension, which ends with the simple, terse statement: "When I had finished all this, I commanded my wisdom to create man." Unless the terseness of the creation account in this recension is intended to imply the assumption of the Genesis account, then we must suspect that something has been lost, supporting the concerns raised by Andersen and Böttrich over the sheer sparseness and brevity of the account.

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[33] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 170.

[34] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 191.

[35] The longer recension at least includes a somewhat obscure reference to the image in 30:10.

e. *Concluding Discussion of the Recensions*

When we tabulate the parallels between the creation account of 2 Enoch and the rest of the book and highlight the material unique to the longer recension (table 3), the lack of evidence for its integration into the book is visually striking.

Taken together with the inner textual issues noted above, this calls into serious question the originality of this material to 2 Enoch. To this point we might add the observation made earlier that almost all of the interpolations identified by Böttrich are found only in the longer recension. If the shorter recension is the result of severe editing by Christian (specifically Slavic) scribes, then we must credit those scribes with a remarkable ability to identify and remove all interpolated material.

Does this mean, however, that the longer recension ought to be ignored in scholarship on 2 Enoch and that the shorter recension always preserves the best reading? That conclusion, reflected in the work of Vaillant[36] and Meščerskij,[37] may well be too simplistic an interpretation of the evidence. Recent work by Francis Andersen on the sun in 2 Enoch[38] has demonstrated effectively that the longer recension preserves superior readings, at certain points, to the shorter, as do the footnotes to Böttrich's translation, at numerous points. How are we to account for this if the longer recension is seen as secondary? There are, I think, two possibilities. One is that the creation of the longer recension in the Slavonic environment led to the existence of two text types, one of which was subsequently more carefully preserved by its tradents (the quality of the scribal work in J over against the poor quality in A might give some support for this). The second possibility is that at least two different versions of 2 Enoch crossed the linguistic border into Slavdom. My work on the Adam Octipartite traditions has suggested that two different forms of these crossed the border and interfered with one another. Might this not be the case also with 2 Enoch? If one version was circulating at the time when another was translated, this might account for the relative levels of verbal agreement.[39] This is not to

[36] Vaillant, *Le Livre des Secrets D'Henoch*.

[37] E.g., N. A. Meščerskij, "Sledy pamjatnikov Kumrana v staroslavjanskoj i drevnerusskoj literature (K izucheniju slavyanskih versij knigi Enoha)," *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* 19 (1963): 130–47 and "K istorii teksta slavjanskoj knigi Enoha (Sledy pamjatnikov Kumrana v vizantijskoj i staroslavjanskoj literature)," *Vizantijskij vremennik* 24 (1964): 91–108.

[38] F. I. Andersen, "The Sun in 2 [The Book of the Secrets of] Enoch," *Christianskij Vostok* IV.X (2002): 380–412.

[39] I am grateful to Philip Alexander and George Brooke for exploring this possibility with me and clarifying the issues, during a seminar in Manchester.

Table 3. Allusions and Parallels to the Creation Story in 2 Enoch (Material Unique to the Longer Recension is in Bold)

Creation narrative element	Chapter details	Parallels in ascent narrative	Parallels in ethical material
The planning and design of creation	24:1–5	Entire	42:14; 44:1; 47:2–6; 51:5 52:5–6, 58:1–6; 65:1–11; 66:4
Adoil (and the "great age") and Arukhas	25:1–26:3	Ch 7–10 (places of eschatological fate);	49:1–3; 50:1–2; 58:6 (the great age); 61:2 (great age); 65:8 (great age). All texts speak of eschatological places as created and prepared.
The seven crystalline circles	27:3–28:1	—	—
Formation of seas and land	28:2–4	4:2 (heavenly ocean contrasted with the earthly); Ch 5–6 (treasuries of water); otherwise not to be expected here	47:2–6; 48:5; 66:4.
Formation of heavenly bodies and angels		Ch 4; Ch 7 (rebel angels); 10:2 (rebel angels); Ch 11–17 (calendrical details); Ch 18 (the Grigori).	40:2–5; 41:1– 42:5 (assuming "impious" are angels) 48:1–4 (Longer recension only); 65:3–4; 66:4
Rebellion of Satanail	29:4–6	**18:3 (Longer recension only).**	—
Creation of Life	30:1–2; 7–8	Ch 5–6 (treasuries)	52:5–6; 58:1–6 (respect for God's creatures, animal eternal life); 59:1–5 (animal rights in sacrifice)
Stars placed on the seven crystalline circles	30:4–7	—	—
Creation of Man (basic)	30:8	10:6	44:1–4; 60:1–4; 65:1–5
Creation of Man (Septipartite)	30:9–31:2	—	—
Satanail/Sotona's temptation of Adam and Eve (and the Fall)	31:3–33:2	—	—

say that there was no redactional activity in the Slavic context—the Satanail story, I think, is best explained in this way—but it is to acknowledge that much of the transformation may have taken place during the text's long transmission in Christian circles. Such a theory would take seriously both the problems associated with the longer recension and the demonstrable superiority of some of its readings. I will be genuinely interested to hear the thoughts of the Enoch Seminar members on this suggestion.

3. *Original Language*

Our discussion of recensions may have some bearing on the question of the original language of 2 Enoch. It is intrinsically likely that 2 Enoch was translated into Church Slavonic from Greek (most Slavonic texts not of Slavic origin were). The book, though, is dense with Semiticisms, particularly in the narrative section of 68–72. While the theory that 2 Enoch may have been translated directly from Hebrew into Slavonic was thoroughly rejected,[40] the possibility that it was composed in Hebrew may deserve further consideration. The main piece of counter-evidence is the ADAM acronym in chapter 30, which works only in Greek, drawing on the Greek names for the stars of the compass points. As we have seen, though, it is questionable as to whether this is part of the original core of 2 Enoch and if we exclude it from consideration, the possibility remains that the book was composed in either Hebrew or Aramaic. Demonstrating such composition is, of course, highly problematic,[41] but the recent work of Alexander Kulik on the Slavonic version of the Apocalypse of Abraham[42] may provide a methodological model for future work on 2 Enoch, particularly if brought into dialogue with the work of Davila.[43]

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[40] N. A. Meščerskij, "Sledy pamjatnikov Kumrana v staroslavjanskoj literature," TODRL 19 (1963): 130–147; "Problemy izucheniya slavyano-russkoĭ perevodnoĭ literatury XI–XVvv." TODRL 20 (1964): 180–231. These are critiqued by H. G. Lunt and M. Taube, "Early East Slavic Translations from Hebrew," Russian Linguistics 12 (1988): 147–187.

[41] J. R. Davila, "(How) Can We Tell if a Greek Apocryphon or Pseudepigraphon has been Translated from Hebrew or Aramaic?" *JSP* 15 (2005): 3–61.

[42] A. Kulik, *Retroverting Slavonic Pseudepigrapha: Toward the Original of the Apocalypse of Abraham*, SBL Text-Critical Studies 3 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004).

[43] See note 41 above.

THE SACERDOTAL TRADITIONS OF 2 ENOCH AND THE DATE OF THE TEXT

Andrei A. Orlov

Introduction

In previous studies experts have repeatedly raised concerns about the date of the apocalypse, noting that the text does not seem to supply definitive chronological boundaries. Indeed, while for the last hundred years 2 Enoch has been consistently included in various collections of early pseudepigraphical texts, scholarly studies show some ambiguity and caution in their treatment of the apocalypse as a sample of early Jewish thought, given the uncertainty of the text's date. Alongside this ambiguity and caution, one often finds references to Francis Andersen's remark that "in every respect 2 Enoch remains an enigma. So long as the date and location remain unknown, no use can be made of it for historical purposes."[1] However, the uncritical use of Andersen's reference to 2 Enoch as an enigma "in every respect" simplifies 2 Enoch scholarship, trivializing the value of the long and complex history of efforts to clarify the date of the text. The current study will deal with the history of research on the sacerdotal traditions in the apocalypse which constitute an important cluster of motifs scholars often use to demystify the text's date.

Early Debates about the Date

Already in 1896, in his introduction to the English translation of 2 Enoch, Robert Henry Charles assigned "with reasonable certainty" the composition of the text to the period between 1–50 C.E.,[2] before the destruction of

[1] F. I. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1983, 1985), 1:97.

[2] In his introduction to the Forbes' translation of 2 Enoch in *APOT*, Charles broadened the range of the dating of the apocalypse, postulating that "2 Enoch in its present form

the temple; this view, however, did not remain unchallenged.[3] In 1918 the British astronomer A. S. D. Maunder launched an attack against the early dating of the pseudepigraphon, arguing that 2 Enoch does not represent an early Jewish text written in the first century C.E., but instead is "a specimen of Bogomil propaganda," composed in the Slavonic language in "the 'Middle Bulgarian' period—i.e., between the 12th and 15th centuries."[4] In the attempt to justify her claim, Maunder appealed to the theological content of the book, specifically to its alleged Bogomil features, such as the dualism of good and evil powers. She found that such dualistic ideas were consistent with the sectarian teaching that "God had two sons, Satanail and Michael."[5] Maunder's study was not limited solely to the analysis of the theological features of the text but also included a summary of the astronomical and calendrical observations which attempted to prove a late date for the text. Her argument against the early dating of the pseudepigraphon was later supported by J. K. Fotheringham, who offered a less radical hypothesis that the date of 2 Enoch must be no earlier than the middle of the seventh century C.E.[6]

Scholars have noted that Maunder's argumentation tends to underestimate the theological and literary complexities of 2 Enoch. The remark was made that, after reading Maunder's article, one can be "astonished at the weakness of this argument and at the irrelevant matters adduced in support of it."[7] Charles responded to the criticism of Maunder and Fotheringham in his article published in 1921 in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, in which he pointed out, among other things, that "the Slavonic Enoch, which ascribes the entire creation to

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was written probably between 30 B.C. and A.D. 70. It was written after 30 B.C., for it makes use of *Sirach*, *1 Enoch*, and the *Book of Wisdom* . . ., and before A.D. 70; for the Temple is still standing." R. H. Charles and N. Forbes, "The Book of the Secrets of Enoch," in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, ed. R. H. Charles, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), 2:429. This opinion about the early date of 2 Enoch was also supported by Charles' contemporaries, the Russian philologist Matvej Sokolov and German theologian Nathaniel Bonwetsch.

[3] R. H. Charles and W. R. Morfill, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896), xxvi.

[4] A. S. D. Maunder, "The Date and Place of Writing of the Slavonic Book of Enoch," *The Observatory* 41 (1918): 309–316 (esp. 316).

[5] Maunder, "The Date and Place of Writing of the Slavonic Book of Enoch," 315.

[6] J. K. Fotheringham, "The Date and the Place of Writing of the Slavonic Enoch," *JTS* 20 (1919): 252.

[7] A. Rubinstein, "Observations on the Slavonic Book of Enoch," *JJS* 15 (1962): 1–21 (3).

God and quotes the Law as divine, could not have emanated from the Bogomils."[8]

Another attempt to question the scholarly consensus about the early date of 2 Enoch was made by Josef Milik in his introduction to the edition of the Qumran fragments of the Enochic books published in 1976.[9] In the introductory section devoted to 2 Enoch, Milik proposed that the apocalypse was composed between the ninth and tenth centuries C.E. by a Byzantine Christian monk who knew the "Enochic Pentateuch" "in the form with which we are familiar through the Ethiopic version."[10] In order to support his hypothesis of a late date Milik draws attention to several lexical features of the text. One of them is the Slavonic word *змоурениемь* (*zmureniem'*)[11] found in 2 Enoch 22:11 which Milik has traced to the Greek term συρμαιόγραφος,[12] a derivative of the verb συρμαιογραφεῖν, translated as "to write in minuscule, hence quickly."[13] He argues that this verb appears to be a neologism which is not attested in any Greek text before the beginning of the ninth century. In addition in his analysis of the lexical features of the apocalypse, Milik directed attention to the angelic names of Arioch and Marioch found in 2 Enoch 33, arguing that they represent the equivalents of the Harut and Marut of the Muslim legends attested in the second surah of the Qur'an.[14]

John Collins, among others, has offered criticism of Milik's lexical arguments, noting that even if the Slavonic text uses the Greek word συρμαιόγραφος, "a single word in the translation is not an adequate basis

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[8] R. H. Charles, "The Date and Place of Writings of the Slavonic Enoch," *JTS* 22 (1921): 162–3. See also K. Lake, "The Date of the Slavonic Enoch," *HTR* 16 (1923): 397–398.

[9] J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).

[10] Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 109.

[11] M. I. Sokolov, "Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе. Выпуск третий. VII. Славянская Книга Еноха Праведного. Тексты, латинский перевод и исследование. Посмертный труд автора приготовил к изданию М. Сперанский," *Чтения в Обществе Истории и Древностей Российских* 4 (1910): 1–167 (23, n. 13).

[12] Milik's hypothesis is implausible. Most scholars trace the word *змоурениемь* (*zmureniem'*) to the Slavonic *змоурьна* (*zmur'na*) which corresponds to σμύρνα, *myrrha*. J. Kurz, ed., *Slovnik Jazyka Staroslovenskeho* (*Lexicon Linguae Palaeoslovenicae*), 4 vols. (Prague: Akademia, 1966), 1:677–8. Andersen's translation renders the relevant part of 2 Enoch 22:11 as follows: "And Vereveil hurried and brought me the books mottled with myrrh." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1:141.

[13] Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 111.

[14] Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 110.

for dating the whole work."[15] He has also pointed out that "the alleged correspondence of the angels Arioch and Marioch to Harut and Marut of Muslim legend is indecisive since the origin of these figures has not been established."[16]

Milik's arguments were not confined only to the lexical features of the apocalypse. He also argued that the priestly succession from Methuselah to Noah's nephew Melchizedek described in the third part of 2 Enoch reflects "the transmission of monastic vocations from uncle to nephew, the very widespread custom in the Greek Church during the Byzantine and medieval periods."[17] This feature in his opinion also points to the late Byzantine date of the pseudepigraphon. It should be noted that Milik's insistence on the Byzantine Christian provenance of the apocalypse was partially inspired by the earlier research of the French Slavist André Vaillant who argued for the Christian authorship of the text.[18] Vaillant's position too generated substantial critical response since the vast majority of readers of 2 Enoch had been arguing for the Jewish provenance of the original core of the text.[19]

The Sacerdotal Traditions and the Date of the Text

Our previous analysis shows that none of the arguments against the early dating of the pseudepigraphon stands up to criticism and that no convincing alternative to the early date has so far been offered.[20]

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[15] J. J. Collins, "The Genre Apocalypse in Hellenistic Judaism," in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East*, ed. D. Hellholm (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1983), 533, n. 7.

[16] Collins, "The Genre Apocalypse in Hellenistic Judaism," 533, n. 7.

[17] Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 114.

[18] A. Vaillant, *Le Livre des secrets d'Hénoch: Texte slave et traduction française*, Textes publiés par l'Institut d'études slaves 4 (Paris: L'Institut d'études slaves, 1976 [1952]).

[19] Some of the supporters of the idea of the Jewish authorship of the text include the following scholars: Amusin, Andersen, Bonwetsch, Böttrich, Bousset, Charles, Charlesworth, Collins, De Conick, Delcor, Denis, Eissfeldt, Ginzberg, Gieschen, Greenfield, Gruenwald, Fletcher-Louis, Fossum, Harnak, Himmelfarb, Kahana, Kamlah, Mach, Meshcherskij, Odeberg, Pines, Philonenko, Riessler, Sacchi, Segal, Sokolov, de Santos Otero, Schmidt, Scholem, Schürer, Stichel, Stone, and Székeley.

[20] The early date of the pseudepigraphon was supported by, among others, the following investigations: Charles and Morfill, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*; Sokolov, "Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе. Выпуск третий. VII. Славянская Книга Еноха Праведного. Тексты, латинский перевод и исследование. Посмертный труд автора приготовил к изданию М. Сперанский;" G. N. Bonwetsch,

Still, one should recognize that, while the adoption of an early date for the text itself does not face great challenges, placing the text within the precise boundaries of Second Temple Judaism is a much more difficult task.

In proceeding to this task one must first understand what features of the text point to the early date of the text in the chronological framework of Second Temple Judaism. It is noteworthy that the vast majority of scholarly efforts have been in this respect directed towards finding possible hints that might somehow indicate that the temple was still standing when the original text was composed.[21]

Thus, scholars have previously noted that the text does not seem to hint that the catastrophe of the destruction of the temple has already occurred at the time of its composition. Critical readers of the pseudepigraphon would have some difficulties finding any explicit expression of feelings of sadness or mourning about the loss of the sanctuary.

The affirmations of the value of the animal sacrificial practices and Enoch's halakhic instructions also appear to be fashioned not in the "preservationist," mishnaic-like mode of expression, but rather as if they reflected sacrificial practices that still existed when the author was writing his book.[22]

Das slavische Henochbuch, AGWG.PH Neue Folge Bd.1 Nr.3 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1896); N. Schmidt, "The Two Recensions of Slavonic Enoch," *JAOS* 41 (1921): 307–312; G. Scholem, *Ursprung und Anfänge der Kabbala* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1962), 62–64; M. Philonenko, "La cosmogonie du 'Livre des secrets d'Hénoch,'" in *Religions en Egypte: Hellénistique et romaine* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969), 109–116; S. Pines, "Eschatology and the Concept of Time in the Slavonic Book of Enoch," in *Types of Redemption*, ed. R. J. Zwi Werblowsky and C. Jouco Bleeker, SHR 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 72–87; J. C. Greenfield, "Prolegomenon," in H. Odeberg, *3 Enoch or the Hebrew Book of Enoch* (New York: KTAV, 1973), XVIII–XX; U. Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung im hellenistischen Diasporajudentum*, BZNW 44 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978), 38–41; J. H. Charlesworth, "The SNTS Pseudepigrapha Seminars at Tübingen and Paris on the Books of Enoch (Seminar Report)," *NTS* 25 (1979): 315–23; Collins, "The Genre Apocalypse in Hellenistic Judaism," 533; Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch;" M. E. Stone, *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, CRINT 2.2 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984), 406; A. de Santos Otero, "Libro de los secretos de Henoc (Henoc eslavo)," in *Apocrifos del AT*, ed. A. Diez Macho (Madrid: Ediciones Christiandad, 1984), 4:147–202; C. Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 1995), 812–13; P. Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and its History*, JSPSup 20 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996).

[21] Fischer, *Eschatologie und Jenseitserwartung im hellenistischen Diasporajudentum*, 40–41; Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, 812–13.

[22] 2 Enoch 59.

There is also an intensive and consistent effort on the part of the author to legitimize the central place of worship, which through the reference to the place *Akhuzan*[23] (a cryptic name for the temple mountain in Jerusalem), is transparently connected in 2 Enoch with the Jerusalem Temple.[24]

Scholars have also previously noted that there are some indications in the text of the ongoing practice of pilgrimage to the central place of worship; these indications could be expected in a text written in the Alexandrian Diaspora.[25] Thus, in his instructions to the children, Enoch repeatedly encourages them to bring the gifts before the face of God for the remission of sins, a practice which appears to recall well-known sacrificial customs widespread in the Second Temple period.[26]

Moreover, 2 Enoch also contains a direct command to visit the temple three times a day, advice that would be difficult to fulfill if the sanctuary has already been destroyed.[27]

One can see that the crucial arguments for the early dating of the text are all linked to the themes of the sanctuary and its ongoing practices and customs. These discussions are not new; already Charles employed the references to the temple practices found in 2 Enoch as main proofs for his hypothesis of the early date of the apocalypse. Since Charles' pioneering research these arguments have been routinely reiterated by scholars.

In recent scholarship one can see continuation of this line of inquiry involving close analysis of the sacerdotal traditions in attempt to clarify the possible date of the text.

A few years ago Christfried Böttrich broadened the familiar lines of debate through a nuanced investigation of several sacerdotal traditions in the third part of 2 Enoch. In a study published in 1995 and an article appearing subsequently in the *Journal for the Study of Judaism* in 2001, Böttrich draws attention to a tradition in Chapter 69 which deals with

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[23] Slav. Ахоузань.

[24] In Ezek 48:20–21 the Hebrew word אחזה), "special property of God," is applied to Jerusalem and the Temple. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 114.

[25] Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, 813.

[26] 2 Enoch 61:1–5; 62:1–2.

[27] 2 Enoch 51:4: "In the morning of the day and in the middle of the day and in the evening of the day it is good to go to the Lord's temple on account of the glory of your creator." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 178.

the joyful festival marking Methuselah's priestly appointment and his animal sacrifices.[28] Böttrich proposes that this cult-establishing event falls on the 17th of Tammuz, which is identified in 2 Enoch as the day of the summer solstice. Böttrich links this solar event with the imagery in 2 Enoch 69, where Methuselah's face becomes radiant in front of the altar "like the sun at midday rising up." He then reminds us that, since the second century C.E., the 17th of Tammuz was observed as a day of mourning and fasting because it was regarded as the day when Titus conquered Jerusalem.[29] Böttrich suggests that, lacking any signs of sadness or mourning, the description of the joyful festival in 2 Enoch 69 suggests that the account and, consequently, the whole book were written before the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E.[30]

Böttrich's study of the sacerdotal developments in the third part of the pseudepigraphon is important for understanding the conceptual mold of these cultic traditions that appear to reflect second temple settings.

It is possible that this portentous cluster of sacerdotal traditions introduced in 2 Enoch's final part, which is permeated with the imagery of the sacrificial rites and priestly successions, contains a set of decisive clues for unlocking the mystery of this enigmatic text's date.

Another important chronological marker appears to be hinted at in the strong presence of the early priestly Noachic motifs in this final portion of the apocalypse—the cluster of unique traditions that shows remarkable similarities to the Second Temple Jewish developments found in the early Enochic booklets and the Qumran materials.

The Priestly Noachic Traditions

It is well known that the birth of Noah occupies an important place in early Enochic and Noachic materials which portray the hero of the flood

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[28] Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, 813. See also C. Böttrich, "The Melchizedek Story of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch: A Reaction to A. Orlov," *JSJ* 32.4 (2001): 451.

[29] *y.* Taʿan. 68c and *b.* Taʿan. 26b.

[30] Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, 813.

as a wonder child.[31] 1 Enoch 106,[32] the Genesis Apocryphon,[33] and possibly 1Q19[34] depict him with a glorious face and eyes "like the rays of the sun." 1 Enoch 106:2 relates that when the new-born Noah opened his eyes, the whole house lit up. The child then opened his mouth and blessed the Lord

[31] On Noachic traditions, see M. Bernstein, "Noah and the Flood at Qumran," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*, ed. D. W. Parry and E. Ulrich, STDJ 30 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 199–231; D. Dimant, "Noah in Early Jewish Literature," in *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible*, ed. M. E. Stone and T. A. Bergren (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1998), 123–50; F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, STDJ 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 24–44; García Martínez, "Interpretation of the Flood in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Interpretations of the Flood*, ed. F. García Martínez and G. P. Luttikhuizen, TBN 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 86–108; C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ, 42; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 33ff.; R. V. Huggins, "Noah and the Giants: A Response to John C. Reeves," *JBL* 114 (1995): 103–110; H. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and the Son of Man*, WMANT 61 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988), 242–54; J. Lewis, *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1968); G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "Patriarchs Who Worry About Their Wives: A Haggadic Tendency in the Genesis Apocryphon," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. E. Chazon and M. E. Stone, STDJ 31 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 137–158; J. Reeves, "Utnapishtim in the Book of Giants?" *JBL* 12 (1993): 110–15; J. M. Scott, "Geographic Aspects of Noachic Materials in the Scrolls of Qumran," in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After*, ed. S. E. Porter and C. E. Evans, JSPSup 26 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 368–81; R. C. Steiner, "The Heading of the Book of the Words of Noah on a Fragment of the Genesis Apocryphon: New Light on a 'Lost' Work," *DSD* 2 (1995): 66–71; M. Stone, "The Axis of History at Qumran," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Chazon and Stone, 133–49; M. Stone, "Noah, Books of," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1971), 12:1198; J. VanderKam, "The Righteousness of Noah," in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms*, ed. J. J. Collins and G. W. E. Nickelsburg, SBLSCS 12 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1980), 13–32; J. VanderKam, "The Birth of Noah," in *Intertestamental Essays in Honor of Józef Tadeusz Milik*, ed. Z. J. Kapera, Qumranica Mogilanensia 6 (Krakow: The Enigma Press, 1992), 213–31; C. Werman, "Qumran and the Book of Noah," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Chazon and Stone, 171–81.

[32] 1 Enoch 106:5: "…his eyes (are) like the rays of the sun, and his face glorious…." M. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 2:244–5.

[33] 1QapGen 5:12–13: "…his face has been lifted to me and his eyes shine like [the] s[un…] (of) this boy is flame and he…." F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 1:31.

[34] A similar tradition is reflected in 1Q19. 1Q19 3: "…were aston[ished…] […(not like the children of men) the fir]st-born is born, but the glorious ones […] […] his father, and when Lamech saw […] […] the chambers of the house like the beams of the sun […] to frighten the […]." 1Q19 13: "[…] because the glory of your face […] for the glory of God in […] […he will] be exalted in the splendor of the glory and the beauty […] he will be honored in the midst of […]." García Martínez and Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1:27.

of heaven. Scholars have previously noted[35] that the scene of the glorious visage of the young hero of the flood delivering blessings upon his rising up from the hands of the midwife has a sacerdotal significance and parallels the glorious appearance and actions of the high priest.[36] The scene manifests the portentous beginning of the priestly-Noah tradition.[37]

In 2 Enoch, this prominent part of Noah's biography finds a new niche where the peculiar details of Noah's story are transferred to another character, the miraculously born priest Melchizedek.[38]

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[35] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 33ff.

[36] Crispin Fletcher-Louis notes parallels between this scene and the description of the ideal high priest from Sirach 50. He argues that "in Sirach 50 the liturgical procession through Simon's various ministrations climaxes with Aaron's blessings of the people (50:20, cf. Numbers 6) and a call for all the readers of Sirach's work 'to bless the God of all who everywhere works greater wonders, who fosters our growth from birth and deals with us according to his mercy' (50:22). So, too, in 1 Enoch 106:3 the infant Noah rises from the hands of the midwife and, already able to speak as an adult, 'he opened his mouth and blessed the Lord.' " Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 47.

[37] Fletcher-Louis argues that "the staging for [Noah's] birth and the behavior of the child have strongly priestly resonances." Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 46.

[38] The cluster of the Noachic motifs takes place in the last chapters of 2 Enoch (chaps. 68–72). In this section of the pseudepigraphon we learn that, immediately after Enoch's instructions to his sons during his short visit to the earth and his ascension to the highest heaven, the firstborn son of Enoch, Methuselah, and his brothers, the sons of Enoch, constructed an altar at *Akhuzan*, the place where Enoch had been taken up. In 2 Enoch 69 the Lord appeared to Methuselah in a night vision and appointed him as priest before the people. Verses 11–16 of this chapter describe the first animal sacrifice of Methuselah on the altar. The text gives an elaborate description of the sacrificial ritual during which Methuselah slaughters with a knife, "in the required manner," sheep and oxen placed at the head of the altar. All these sheep and oxen are tied according to the sectarian instructions given by Enoch earlier in the book. Chapter 70 of 2 Enoch recounts the last days of Methuselah on earth before his death. The Lord appeared to Methuselah in a night vision and commanded him to pass his priesthood duties on to the second son of Lamech, the previously unknown Nir. The text does not explain why the Lord wanted to pass the priesthood to Nir instead of Noah (Lamech's firstborn son), even though Noah is also mentioned in the dream. Further, the book tells that Methuselah invested Nir with the vestments of priesthood before the face of all the people and "made him stand at the head of the altar." The account of the sacerdotal practices of Enoch's relatives then continues with the Melchizedek story. The content of the story is connected with Nir's family. Sothonim, Nir's wife, gave birth to a child "in her old age," right "on the day of her death." She conceived the child, "being sterile" and "without having slept with her husband." The book narrated that Nir the priest had not slept with her from the day that the Lord had appointed him in front of the face of the people. Therefore, Sothonim hid herself during all the days of her pregnancy. Finally, when she was at the day of birth, Nir remembered his wife and called her to himself in the temple. She came to him and he saw that she was pregnant. Nir, filled with shame, wanted to cast her from him, but she died at his feet. Melchizedek was born from Sothonim's corpse. When Nir and Noah came in to bury Sothonim, they saw the child sitting beside the corpse with "his clothing on him." According to the story, they were terrified because the child was fully developed physically. The child spoke with his lips and he blessed the Lord. According to the story, the newborn child was marked with the

Scholars have previously pointed out that Melchizedek's birth in 2 Enoch recalls some parallels with the birth of Noah in 1 Enoch and the Genesis Apocryphon.[39] The details of Noah's natal account correspond at several points with the Melchizedek story:

1. Both Noah and Melchizedek belonged to the circle of Enoch's family.
2. Both characters are attested as survivors of the flood.
3. Both characters have an important mission in the postdiluvian era.
4. Both characters are depicted as glorious wonder children.
5. Immediately after their birth, both characters spoke to the Lord.

1 Enoch 106:3 relates that "... when he (Noah) arose from the hands of the midwife, he opened his mouth and spoke to the Lord with righteousness." A similar motif is attested in 2 Enoch 71:19 where Melchizedek "... spoke with his lips, and he blessed the Lord."[40]

6. Both characters were suspected of divine/angelic lineage.

M. Delcor affirms that Lamech's phrase in the beginning of the Genesis Apocryphon, "Behold, then I thought in my heart that the conception was the work of the Watchers and the pregnancy of the Holy Ones ..." can be compared with the words of Noah in 2 Enoch uttered at the time of examining Melchizedek: "This is of the Lord, my brother."[41]

7. The fathers of both infants were suspicious of the conception of their sons and the faithfulness of their wives.[42] Thus, in the Genesis

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sacerdotal sign, the glorious "badge of priesthood" on his chest. Nir and Noah dressed the child in the garments of priesthood and they fed him the holy bread. They decided to hide him, fearing that the people would have him put to death. Finally, the Lord commanded his archangel Gabriel to take the child and place him in "the paradise Eden" so that he might become the high priest after the flood. The final passages of the story describe the ascent of Melchizedek on the wings of Gabriel to the paradise Eden.

[39] See M. Delcor, "Melchizedek from Genesis to the Qumran Texts and the Epistle to the Hebrews," *JSJ* 2 (1971): 129; Delcor, "La naissance merveilleuse de Melchisédeq d'après l'Hénoch slave," *Kecharitomene. Mélanges René Laurentin*, ed. C. Augustin, *et al.* (Paris: Desclée, 1990), 217–229; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), 185; A. de Santos Otero, "Libro de los secretos de Henoc (Henoc eslavo)," *Apocrifos del Antiguo Testamento*, ed. A. Díes Macho, 4 vols. (Madrid: Ediciones Jesusiandad, 1984), 4:199; R. Stichel, *Die Namen Noes, seines Bruders und seiner Frau. Ein Beitrag zum Nachleben jüdischer Überlieferungen in der außerkanonischen und gnostischen Literatur und in Denkmälern der Kunst*, AAWG.PH 3. Folge 112 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 42–54.

[40] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 207.

[41] Delcor, "Melchizedek from Genesis to the Qumran Texts and the Epistle to the Hebrews," 129.

[42] George Nickelsburg observes that the miraculous circumstances attending Melchizedek's conception and birth are reminiscent of the Noah story in 1 Enoch, although the suspicion of Nir is more closely paralleled in the version of the Noah story in the Genesis Apocryphon. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah*, 188.

Apocryphon, Lamech is worried and frightened about the birth of Noah, his son. Lamech suspects that his wife Bathenosh was unfaithful to him and that "the conception was (the work) of the Watchers and the pregnancy of the Holy Ones, and it belonged to the Nephil[in]."[43] The motif of Lamech's suspicion about the unfaithfulness of Bathenosh found in the Genesis Apocryphon seems to correspond to Nir's worry about the unfaithfulness of Sothonim. 2 Enoch relates that when "... Nir saw her [Sothonim] ... he became very ashamed about her. And he said to her, 'what is this that you have done, O wife? And why have you disgraced me in the front of the face of all people? And now, depart from me, go where you conceived the disgrace of your womb.' "[44]

8. Mothers of both heroes were ashamed and tried to defend themselves against the accusation of their husbands. Thus, in the Genesis Apocryphon, the wife of Lamech responds to the angry questions of her husband by reminding him of their intimacies: "Oh my brother and lord! remember my sexual pleasure ... [...] in the heat of intercourse, and the gasping of my breath in my breast."[45] She swears that the seed was indeed of Lamech: "I swear to you by the Great Holy One, by the King of the hea[vens ...] ...[...] that this seed comes from you, [...] and not from any foreigner nor from any of the watchers or sons of heav[en]."[46] In 2 Enoch Sothonim does not explain the circumstances of the conception. She answers Nir: "O my lord! Behold, it is the time of my old age, and there was not in me any (ardor of) youth and I do not know how the indecency of my womb has been conceived."[47]

9. Fathers of both sacerdotal infants were eventually comforted by the special revelation about the prominent future role of their sons in the postdiluvian era.[48]

One cannot fail to notice host of interesting overlaps between the birth of Noah in the Noachic materials and the birth of Melchizedek in 2 Enoch.

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[43] García Martínez and Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1:29.

[44] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 205.

[45] García Martínez and Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1:29.

[46] García Martínez and Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1:29–31.

[47] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 205.

[48] 1 Enoch 106:16–18—"And this son who has been born unto you shall be left upon the earth, and his three sons shall be saved when they who are upon the earth are dead." 2 Enoch 71:29–30—"And this child will not perish along with those who are perishing in this generation, as I have revealed it, so that Melchizedek will be ... the head of the priests of the future." It is noteworthy that this information is given in both cases in the context of the revelation about the destruction of the earth by the flood. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 208.

The analysis of the Noachic background of the Melchizedek natal account in 2 Enoch and its sacerdotal flavor leads us to the important question about the role of these Noachic developments in discerning of the early date of the apocalypse. It is possible that the presence of these early priestly Noachic themes reflected in 2 Enoch can represent a testimony which hints to the fact that the text was composed when the second temple was still standing.

The central evidence here is the priestly features of the miraculous birth of the hero. The main concern of the story of the wondrous birth was sacerdotal; the story is permeated with imagery portraying the newborn as the high priest *par excellence.* It also has been shown that the mold of the Noachic priestly tradition reflected in 2 Enoch belongs to the same set of conceptual developments reflected in such Second Temple Enochic and Noachic materials as 1 Enoch 106, the Genesis Apocryphon, and 1Q19. The priestly features of 2 Enoch*'s* account of the wondrous birth might thus point to the fact that this narrative and, as a consequence, the whole macroform to which it belongs was written in the second temple period. It should be emphasized again that the distinct chronological marker here is not the story of the wonder child itself, which was often imitated in later Jewish materials, but the priestly features of the story that are missing in these later improvisations.

The analysis of the later pseudepigraphic and rabbinic imitations of the account of Noah's birth shows that the priestly dimension of the story never transcended the boundaries of the Enochic-Noachic lore, nor did it cross the chronological boundary of 70 C.E. since it remained relevant only within the sacerdotal context of the second temple Enochic-Noachic materials. Although some later Jewish authors were familiar with the account of Noah's birth, this story never again became the subject of priestly polemics once the dust of the destroyed temple settled.

Several examples can illustrate this situation. In search of the later variants of the story of the wonder child Fletcher-Louis draws attention to the account of Cain's birth in the primary Adam books.[49] Thus, the Latin Life of Adam and Eve 21:3 relates that Eve "brought forth a son who shone brilliantly (*lucidus*). At once the infant stood up and ran out and brought some grass with his own hands and gave it to his mother. His name was called Cain."[50] Fletcher-Louis points out that this narrative of the wonder

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[49] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 51–52.

[50] G. A. Anderson and M. E. Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve. Second Revised Edition*, SBL.EJL 17 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1999), 24–24E. See also Armenian and Georgian versions of LAE: "Then, when she bore the child, the color of his body was like the

child recalls the story of Noah. Yet he notes that "all the features which in the birth of Noah signal the child's priestly identity—solar imagery, birth in a house and child's blessing of God are markedly absent in the Adamic story."[51] Such absence of the significant features can be an indication that the final form of the text was composed outside the chronological boundaries of Second Temple Judaism and therefore, unlike 2 Enoch, displays no interest in the sacerdotal dimension of the story. Although the authors of the LLAE might have been familiar with the narrative of Noah's birth, the priestly concerns associated with the story were no longer relevant for them.

The same situation of the absence of the sacerdotal concern is observable also in the rabbinic stories of Moses' birth reflected in *b.* Sotah 12a,[52] *Exod. R.* 1:20,[53] *Deut. R.* 11:10,[54] *PRE* 48,[55] and the *Zohar* II.11b,[56] whose authors were possibly cognizant of the Noachic natal account.

Reflecting on this evidence Fletcher-Louis notices that, although the authors of the rabbinic accounts of Moses' birth appear to be familiar with Noah's narrative, these materials do not show any interest in the

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color of stars. At the hour when the child fell into the hands of the midwife, he leaped up and, with his hands, plucked up the grass of the earth . . ." (ALAE). "Eve arose as the angel had instructed her: she gave birth to an infant and his color was like that of the stars. He fell into the hands of the midwife and (at once) he began to pluck up the grass . . .." (GeLAE). *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 24E.

51 Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 52.

52 "He was born circumcised; and the Sages declare, At the time when Moses was born, the whole house was filled with light—as it is written here, 'And she saw him that he was good' (Ex 2:2), and elsewhere it is written, 'And God saw the light that it was good' (Gen 1:4)." Sotah 12a.

53 " . . .she saw that the Shechinah was with him; that is, the 'it' refers to the Shechinah which was with the child." *Midrash Rabbah*, trans. H. Freedman and M. Simon, 10 vols. (London: Soncino, 1961), 3:29–30.

54 "Moses replied: 'I am the son of Amram, and came out from my mother's womb without prepuce, and had no need to be circumcised; and on the very day on which I was born I found myself able to speak and was able to walk and to converse with my father and mother . . . when I was three months old I prophesied and declared that I was destined to receive the law from the midst of flames of fire.' " *Midrash Rabbah*, 7:185.

55 "Rabbi Nathaniel said: the parents of Moses saw the child, for his form was like that of an angel of God. They circumcised him on the eight day and they called his name Jekuthiel." *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer*, trans. G. Friedlander, 2nd ed. (New York: Hermon Press, 1965), 378.

56 "She saw the light of the Shechinah playing around him: for when he was born this light filled the whole house, the word 'good' here having the same reference as in the verse 'and God saw the light that it was good' (Gen 1:4)." *The Zohar*, trans. H. Sperling and M. Simon, 5 vols. (London: Soncino, 1933), 3:35. See also Samaritan *Molad Mosheh*: "She became pregnant with Moses and was great with child, and the light was present." *Samaritan Documents Relating to Their History, Religion and Life*, trans. J. Bowman (Pittsburgh: Pickwick, 1977), 287.

sacerdotal dimension of the original story. Buried in the ashes of the destroyed sanctuary, the alternative portrayal of the Noachic priestly tradition was neither offensive nor challenging for the heirs of the Pharisaic tradition.

Fletcher-Louis observes that, although Moses, like Noah, is able to speak from his birth and the house of his birth becomes flooded with light, "the differences of the specifically priestly form of that older tradition can be clearly seen."[57] He points out that while Moses is able to speak as soon as he is born, he does not bless God, as do Noah and Melchizedek.[58] The same paradigm shift is detected in the light symbolism. While in the rabbinic stories the whole house becomes flooded with light, the Mosaic birth texts do not specifically say that Moses is himself the source of light.[59] These differences indicate that, unlike in 2 Enoch, where the priestly concerns of the editors come to the fore, in the rabbinic accounts they have completely evaporated. Fletcher-Louis notices that "the fact that in the Mosaic stories the child is circumcised at birth indicates his role as an idealized representative of every Israelite: where Noah bears the marks of the priesthood, Moses carries the principal identity marker of every member of Israel, irrespective of any distinction between laity and priesthood."[60]

The marked absence of sacerdotal concerns in the later imitations of the story may explain why, although the rabbinic authors knew of the priestly affiliations of the hero of the flood, the story of his priestly birth never appeared in the debates about the priestly successions. This fact demonstrates that the Noachic priestly traditions reflected in 2 Enoch can be placed inside the chronological boundaries of the second temple period, which allows us to safely assume a date of the Melchizedek story and the entire apocalypse before 70 C.E.

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[57] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 52.

[58] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 52.

[59] Fletcher-Louis reminds that "the illumination of the house through Noah's eyes and the comparison of the light to that of the sun are specifically priestly features of Noah's birth." Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 52–53.

[60] Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 53.

EXCAVATING 2 ENOCH: THE QUESTION OF DATING AND THE SACERDOTAL TRADITIONS

David W. Suter

My task is to respond to a paper by Andrei Orlov, which seeks to date a text, 2 Enoch, on the basis of the sacerdotal traditions in the work. This text comes to us in a composite set of strata dealing with Enoch's ascent to heaven (2 Enoch 1–36), a testament of Enoch (37–68), and a priestly succession narrative dealing with Melchizedek (69–73). However, the text also comes before us for consideration at what may be a transitional time in its study, compounding the issue of strata to be excavated. Even the act of giving this work a title demands that we stop and reflect. As Gabriele Boccaccini observed in his opening remarks to the Seminar, with the discovery of a Coptic version of the work,[1] it may no longer be correct to label it the *Slavonic* Book of Enoch. The situation is somewhat similar to the discovery of the Aramaic Enoch manuscripts at Qumran. While the title, the *Ethiopic* Book of Enoch, has not completely disappeared, we do have a new or more precise sense of provenance as well as a greater complexity in determining how a multilingual collection should be edited.[2] It has yet to be determined how the discovery of a Coptic version will shape the study of 2 Enoch.

In naming the book, an alternative to a linguistic approach would be the numerical or sequential approach, as in 1 Enoch, 2 Enoch, and 3 Enoch. In the same opening speech Boccaccini likewise took a step that potentially could complicate a sequential or numerical approach to titling the Enoch literature by asking whether the Book of the Parables of Enoch and 2 Enoch are competing texts. The question is interesting given the

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[1] See Joost L. Hagen's contribution to the present volume. The fragments come from chapters 36–42, a transitional passage between the first two of the three major parts of 2 Enoch, and are likely to be dated between the eighth and the tenth centuries. The fragments represent the shorter recension as known from the Slavonic version.

[2] For a comprehensive account of the approaches to this problem, see G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 18–21.

similar cosmological and mystical elements of both works, not to mention the heavenly or angelic role of Enoch implied in each. But if the two texts are competing texts, rather than sequential texts, can we speak in sequential terms of First Enoch and Second Enoch? And what would such a juxtaposition do to the delicate questions of dating both works? The issue of title may ultimately be decided on a fairly arbitrary basis, as are many questions in the study of the Pseudepigrapha. The question of date, however, cannot be so arbitrarily decided.

In general, the question of dating is often taken as almost a trivial pursuit in and of itself, until we recall that the existence of the Enoch Seminar depends in part upon the discovery of the Aramaic fragments of 1 Enoch among the earliest layers of the Dead Sea Scrolls, leading scholars to date the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36) prior to the composition of Daniel as found in the Hebrew Bible and to treat it as a pivotal text in the history of Judaism. In addition, the absence of another major section, the Book of the Parables (1 Enoch 37–71), from the Qumran manuscripts of 1 Enoch, led to a battle among scholars over the date of that section of the Ethiopic version of the book, with implications both for the study of Judaism in the Hellenistic and Roman periods and for understanding Jesus in the gospels.[3] Finally, the question of the sequential dating of the works of Jewish literature in relation to their intellectual or ideological components is part of an important methodological approach to the study of Jewish literature by some members of this Seminar.[4] The issue of dating the Enoch literature is not trivial but essential to the development of our understanding of this body of literature. This essay is an attempt to push the question of dating beyond putting a time and date stamp on a work to asking what it means to date a pseudepigraphical writing.

In the debate over the dating of 2 Enoch, Orlov goes to the heart of the matter at the beginning of his paper. He observes that over the last century 2 Enoch has been included in the standard editions of the Pseudepigrapha as an example of early Jewish literature, while along the way scholars have issued cautions concerning the uncertainty of its date and provenance. For Orlov, the matter comes to a head in Francis Andersen's

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[3] See my account of this debate in D. W. Suter, "Enoch in Sheol: Updating the Dating of the Book of the Parables," in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables*, ed. G. Boccaccini (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007), 415–43.

[4] Note Boccaccini's discussion of writing the intellectual history of early Jewish literature in *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism: An Intellectual History from Ezekiel to Daniel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002).

remark in the introduction to his translation of 2 Enoch in Charlesworth's *The Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*: "In every respect 2 Enoch remains an enigma. So long as the date and location remain unknown, no use can be made of it for historical purposes."[5] Orlov, on the other hand, argues that the "uncritical use" of Andersen's remark "simplifies 2 Enoch scholarship, trivializing the value of the long and complex history of efforts to clarify the date of the text."[6] Orlov's paper is a response to the use of Andersen's remark with an argument that the sacerdotal elements of the narrative of the priestly heritage of Melchizedek reflect the origin of 2 Enoch in the Second Temple period prior to the destruction of the temple by the Romans in the year 70.

I am impressed by most of the specifics of Orlov's argument involving the Melchizedek narrative, but I also find myself concerned with the complexities offered by the text of 2 Enoch in relation to the question of date. Having played the skeptic with regard to the date of the Book of the Parables in a previous meeting of the Enoch Seminar,[7] I am led to the observation that here we are approaching the crux of the matter in the study of this body of literature: All too often we are faced with works of unknown provenance and history—2 Enoch is a poster child for such a work—and while we may have an intuition about the relation of our texts to the world of early Judaism, in the final analysis we do not know what we cannot show.[8] The skeptic is not obligated to come up with an alternative explanation, but simply to raise questions as to what we can really know about the date and the provenance of the work. Andersen's remark may be excessively skeptical, as Orlov may have demonstrated, but serves to remind us of the enigmatic character of this work.

In working through Andersen's translation of 2 Enoch, along with his introduction and notes, one is compelled to encounter the textual and linguistic difficulties involved with reconstructing this work. In his *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, R. H. Charles did not even include the Melchizedek succession narrative, treating it as an extraneous addition to the text, and while Andersen makes it clear that there is

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[5] F. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1983, 1985), 1:97.

[6] A. Orlov, "The Sacerdotal Traditions of 2 Enoch and the Date of the Text," 103.

[7] See Suter, "Enoch in Sheol."

[8] The turn of phrase here comes from Jacob Neusner's title, *Rabbinic Literature and the New Testament: What We Cannot Show, We Do Not Know* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1994).

reason to include that section, since it is a part of both the long and short recensions of 2 Enoch, we are still left with questions of how this ending fits with the initial account of Enoch's ascent to the seventh heaven and his angelic transformation, which takes up a good part of the beginning of the book. In the beginning, the text focuses upon Enoch and his ascent, at the end on the other hand the ultimate protagonist is Melchizedek, and we are left with the question of how and when these two narratives came together. In her contribution to the seminar, "Enoch in the Heavenly Sanctuaries: Reflections on Explicit and Implicit Connections and Associations between 2 Enoch and 3 Enoch," Rachel Elior argues that the instructions concerning sacrificial practice that are a distinctive part of the Melchizedek succession narrative are part of the priestly instruction given to Enoch in his initial ascent to heaven; however, in 2 Enoch the instructions concerning sacrificial practice appear only at the very end of the testament section, as Enoch makes his final departure to heaven (see 59:1–5; 62:1–3; and 69:1). The revelations of the initial ascent to heaven are cosmological and calendrical in nature and are consistent with the early Enoch tradition, which, while priestly in nature, shows no interest in sacrificial practice.[9] As one approaches the end of the testament section, there even seems to be a shift in an understanding of the possibility of atonement: Chapter 53 suggests that there is no hope for forgiveness even if Enoch the father stands before God, while 64:5 implies that in his final ascent Enoch carries away sin. The difference in interests between the initial ascent narrative and the Melchizedek succession narrative as well as the distinctiveness of the latter with regard to the importance and role of sacerdotal practice should be taken as evidence for a seam in the construction of the work. It seems problematic that so short and distinctive an ending to a pseudepigraphical writing should be taken as the clue to the dating of the whole.

We are also left with the issue of whether any date can be derived from the wealth of cosmological and ascent material at the beginning of 2 Enoch. One principle from my discussion of the dating of the Book of the Parables was that it was essential to pursue multiple paths in the effort to date such a work,[10] and given the significant body of ascent literature

[9] See D. W. Suter, "Temples and the Temple in the Early Enoch Tradition: Memory, Vision, and Expectation," in *The Early Enoch Literature*, ed. G. Boccaccini and J. J. Collins (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 195–218 (esp. 197 and 217).

[10] See my approach to the problem of dating the Book of the Parables in "Enoch in Sheol," 415–43, where I call for a multi-phased approach to the problem of dating (see 422,

in early Judaism, there is the real possibility of a typological approach to dating. In the case of 2 Enoch, I would judge the ascent material in it to be later than the Book of the Parables—not that such a determination tells us that much—simply because where in the Parables, as in the rest of 1 Enoch, there seems to be a two-fold ouranology (heaven and the heaven of heavens), 2 Enoch has a well-developed seven-fold ouranology.[11] The longer recension of 2 Enoch transcends the seven-fold ouranology with an eighth, ninth, and tenth heaven (chapters 21–22). It might be possible, therefore, to argue that there is a progression from the Book of the Parables to the shorter recension of 2 Enoch, to the longer recension, based upon the increasing complexity of the description of the heavenly architecture.

In the other direction, the ouranology of the ascent portion of 2 Enoch (and possibly other factors related to cosmology) suggests that we have a text that is progressively under construction for several centuries into the common era, as suggested by the comparison to the hekhaloth texts, but I suspect that we would discover that the latter texts are not such that they could supply us with a fixed point in time to help serve us in the process of dating 2 Enoch. With a text like 2 Enoch, it might be possible to say that a particular feature of the work could be dated prior to the destruction of the temple, but given what in my judgment is the likelihood that 2 Enoch is a composite work, that date may not automatically transfer over to other elements of the work or even to the shape of the work as a whole.

Another approach to dating that addresses the earlier portion of 2 Enoch is offered in a short paper presented to the Enoch Seminar by Basil Lourié, "One *Hapax Legomenon* and the Date of 2 Enoch." Lourié offers a *terminus a quo* of 6 C.E. based upon a *hapax legomenon* in Church Slavonic. He traces this reading through rabbinic Aramaic to the Greek *protome*, "bust" or "face," which he relates both to the introduction of the

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425, 435, and 438–39) following a suggestion in my dissertation, *Tradition and Composition in the Parables of Enoch*, SBL Dissertation Series, 47 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), 24. The problem has been that scholars have worked extensively over the evidence, drawing dramatically opposed conclusions from the same passages, often without a sufficient awareness of the history of the discussion or alternative approaches to dating based on other considerations. "Enoch in Sheol" was written to provide scholars with an awareness of the complexity of that discussion as they formulated their own responses. While the discussion of dating 2 Enoch is by no means as convoluted as the Parables, there still seems to be a temptation to base a date on the analysis of one section without raising questions of literary unity or possible alternative approaches raised by other sections.

[11] See Suter, *Tradition and Composition*, 24.

cult of the image of the emperor into Judea no earlier than 6 C.E. (the time of the beginning of direct Roman rule at which the Greek word could have been borrowed in Aramaic) and in 2 Enoch to the idea that in his ascent Enoch acquires the divine face or image. The *terminus ad quem*, Lourié notes, is less precise and could be as late as the *Sefer Hekhalot*, but not as early as 70 C.E. While Lourié's argument is somewhat hypothetical, it does suggest that more might be made of a linguistic or typological approach to dating the ascent narrative in 2 Enoch.

The sacerdotal material of the Melchizedek narrative does give an impression of being pre-70. As Orlov notes, the material advocates thrice daily worship in the temple as well as pilgrimages to Jerusalem. It is interested in matters of sacrifice and concerned with priestly symbolism as featured in the stories of the birth of Noah in 1 Enoch and the Genesis Apocryphon, which are obviously transformed in 2 Enoch into the narrative of the birth of Melchizedek. It seems to treat Jerusalem symbolically as the center of creation, without, however, agonizing over the loss of the sacred city. It is thus quite different from texts like 4 Ezra and Revelation (and many other post-70 texts), which seem obsessed with the loss of Jerusalem. In some ways it could be attractive to date the Melchizedek narrative somewhat earlier and think of it in relation to the obvious struggle between priestly parties and perspectives reflected in texts like Jubilees, or the Book of the Watchers. However, there seems to be little with which to work that could lead us to trace this material much earlier than the turn of the Common Era.

One potential problem to be faced by Orlov's argument, however, is with his contrast of the priestly treatment of Melchizedek in the birth story derived from the stories of the birth of Noah to the rabbinic treatment of the birth of Moses at a presumably later date. The rabbinic stories lack the priestly symbolism, and Orlov assumes that is the result of the loss of the temple, which has led to the abandonment of the priestly symbolism. However, there may be other possible explanations for the omission of the priestly material from the stories of the birth of Moses: Those stories reflect the concerns of the Pharisaic tradition rather than priestly parties and are therefore from a different sociological place within a diverse Jewish community. For that matter, Orlov may need to look more closely at the role of the Second Temple and its sacerdotal practices in the Enoch literature as a whole. The early Enoch tradition appears to treat the Second Temple as illegitimate,[12] although it honors its location

[12] Suter, "Temples and the Temple," 217.

in Jerusalem. Such a perspective might well lead to a failure to mourn the destruction of the Second Temple if it were shared by the author of 2 Enoch.

In excavating 2 Enoch, it is my conclusion that it is *possible* that the Melchizedek secession narrative is pre-70, but I am also aware of the ability of ancient narratives to create the impression of another time and another place for purposes that may not always be immediately apparent to the modern reader. Such a fiction is, of course, what a pseudepigraphon is all about. While it may be reasonable to date the Melchizedek narrative prior to 70 C.E., I am very hesitant to use it to date the work as a whole, without being convinced of the literary and philosophical unity of 2 Enoch. This pseudepigraphon is more likely a work that has evolved over a period of time, making it difficult to say that any one feature of the text outside of the Melchizedek section is evidence for Judaism prior to the destruction of the temple. Following a typological approach to dating, it is my *impression* that the narrative of Enoch's ascent to heaven *in some way* fits between the Book of the Watchers and the Book of the Parables on one hand, and the later hekhaloth literature like 3 Enoch on the other; however, the ascent narrative needs further discussion in relation to other examples of ascents to determine where it fits. Here I call attention to the work of Martha Himmelfarb[13] as well as a short paper by Bilhah Nitzan, "The Angelic Songs in the Slavonic Enoch in Relation to Their Ancient Traditions," presented to this Seminar. Himmelfarb stresses the connection of 2 Enoch and the ascent to heaven to the Book of the Watchers in 1 Enoch and seems reluctantly comfortable with a first-century date and Alexandrian provenance for 2 Enoch, although she does treat 2 Enoch as a composite work. Nitzan describes the songs in the ascent in 2 Enoch as consistent with the earlier praise of God in biblical and Second Temple literature, but suggests on the other hand that 2 Enoch is more like the later hekhaloth literature in isolating the praise to the realms of heaven, placing 2 Enoch on the threshold between apocalyptic literature and hekhaloth literature. In her contribution to the Seminar, Elior stresses the relation of 2 Enoch to 3 Enoch, and in the midst of this discussion we have Boccaccini's suggestion, noted above, that the Book of the Parables and 2 Enoch are competing documents. The best conclusion to be reached from these comparative possibilities is that such a typological process can yield only a relative date at best, and that the discussion needs to take

[13] *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 37–44.

place separately from the discussion of the Melchizedek narrative as a second approach to dating 2 Enoch. Orlov's argument for the date of the Melchizedek narrative has merit. It seems more reasonable, however, to treat the whole of 2 Enoch as composite, and to ask when and why its various parts were brought together.

CONTENT AND CONTEXT OF 2 ENOCH

2 ENOCH AND THE NEW PERSPECTIVE ON APOCALYPTIC

Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis

Literary form is inseparable from literary content. 2 Enoch is an apocalypse.[1] It views both Adam and Enoch in exalted terms; as glorious, angelic, but also *human*, beings. If we accepted traditional notions of "apocalypticism" this view of Adam would be anomalous since apocalypses are supposed to propound a negative anthropology. However, within the "New Perspective" on apocalyptic the theological outlook of 2 Enoch, including its treatment of Adam, is typical of the apocalypses. 2 Enoch also has distinctive aspects in its portrayal of both Adam and Enoch which make best sense when the whole work is read within the conceptual parameters of a fresh perspective on apocalyptic.

I have critiqued the traditional dualistic and eschatology-focused understanding of apocalypticism elsewhere.[2] Suffice, for the purpose of this essay, it is to outline the contours of the New Perspective according to which apocalyptic has two conceptual foci.

First, human visions of, journeys to, and revelation of the secrets of, the world beyond quotidian, earthly space and time are ultimately grounded in the belief that humanity is made to be God's *ṣelem* (Gen 1:26–28), that is his living divine cult statue (cf. Num 33:52; 2 Kgs 11:18; Amos 5:26; 2 Chr 23:17; Dan 3; and Akkadian *ṣalmu* in CAD ṣ 79a–b).[3] The (true) human being was created to have a divine identity and, therefore, an epistemology grounded in the divine life. He is able to see the world as God sees it. She moves around the world as God and his servants (the angels) move around it. Revelations of cosmic and divine secrets come directly to and through the human being; not through divination and the techniques of pagan idolatry.

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[1] I do not offer detailed engagement with text critical questions, though some of my findings provide support for the originality of the longer text.

[2] C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, "Jewish Apocalypticism," in *The Handbook of the Study of the Historical Jesus*, ed. S. E. Porter and T. Holmén, 4 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 2:1569–1607, and Fletcher-Louis, "Religious Experience and the Apocalypses," in *Experientia Volume 1: Inquiry Into Religious Experience in Early Judaism and Christianity*, ed. F. Flannery, et al., (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 125–144.

[3] See esp. S. L. Herring, "A "Transubstantiated" Humanity: The Relationship between the Divine Image and the Presence of God in Genesis i 26f," *VT* 58 (2008): 480–94.

Secondly, for the apocalypses the structure of the cosmos *and access to its inner secrets* is defined by the Jewish temple cult. The truly human identity is grounded in, and recovered through, temple worship. Israel's temple both defines the nature of the cosmos (in its temple-as-microcosm and temple-as-restored-Eden functions) and provides, thereby, a context in which those who, either through office or personal charisma, are called to access "revelation" that transcends the quotidian space and time that is experienced outside the temple. The extant apocalypses (esp. 1 Enoch and Daniel) are the "classic" texts that recount the experiences and revelations that the humanity-as-God's-image-idol and the temple-as-microcosm offer. Their heroes (Enoch, Daniel, Abraham and others) are models for those who expect to receive the same. Enoch is a model, in particular, of the true priest who ascends to heaven to receive divine revelation just as the high priest enters God's innermost place on the Day of Atonement. The priestly character of apocalyptic visions is grounded in the belief—articulated clearly already in the Priestly material in the Pentateuch—that Israel's high priest recapitulates Adam's (otherwise lost) identity as God's image-idol (see esp. Exod 28 where Aaron is dressed in garments proper to a divine cult statue).

With these two conceptual foundations to the form and content of the apocalypses in place it is possible to describe in a more straightforward way than has been the case hitherto the ways in which apocalyptic literature stands in continuity with biblical religion. The key point here is that the apocalypses' worldview is *not* dualistic in the way usually understood. Revelation is sought for the social, economic, political and ecological benefit of the world God has created, and the apocalypses endorse the Torah- and temple-centered parameters revealed to Israel as the means to, and true character of, a properly ordered cosmos. Indeed, they engage the same concerns as the Hebrew Bible with a claim to revelation precisely because the "canon" is open to interpretation in matters of political theology (including messianic hope and eschatology), Torah interpretation, and in the ordering of cult.

The character of the Enochic tradition prior to the writing of 2 Enoch illustrates this well (and orientates us to a full appreciation of what is new and different in 2 Enoch). The Enochic tradition has its roots in Mesopotamian traditions surrounding the ideal king and priest Enmeduranki, who is as much a mythical figure as he is a model for the true Mesopotamian king. As was the case in Assyria and Babylon, so also in the earliest (biblical) Enochic tradition religious and political worlds are inseparable. The Book of the Watchers proclaims Jerusalem as the location of God's

house and throne and ridicules any with affections for Dan and the old Canaanite sanctity of Hermon. Its earliest layers probably reflect polemic between the southern and northern tribes. In its extant form it endorses the Jerusalemite priesthood and rejects the rival claims of Samaritan priests.[4] It assumes the old Solomonic temple-as-microcosm model and sets up Enoch as *Stammvater* to the Jerusalemite priesthood. It is accompanied by the Astronomical Book that engages the *very practical* matters of right (cultic) calendar. These earliest portions of the Enoch tradition were later developed with material that gives Enoch's voice of support to the Maccabean strategy of resistance (the Animal Apocalypse) and then, subsequently, there were added predictions of Enoch's own return as divine warrior and heavenly judge in ultimate fulfillment of Daniel's vision of the one like a son of man (in the Similitudes of Enoch). And here it should be stressed that the Enochic Son of Man is *not* an otherworldly, utterly transcendent figure. The identification of Enoch with Daniel's son of man figure is faithful to the roots of that image in biblical traditions of true, divine kingship and priesthood. Enoch was always the truly human one—the *seventh* from Adam—and as such was entitled to the recovery of the divine identity that Adam lost.

It is true that, by comparison to earlier Enochic tradition, the attention given to Adam in 2 Enoch is heightened. However, because a high theological anthropology is foundational to the apocalyptic phenomenon, Adam is never very far away at the roots of the Enochic tradition. Adam and paradise traditions are obvious in 1 Enoch 24–32. They are there too in the central section that describes Enoch's intercession for the watchers, his dreams and his heavenly ascent. In 14:2 Enoch claims to be the true Adam who, though a creature of flesh (cf. Gen 2:21–24), has the breath of God that gives intelligent speech (cf. Gen 2:7 and *Tgm. Onq., Tgm. Neof.* & *Tgm. Yer.* ad loc).[5] The narrative of the early chapters of BW is driven by the watchers' threat to the fulfillment of the command that Adam is to be fruitful, multiply and to fill the earth with God's own presence (Genesis 1:28 is echoed in 1 Enoch 6:1; 9:1 and 16:2).[6]

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[4] See E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End. Zechariah, the Book of Watchers and Apocalyptic*, (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 198–203; Tigchelaar, "Some Remarks on the Book of the Watchers, the Priests, Enoch and Genesis, and 4Q208," *Hen* 24 (2002): 143–45; C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, "The High Priest as Divine Mediator in the Hebrew Bible: Dan 7:13 as a Test Case," *SBLSP* (1997): 161–93 (esp. 178–180); and Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 24–27.

[5] See Fletcher-Louis, "Religious Experience", 138.

[6] See C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, "The Aqedah and the Book of Watchers (*1 Enoch* 1–36),"

The Adamic material in Daniel has often been missed or downplayed. It is a golden thread that connects the narrative and visionary portions of Daniel.[7] And in both the apocalypses and in the Hebrew Bible Adamic traditions are thoroughly political.

In the Hebrew Bible the creation story gives to all humanity royal privileges in a way that both directly challenges the arrogation of power that characterized contemporary ancient Near Eastern kingship and also that provides a foundation for the critique of Israel's own (pre-exilic) kingship in the context of the post-exilic transfer of power to priests and people.[8] In Daniel, Nebuchadnezzar's fall (Dan 4) is both God's judgment on an oppressive empire and also a recapitulation of Adam's fate in Genesis 3.[9] Daniel and his friends represent the true humanity—God's *ṣelem*—inviolable against the flames that are used to melt down foreign idols, protected and raised up to positions of political responsibility and power in the exilic community (Dan 1–6) in anticipation of the vindication and exaltation of all God's people at the climax of history (Dan 7:13–27). In 1 Enoch, Enoch is the true high priest and mantic sage given access to the corridors of divine power that in the author's own time are located at Jerusalem. Just as Enmeduranki was sacral-king and patron of the guild of diviners, so Enoch is founder of Israel's cosmic temple state and its rituals of revelation. The Enochic model of mantic wisdom challenges the one in Mesopotamia *because it rests on a different vision of the truly human identity; a vision that believes humanity is created to be God's ṣelem and that all other idols* (*and their associated divination*) *are an unnecessary—and pathetic—contravention of the divine order.*

In many respects 2 Enoch exemplifies (and vindicates) the New Perspective on Apocalyptic. The portrayals of Enoch and of Adam stand in continuity with older apocalyptic tradition and illustrate the conceptual focal

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in *Studies in Jewish Prayer*, ed. R. Hayward and B. Embry (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 11–14.

[7] For Adamic traditions in Daniel 3–6 see Fletcher-Louis, "Religious Experience," 135–137 and for creation and Adamic language in Daniel 7 see A. Lacocque, "Allusions to Creation in Daniel 7," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*, ed. J. J. Collins, and P. W. Flint (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 1:114–31.

[8] In Mesopotamia the institution of kingship as an office that befits a separate class of humanity is grounded in the belief that at the beginning the gods created (a weak and pathetic) humanity in general and a separate (and glorious) king in particular (see *COS* 1:476–477 and cf. *Gilgamesh* SBV I:1–93).

[9] Both Adam and Nebuchadnezzar eat grass (Gen 3:18; cf. Ps 106:20), not the bread of the seed of the plants (Gen 1:11–12).

points of apocalyptic. As a route to our understanding of the distinctives of 2 Enoch it is worth assessing it as a witness to the two conceptual foci of an apocalypse.

1. *A Typical Apocalypse: Temple and Priesthood*

In 2 Enoch 71:32 Enoch is one of the "great priests" [J] (implicit in 71:3–32 [A]). In both recensions he is installed as priest in 22:8–10 at the climax of his heavenly ascent.[10] Through the Lord's attendant Michael, Enoch receives new clothes of (God's own) Glory and is anointed with oil "like sweet dew" with "the fragrance of myrrh" that is like "the rays of the glittering sun". The scene is indebted to biblical priesthood passages as contemporary parallels show.[11] At the climax of his heavenly ascent the scene recalls the angelic investiture of Levi in T. Levi 8 (that probably represents material in an original Aramaic Levi Document), especially in the order anointing followed by dressing.

Behind the three-tiered ouranology of Enoch's ascent in 1 Enoch there stands the three-zoned hierarchy of the Solomonic temple. 2 Enoch assumes the seven heavens that become normative towards the end of the second temple period. As Martha Himmelfarb points out, the temple character of the heavens is reflected in the prominence of the angelic liturgy during Enoch's ascent.[12] However, it must be said that the description of the seven heavens of Enoch's ascent (chaps. 3–22) has little obvious visual or structural connection to the Jerusalem (or another Israelite) temple.[13] This requires explanation.

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[10] For Enoch's priesthood here see M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 40–41; Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 23–24.

[11] For "the clothes of [my] Glory" and the priesthood see Exod 28:2, 40, Ben Sira 45:7–8; 50:7, 11; Aristeas 97–99; Gk T. Levi 8:5 and cf. 2 Enoch 69:5; 71:19; Jub 31:14; 1QSb 4:28; for the anointing of the priest with fragrant oil see Exod 30:22–33 and for the comparison to dew see Ps 133:2–3; for the priesthood and the sun see Gk T. Levi 14:1–3; *T. Naph.* 5; 4QTlevi^{a} 8 iii 4–6; 4QTLevi^{d} frag. 9; Josephus *Ant*. 3:185 and see also 2 Enoch 69:10; for the angelic change of clothing in God's presence see multiple points of similarity to Zechariah 3 (discussed in C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology*, WUNT 2.94 (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1997), 154 n. 266).

[12] Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 38.

[13] The description of the fiery, gold and crimson Tree of Life in 8:2–4 perhaps evokes the temple lampstand (Exod 25:31–40). For the Menorah and the Tree of Life see R. Hachlili, *The Menorah, the Ancient Seven-Armed Candelabrum: Origin, Form and Significance* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 36–38, 205.

It could be that 2 Enoch represents a later development in apocalyptic tradition when the temple-as-microcosm idea can simply be taken for granted. Alternatively, perhaps the author of 2 Enoch writes at some geographical distance to the Jerusalem temple (unlike the author of the Book of the Watchers). There may be truth to both these observations. However, it is also likely that the author of 2 Enoch is very much interested in affirming the Jerusalem-temple-as-microcosm-and-means-of-visionary-access-to-the-heavens idea but that he employs a different strategy to the one in 1 Enoch 1–36. We should bear in mind that some time after the composition of BW, but apparently before its destruction, the Jerusalem temple was divided up into seven zones of holiness.[14] This is the most likely source of the seven-heaven cosmology of the Jewish apocalypses and may be assumed in 2 Enoch (even if the content of its seven heavens does not obviously map neatly onto the seven zones of holiness known to us). Secondly, anyone in antiquity describing Enoch's ascent to heaven must reckon with the fact that he lived long before any temple in Jerusalem (or wilderness tabernacle). In 1 Enoch, Enoch ascends at Mount Hermon and then he sees Jerusalem as the place where God—in Israel's future history—"descends to visit the earth in goodness" (25:3). When God descends he brings with him the house that Enoch had encountered in his ascent at Hermon (1 Enoch 25:5–6).

In 2 Enoch, Enoch does not ascend at Hermon and the drama is focused entirely on the site of the future temple. The structure of the narrative of 2 Enoch is designed to claim that *Enoch had an ascent through the seven heavens and this happened at the site of the later Jerusalem temple, the centre of the earth, so that it is right and proper that that site be honored as the axis mundi through the building of that temple.* This, in fact, brings the Enochic tradition more neatly into line with the conceptual foundations of apocalyptic than the older ascent-at-Hermon tradition.

After his ascent, descent and return to heaven, the closing chapters of 2 Enoch identify the place of Enoch's ascent as the place of the Jerusalem temple. That is "Akhuzan", the special property (אחזה) of God of Ezek 48:20–21 (2 Enoch 68:5–7; 69:3) where the people construct an altar to celebrate with sacrifices and a festival, thanking God for the sign given to them through Enoch. This is the place that already BW had identified as "the center of the earth" (1 Enoch 26:1), which, (the longer recension of)

[14] See *m. Kelim* 1:8–9; Josephus *JW* 1:26; 5:227–237; *CA* 2:102–104.

2 Enoch adds, is the place where Adam was created ([J] 71:35–36).[15] As in 1 Enoch, so also in 2 Enoch, the hero's ascent to heaven defines the character of all subsequent (and legitimate) priestly service at Jerusalem in terms of apocalyptic ascent to heaven. And in this way the first (heavenly ascent) and the third (priestly succession narrative) parts of 2 Enoch are literarily tied together.[16]

The second part of 2 Enoch is also taken up with priestly themes that bind together all three parts. In Enoch's instructions to his children there is: blessing on those who serve in front of God's face organizing gifts and offerings (42:6); guidance about the manner in which clean animals should be offered for the healing of one's soul (chap. 59); advice to make prompt offerings and to light numerous lamps before the face of the Lord (chap. 45); a recommendation to visit the temple at the time of the Tamid sacrifice (and at noon) (51:4);[17] teaching regarding the offering of clean animals as a sacrifice on account of sin [J], for healing of the soul (chap. 59) and guidance regarding the making and keeping of vows and their requisite offerings (chaps. 61–62).

Then there is the dramatic scene of the people's gathering to Enoch to hear his final instructions before ascent. There are several striking similarities here to the climactic scene at the end of Ben Sira. In Ben Sira 50 there are *two* acts of worshipful prostration (50:17, 20–21). In the second, and perhaps the first, Simon himself (as the image and Glory of God, and as the cultic instantiation of Wisdom) blesses the people with the "blessing of the LORD" and is the focus of their worship. Similarly, *twice* in 2 Enoch—first in 2 Enoch 57 and then again in chapter 64—the people (first his brothers, cf. Ben Sira 50:12–13, then all the people) prostrate themselves before Enoch and he blesses them.

In Ben Sira 50 Simon is "glorified (נהדר)" in his procession from the sanctuary; so much so that he appears as the Glory of God (50:7, cf. Ezek 1:28) having "wrapped himself" (עטותו, cf. Ps 104:2) in "garments of Glory"

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[15] For Jerusalem the navel or center of the earth see also LXX Ezek 38:12 (cf. Ezek 5:5); Jubilees 8:19; Josephus *JW* 3:52; Tanhuma *Qedoshim* §7:10 (ad Lev 19:23). See already Psalm 48 following M. Palmer, "The Cardinal Points in Psalm 48," *Bib* 46 (1965): 357–58 and the discussion in J. D. Levenson, *Sinai and Zion* (Minneapolis: Winston, 1985), 115–122, and M. Weinfeld, "Zion and Jerusalem as Religious and Political Capital: Ideology and Utopia," in *The Poet and the Historian*, ed. R. E. Friedman (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 104–115.

[16] In the past readers have struggled to see any real literary connection between the three parts of 2 Enoch (e.g. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 41–42).

[17] For the morning and evening Tamid sacrifices supplemented by *midday* as a time of priestly worship see Josephus *CA* 2:105.

(50:11 cf. 2 Enoch 22:8). He mounts the altar and makes glorious (יהדר, ἐδόξασεν—v. 11) the surrounding forecourt. That glorification seems then to impact, in particular, his brothers and fellow priests who surround him 'in *their* glory' (the whole scene fulfilling the vision of Psalm 8:4–8).[18] There is a chain of glory: the high priest is glorified and then his fellow worshippers are glorified. Whether or not this is a theology and dramatic theme peculiar to Ben Sira,[19] it is striking the way the same language is used in 2 Enoch where there is the expectation that Enoch's peers "will be glorified" just as he is glorified (56:1, cf. 69:1).

Lastly, the priestly character of this apocalypse and of its hero is evident in the people's acclamation of Enoch in 64:5 as the one "who carried [J]/carries [A] away the sin(s)" of mankind [J]/of his peers [A]. Orlov has explained this statement as a commentary on the effect of Enoch's righteousness, ascension and transformation.[20] By these Enoch carries away the sin of the protoplast (see 30:15–16 & 41:1–2) and restores humanity to its prelapsarian paradisal condition. Orlov appeals to aspects of the surrounding narrative for this interpretation.

His argument is persuasive and is unsurprising given the apocalypse's place in priestly tradition: it has both a scriptural and a cultic warrant. In Exodus 28, at the climactic end of the account of Aaron's garments there is a description of the golden rosette (ציץ) on the turban that bears the name of the Lord. Exodus 28:38 says "it shall be on Aaron's forehead and *Aaron will carry/take away the iniquity/iniquities from the holy things* (נשא אהרן את עון הקדשים/ἐξαρεῖ Ααρων τὰ ἁμαρτήματα τῶν ἁγίων) that the sons of Israel sanctify for their holy donations" (cf. Lev 10:17; Num 18:1). If Enoch has fulfilled the duties of the priestly office then 64:5 is a straightforward application of Exodus 28:38 to Enoch's circumstances in pre-history when there are no "sons of Israel", only all of humanity.

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[18] See discussion in C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, "The Temple Cosmology of P and Theological Anthropology in the Wisdom of Jesus Ben Sira," in *Of Scribes and Sages: Early Jewish Interpretation and Transmission of Scripture*, ed. C. A. Evans, (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2004), 95–96, 106–107.

[19] For the language of Ben Sira in 2 Enoch see perhaps also 69:10 (*OTP*, 1:198–99, *ad loc* and Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 41). Perhaps 2 Enoch should be judged an important witness to the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of Ben Sira, through the Greek translation of the author's grandson (Sirach), in North Africa. For the priest's role in communicating the divine glory he has received to others see the texts in Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, e.g. 4Q481 frag. 81 discussed on 176–87.

[20] A. A. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 232–234.

Furthermore, there is growing evidence that what Orlov thinks Enoch does for humanity—restoring it to the prelapsarian paradisal condition—is precisely what the temple cult in general, and priestly-led liturgies in particular, were believed to do in Second Temple Judaism. The temple is a restored Eden, the priesthood and the wider worshipping community recover through the liturgy all the Glory of Adam. We shall return to this matter shortly.

2. *A Typical Apocalypse: Theological Anthropology*

There is no doubt that 2 Enoch thinks of its heroes in highly exalted terms. Adam is "a second angel, honored and great and glorious," incomparable on the earth even among God's creatures (30:11–12 [J]).[21] God instructs Michael to take Enoch from his earthly clothing and give him "clothes of [my] Glory" (22:8), and, as we have seen, Enoch is given a cultic position (receiving prostration and taking away the sins of the people) appropriate to a peculiarly divine identity. At the climax of his ascent, Enoch looks at himself once he is anointed and dressed in new clothes and declares "I had become like one of the glorious ones, and there was no observable difference" (22:10). As befits his heavenly position, surrounded by worshipping angels before God's throne, Enoch now shares their "glorious," angelic identity.

This much is clear. But about this material in 2 Enoch it is possible to make three interpretative misjudgments. (1) Clearly, for 2 Enoch, there is an essential continuity between the identity given to Adam and the one now received by Enoch. And since, as we have seen, there is an expectation that the righteous will also be "glorified" through Enoch (and through subsequent priests: 56:1, cf. 69:1), our text is exploring a theological anthropology—what it means to be human—not speculating on the peculiar privileges of remarkable, but unique, divine mediators. Mediation is important for 2 Enoch *within the wider context of the desire for a recovery of a proper theological anthropology.*

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[21] Adam's incomparability echoes God's own incomparability (Exod 15:11; Deut 3:24; Pss 35:10; 71:19; 113:5, cf. 2 Enoch 22:1). Compare the way Israel's incomparability echoes God's incomparability in 1QM 10 (discussed in Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 403–412 and with allusive reference to the revelation of the תבנית אדם (the "form/construction of Adam") in 1QM 10:14).

(2) From his anointing and new clothing both M. Himmelfarb and P. Alexander conclude that "Enoch has become an angel."[22] It is true that the "second angel" title for Adam supports such a statement. However caution is needed here.[23] On the one hand, there is nothing in the text that states Enoch ceases to be a human being and, secondly, it is the clothing and anointing *of Israel's high priesthood* that leads to the comparison with "the glorious ones."[24] In both recensions of chapter 39, with his return after his heavenly ascent he stresses to his people that he is still "a human being" as they are (39:5 [J]; 39:3–5 [A]). On the other hand, there are ways in which he is more exalted than the angels. In 24:1 Enoch sits (enthroned?) at God's left hand where he writes down all that God shows him. Soon after this he claims to "know everything" (40:1) and boasts of a knowledge superior to that of the angels (40:3). Enoch receives worshipful prostration, something that in wider Jewish (and Christian) tradition is usually (if not universally) denied to the angels.[25] So, if Enoch is an angel, he is much more also. To a degree he shares in God's unique identity and, at the same time, retains his humanity (albeit a peculiar kind of humanity that transcends normal earthly humanity).[26]

(3) If "deification" and "incarnation" are judged to be strictly prohibited by biblical and early apocalyptic tradition then we are bound to assume that both what happens to Enoch and the identity ascribed to Adam here are startling and a marked departure from older conceptual categories.[27] However, in its own way, the image-idol theology of Genesis 1 (and its cognate biblical texts) defines biblical religion in essentially incarnational terms and the apocalypses have the same theological anthropology that naturally leads to the hope for a kind of *deification* (that also provides conceptual warrant for the apocalypses' distinctive religious experiences).

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[22] So, both Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 40 and P. Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God: Transformation of the Biblical Enoch," in *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible*, ed. M. E. Stone and T. A. Bergen (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press, 1998), 52–63 (104).

[23] His angelic identity is also reflected in his avoidance of earthly food and pleasures (56:2).

[24] For the angel(omorph)ic character of the priestly clothing see Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*.

[25] Though 2 Enoch itself (at 1:7) perhaps offers a striking exception to the rule; with Enoch bowing down to the angels that greet him.

[26] *Pace* F. Back, *Verwandlung durch Offenbarung bei Paulus: eine Religionsgeschichtlich-Exegetische Untersuchung zu 2 Kor 2,14–4,6*, WUNT 2.153 (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2002), Enoch is not transformed into an angel so that he is fit for the heavenly world (63). Because he is, as the true human being, worthy of God's presence, he is clothed in divine Glory.

[27] So, for example, Alexander, "From Son of Adam," 102–104.

The characterization of Enoch in 2 Enoch is continuous with older Enoch tradition,[28] stretching back to the Pentateuch and to older Mesopotamian traditions in which the human king is also divine.[29] Equally, the portrayal of Adam reflects a wider and older interest in Adam's originally divine and angelic Glory.[30]

Indeed, its roots in the biblical text itself can be illustrated through a brief consideration of the account of Adam's sin in 2 Enoch 30:15–16 [J] where God explains to Enoch:

> And I gave him his free will, and I pointed out to him the two ways—light and darkness. And I said to him, 'This is good for you, but that is bad,' so that I might come to know whether he has love toward me or abhorrence, and so that it might become plain who among his race loves me. Whereas I have come to know his nature, he does not know his own nature. That is why ignorance is more lamentable than the sin such as it is in him to sin. And I said, 'after sin there is nothing for it but death.'

Many, no doubt, will judge this a significant departure from the text of Genesis 2–3 and without obvious biblical warrant.[31] However, whilst 2 Enoch 30:15–16 is certainly brief and elliptical it is in accord both with well-attested post-biblical interpretations of Genesis 2–3 and, indeed, probably preserves a precious witness to the original meaning of Genesis 2–3.

The view that God did in fact give to Adam (and Eve) the knowledge of good and evil appears to have been a respectable one (see Sirach 17:1, cf. 1QH^a 6:11–12 [14:11–12]; 4Q417 frag. 2 i 17–18 = 4Q418 frags. 43+ 44+45 i 13–14; 4Q300 frag. 3 2–3). Indeed, it is a natural reading of Genesis 2 since there God tells Adam that some trees are "good" (2:17, cf. 2:12), but that it is wrong (i.e. "evil") to eat of one particular tree. God also declares it "not good" that Adam is alone (2:18). Adam evidently agrees with this "not good" and correctly discerns that the animals do not offer him a good

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[28] In the Similitudes, but see also the usually overlooked words on Enoch in the Hebrew Ben Sira 49:14–15 (discussed in C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology*, WUNT 2.94 [Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1997], 147–194).

[29] First millennium Mesopotamian kingship has been reevaluated in the last decade and, at least in its Assyrian form, is now widely judged to have included a view of the king as divine (see, for example, P. Machinist, "Kingship and Divinity in Imperial Assyria," in *Text, Arifact, and Image: Revealing Ancient Israelite Religion*, ed. G. Beckman and T. J. Lewis [Providence, RI: Brown University, 2006], 152–188).

[30] Discussed in Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam, passim*.

[31] So, for example, J. T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, "The Creation of Man and Woman in Early Jewish Literature," in *The Creation of Man and Woman: Interpretations of the Biblical Narratives in Jewish and Christian Traditions*, ed. G. P. Luttikhuizen (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 34–62 (60).

partner (i.e. that bestiality is *bad*—Lev 18:23; 20:15–16).[32] As several commentators have recently sensed, it is possible (if not also *correct*) to read Genesis 2–3 as 2 Enoch seems to.[33]

Accordingly, in Genesis 2–3 Adam and Eve's sin is a departure from a relationship of love and trust of their creator, Yahweh God. The serpent offers them a faux deification; a tragic imitation of a divine nature *that they already have*. They are already God's divine image (both in Gen 1:26–28 and also in Gen 2 given the ways the Eden tableau references conventions of ancient Near Eastern divine kingship and idol manufacture), carrying the divine breath (2:7), with divine privileges (such as the ability to *name* parts of creation as God himself did on Days 1–3) and wisdom (see esp. 2:25 where they are ערומים: "naked" or *"shrewd"*). God has already showed them the difference between good and evil and would continue to guide them in that discernment. They are the image-idols *of the creator Yahweh God*, the serpent offers them a shot at becoming only like "gods" (so, correctly, the LXX). In apparent ignorance or forgetfulness of—or in rebellion *against*—their true identity they fall prey to the serpent's insinuations that their creator had deceived them (Gen 3:1–5). The tree that should have proved their discernment between wrongdoing and faithfulness to God and his goodness, becomes instead a tree that leads to their experience of (their "*knowledge of*" in that sense) both evil and, lingering, good. In the same way that idolaters become like what they worship (Pss 115:4–8; 135:15–18), so they become like the (leaf-clad) tree (3:7); they give up the splendor of their creator, inclining to the voice of the creature, and are left bereft of the glory that was theirs by rights (cf. Ezek 28:12–16 and its connections to Exod 28).[34] Their *action* strikes at the heart of their *identity* (since ethics are fundamentally a matter of ontology).[35] In succumbing to the lie that they need something they already have, they

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[32] See further the discussion in T. Stordalen, *Echoes of Eden: Genesis 2–3 and Symbolism of the Eden Garden in Biblical Hebrew Literature*, (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 236.

[33] See esp. A. Lacocque, *The Trial of Innocence: Adam, Eve, and the Yahwist* (Eugene, Or: Cascade Books, 2006), e.g. 182, and G. Glazov, "Theosis, Judaism, and Old Testament Anthropology," in *Theosis: Deification in Christian Theology*, ed. S. Finlan, and V. Kharlamov (Eugene, Oregan: Pickwick Publications, 2006), 27–28.

[34] The same pattern of "fall" is beautifully but tragically described in Ezek 16:3–24 (discussed in C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, "God's Image, His Cosmic Temple and the High Priest: Towards an Historical and Theological Account of the Incarnation," in *Heaven on Earth: The Temple in Biblical Theology*, ed. T. D. Alexander and S. Gathercole [Carlisle: Paternoster, 2004], 81–99).

[35] See Glazov, "Theosis," 28.

annihilate themselves, and, so, "after sin there is nothing for it but death" (2 Enoch 30:16).

Here then, 2 Enoch's Adam material illustrates nicely the theological anthropology upon which the worldview of the apocalypses is founded. True humanity is—as God's image-idol—divine. As such it is open to these kinds of religious experiences (ascents, visions, angelophanies, and their ilk).

Furthermore, we are now in a position to evaluate better the view of those who have found in 2 Enoch a programmatic interest in the recovery by Enoch of Adam's lost divine glory. Following an article by Moshe Idel, P. Alexander has suggested that in 2 Enoch 22:8–10—and then in later mystical texts—Enoch recovers Adam's luminescent divine glory and that this is a matter of a particular view of redemption: "Enoch, having perfected himself, in contrast to Adam, who sinned and fell, reascends to his heavenly home and takes his rightful place in the heights of the universe, above the highest angels . . . Enoch thus becomes a redeemer figure—a second Adam through whom humanity is restored."[36] A. Orlov has taken this reading further,[37] though this understanding of Enoch's redemptive function and Orlov's development of it has been challenged by G. Macaskill.[38]

Orlov's discussion is multifaceted and there is not space here for a detailed engagement with it, nor with Macaskill's criticism. Essentially, but with qualifications, I agree with Orlov (and with Alexander) that Enoch's recovery of Adam's divine Glory is a central theme of 2 Enoch, at least of the long recension, and that it is key to Enoch's redemptive role. In a couple of respects Orlov's argument is unpersuasive, but in other ways it can be strengthened.

Orlov argues for a series of "Adam polemics" in 2 Enoch.[39] He has demonstrated some important connections and parallels between the depiction of Enoch in 2 Enoch and the depiction of Adam in other Jewish texts. However, it is not clear to me that there is sufficient evidence of a *polemic* against Adam traditions, let alone a *unified and consistent* polemic. Orlov seems to place 2 Enoch in the midst of a battle of *ideas* that are expressed

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[36] P. Alexander, "From Son of Adam," 111, cf. M. Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," *Immanuel* 24/25 (1990): 220–40.

[37] Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron*, 211–253.

[38] G. Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom and Inaugurated Eschatology in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 222–225.

[39] *Enoch-Metatron*, 211–253.

in *literary* traditions.[40] But 2 Enoch itself evinces a context consumed with a desire for proper ethics and cultic practice—for political (in the broadest sense of the word) and liturgical theology. Several of the motifs attached to Enoch that Orlov argues reflect an Adamic polemic are not specifically Adamic in origin but belong within a wider biblical and post-biblical cultic worldview in which Adamic and paradisal themes are inextricably bound up with the theology of temple and priesthood.

Orlov is right that the oil with which Enoch is anointed serves to achieve or signal "the reversal of the earthly fallen condition into the incorruptible luminous state of the protoplast,"[41] but that is best understood as a reflection of priestly notions of anointing that go back to the biblical text itself.[42] The luminescent oil of 22:9 gives to Enoch what Adam himself did not have, but which according to the Bible was recovered by Aaron and his brothers.[43] Enoch's anointing with oil is not unprecedented in the Enochic tradition.[44] Enoch is shown ingredients of the sacred anointing oil in 1 Enoch 29–30 (cf. Exod 30:23). If Enoch is identified with the Son of Man figure in the Similitudes (as seems likely) then he is an "anointed one" (1 Enoch 48:10; 52:4) and 2 Enoch 22:8–10 then simply spells out what that means in priestly terms.

It may be that the angels venerate Enoch in 22:7, but this is not certain. If this is the case, then Enoch receives what Adam receives in a widely attested second temple tradition.[45] In any case, what is certain is that Enoch is worshipped by his peers after his transformation and installation in the priestly office. The immediate background to this (and the correlate

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[40] See esp. *Enoch-Metatron, 252.*

[41] *Enoch-Metatron*, 230.

[42] In the heptadic structure of the Priestly account of creation and of the tabernacle the creation of lights on day 4 is reprised in God's fourth speech to Moses in Exodus 25–31 (Exod 30:22–33) that stipulates the materials for the sacred anointing oil (see esp. the discussion of this in M. Weinfeld, "Sabbath, Temple and the Enthronement of the Lord, the Problem of the *Sitz-Im-Leben* of Gen. 1:1–2:3," in *Mélanges Bibliques Et Orientaux En L'honneur De M. Henri Cazelles*, ed. A. Caquot, and M. Delcor, [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981], 501–11 and see further Fletcher-Louis, "Temple Cosmology of P," 103–104).

[43] Orlov appeals to the description of the Tree of life in the third heaven in 8:3–4 for his Adamic understanding of Enoch's oil (*Enoch-Metatron*, 230). But that passage does not speak of *luminescent* oil.

[44] Contrast Orlov *Enoch-Metatron*, 230.

[45] The *locus classicus* of the worship of Adam by the angels is the Latin *Life of Adam and Eve* 12–16. The tradition seems to be in view already in Hebrews 1:6 (cf. also Mark 1:13; Matt 4:11), 4Q381 frag. 1 10–11, Philo *Opif.* §83, and is probably reflected in Daniel 2–3 (see Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 98–103).

to the worship of Adam in the wider tradition) is the worship offered to Israel's high priest in sundry second temple texts.[46] The conceptual context of all these traditions is the conviction that the high priest is, as Adam was created to be, to the one true creator God what the pagans thought their idols where to their gods. Adam, high priest and Enoch are all worshipped in these texts as the living divine cult statue of God (*ṣelem 'elohîm*). More on this below.

Orlov's argument that Enoch's "carrying away the sin of humankind" (64:5) must be understood in terms of Enoch's recovering the lost luminous glory of Adam at the climax of his ascent should be tied to the explanation of Adam's sin in 30:11–16. Adam sinned in ignorance of his true—divine, angelic (and cosmic)—nature (30:11–14, 16). To Enoch there is both revelation of Adam's true nature and also restoration of that nature in Enoch's own transformation. Adam's sin led to death. Enoch experiences the transcendence of death—the recovery of Adam's pre-fall life—at his final ascension to a place of eternal life before God's face (21:3; 22:5–6; 67:1–2).[47] In his *presence with* his peers back on earth and in his *recounting of* his experience Enoch "reveals" in both the epistemic and the ontological sense the nature intended for humanity. Since Adam's sin is partly epistemic—he acted in ignorance of his true nature—Enoch "takes away the sin of mankind" [J] (or of his immediate audience [A]; either make sense of the cultic context) by *teaching them about* Adam's true nature but also *by embodying* that nature. For 2 Enoch ontology and epistemology are inseparable.[48] As the "second Adam" Enoch is able once again to properly discern between those whose works are good and others whose are evil (42:14 [J]).

So, we can go further than Orlov in identifying the recovery of Adam's glory as a hermeneutical key to the whole work. Adam did not know his true nature and sinned. This is a key point of the first third of the apocalypse. In the second third, Enoch reveals to the readers of this apocalypse

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[46] See, for example, Pseudo-Hecataeus in Diodorus Siculus XL.3.4–6; *T. Reub.* 6:12; Sirach 50:1–21; 1 Macc 14:4–51; Josephus *Ant.* 11:331–335; 4Q405 23 ii.

[47] It is likely that this point was already intended in Genesis. Before his banishment and death Adam and Eve would have *walked* with God (Gen 3:8), as Enoch did in fact do (Gen 5:24).

[48] We should not drive a wedge between them, as Macaskill does in his criticism of Orlov's understanding of 64:5. Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom*, 225: the language of 64:5 "cannot be pushed into referring solely, or even primarily, to the ways in which Enoch has recovered Adam's glory . . ." (ontology), but is better judged a reference to "his reception and transmission of revelation" (epistemology).

the nature of the true humanity. Then, in the third part, as the proto-logical priest, Enoch directs readers to the temple service as the location where the true humanity continues to be revealed and/or will be revealed with the eschatological appearance of the (king and) priest Melchizedek. Enoch functions as a redeemer through his recovery of Adam's original identity. But, it should be stressed, this redemptive work is inextricable from Enoch's fulfillment of a priestly office: his is a cultic mediation of redemption.

Indeed, there is more. Orlov rightly argues that the theme of God's face is key to understanding the nature of Enoch's transformation.[49] Enoch is taken before the Lord's own face (21:4–6, cf. 1 Enoch 14:21; 38:4; 89:22 and Sirach 49:14 where Enoch נלקח פנים) which he sees "like iron made burning hot in a fire and brought out, and it emits sparks and is incandescent" (22:1, cf. 39:5). The effect is the transformation of Enoch's own face (37:1–2, cf. the radiant, solar face of Methusalam in 69:10), and when he returns to earth he is to his peers something of what God has been to him: a cause of transformation (of glorification). In taking on the presence of God himself in this way Enoch recovers the identity of Adam who, according to 2 Enoch 44:1, was created by God "in a facsimile of his own face."

The "face" theme is ubiquitous in 2 Enoch and binds liturgy and cosmology (part 1) to issues of ethics (part 2) in a way that illustrates beautifully the humanity-as-God's-*ṣelem* theology at the heart of the apocalypses. Chapter 44:1–5 says that *because God created humanity "in a facsimile of his own face,"* whoever insults another human being insults *the king*, the Lord himself (cf. 52:2) and will be punished accordingly. This makes best sense if to be human is to be (ontologically) divine. Though modern, western, Christian theology has tended to separate ethics and liturgy, the ethical stance of 2 Enoch 44 is conceptually inextricable from the liturgical theology of the text. In chapter 66:1–2 there is the familiar Jewish injunction to worship God alone and to "not bow down to anything created by man . . . (or) by God" (66:5). In the preceding chapters his brothers have twice prostrated themselves before the transformed and glorious Enoch, and he has apparently accepted their action (57:2; 64:3). There is no contradiction because they do to him what it is right to do God. At chapter 66 there is a manuscript tradition which, even if not original, rightly spells out the theological anthropology that prohibits idolatrous prostration but expects prostration before the one who recapitulates the true Adamic identity: "To the true God bow down, not to idols which have no voice,

[49] *Enoch-Metatron*, 228.

but bow down to his statue" (ms P at 66:2).[50] Adam was created to be God's divine cult *statue* (*ṣelem*).[51] Now Enoch is rightly treated as such; in the same way that the idolaters treat their idols. Those idols have no voice, but Enoch has heard the lips of the Lord (39:5 [J]/39:2 [A]) and the words on his lips to his peers are the Lord's own words (39:5 [J]/39:3 [A], 39:7; 40:1, cf. Mal 2:6–7). He is the living cult statue of the one Creator God.

The thrust of this reading of 2 Enoch and its theological anthropology is not dependent on the possible testimony of manuscript P at chapter 66. Neither does it rely on our last observation in this section which may, nevertheless, provide further vital evidence to support the case. In a contribution to this volume (and to the conference), Dr. Basil Lourié has now argued that the difficult Slavonic word (variously spelt in the manuscripts) *promitaya* is used in 43:1 [A] (and in the *Merilo Pravednoe*) to say that Enoch is a divine bust or image (of God). Lourié argues persuasively that the Slavonic goes back, through a rabbinic loan word, to the Greek προτομή, the word used especially of the bust of the Roman emperor that Jews will have encountered as a part of the emperor cult in both public and private spaces in the first century C.E. onwards. With this, the shorter recension at least, claims that Enoch is the "cult object representing the Divine Face."[52] Enoch, not the emperor or his busts, is true image-idol of the one Creator God.

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[50] The preface to chap. 66 in P also says that, here, Enoch teaches the people to "not bow down to idols, but to the God who created heaven and earth and every kind of creature—and to his image." Could the marginal reading in v. 2 (and in the preface) be explained as a Christian gloss? F. I. Andersen, in *OTP*, 1:192 n. a, wonders if it comes from a Christian icon-worshipper. But he recognizes that the Slavonic language in v. 2 and in the preface to chap. 66 is used in Scripture to refer to man as the image of God. In the narrative context Enoch receives human prostration and is clearly set up as the true Adam and image of God. There is no reference in the context to the veneration of (painted) icons, (only to humanity as icon). If v. 2 is not a Christian addition, it is understandable that it would have been omitted by puzzled (Christian) scribes. Presumably, an underlying Greek would have had ἄγαλμα for "statue". For the "image" language of Gen 1:26 understood in terms of an ἄγαλμα see Philo *Opif.* 69; 137, cf. *Somn.* 2:223; *SL* 4:238; *Mos.* 1:27.

[51] 66:5 stresses that it is wrong to bow down "to anything created by God". Ms P is either confused or it thinks that the true humanity (Adam before his sin and Enoch) should not be classed with other creatures. Is this view supported by 30:12 [J]: "And there was nothing comparable to him (i.e. Adam) on the earth, even among my creatures that exist"? There are hints of a status unlike other creatures for Enoch in other texts. In 1 Enoch 48:5 his alter ego, the Son of Man, is named before creation, and the Geniza text of Sirach 49:14–15 perhaps says he had no earthly birth (see Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts*, 148).

[52] B. Lourié, "One *Hapax Legomenon* and the Date of 2 Enoch: *Promitaya*—**prwmty(')*—*prwṭmy*—προτομή," in *Enochic Traditions and Mediatorial Figures in Second Temple Judaism and Their Legacy in Early Christianity, Rabbinic Judaism, and Islam*, ed. J. M. Zurawski, *Hen* 33 (2011): 94–96.

3. *Adam, Enoch, and Melchizedek*

A careful examination of the portrayals of Adam and Enoch in 2 Enoch in the context of wider ancient Jewish Adam and Enoch traditions reveals some distinctive perspectives which call for explanation. They are probably best explained in the context of the whole work and its climatic focus on the figure of Melchizedek.

I. *Adam Was King, but Not Priest*

In 2 Enoch 30:11 [J] God assigns Adam "to be a king, to reign on the earth" (cf. 31:3; 58:3). Adam's kingship is a natural extrapolation from the language of Genesis 1:26–28 (cf. 2 Enoch 31:3) and Psalm 8 which at several key points describes humanity with royal terminology (as commentators routinely point out, especially in view of the use of the verbs *rdh* and *kbš* in Gen 1:28 and the verbs *'tr* and *mšl* in Ps 8:5–6).[53] However, the OT itself never says Adam was "a king" and clear statements to this effect are hard to find in later Jewish literature.

Some Pseudepigrapha go further than the simple biblical statement that Adam was to rule (*rdh*) and have dominion (*kbš*) in Genesis 1. Testament of Abraham 11, for example, puts Adam on a throne as glorious judge.[54] However, the only real parallel in contemporary texts is provided by Philo of Alexandria who says that it was as king that Adam bestowed names on his subordinates, the animals (*Opif.* 148). It is true that Philo has a penchant for ascribing kingship to biblical characters in the interests of the political perspective of his Greco-Roman readers,[55] nevertheless it is interesting that in 2 Enoch chap. 58 it is the same context—the interpretation of the naming of the animals scene in Gen 2—that the Adam-as-king statement is made.

The absence of statements of Adam's kingship and avoidance of his biblical royal qualifications in post-biblical literature deserves comment.

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[53] Psalm 8:5—God has crowned man "with glory and honor"—is perhaps behind 2 Enoch 30:11 where Adam is "a second angel, *honored* and great *and glorious*".

[54] Although 4 Ezra meditates deeply on Adam and his legacy (see 3:1–10, 20–27; 4:30–32; 7:116–126), the most he can say of Adam is that God placed him "as ruler over all the works" that he made (6:54). Adam's *future* enthronement is predicted in the *Life of Adam of Eve* (Latin 47:3 = Gk 39:2–3), but there is nothing that indicates a belief that Adam has already been king.

[55] For example, Moses as king is the subject of *Mos.* Book 1 and for Abraham as king see *Abr.* 261; *Virt.* 216.

There are two likely factors at work here. First, Adam sinned. He did not fulfill his royal mandate to rule and subdue the earth, filling it with multiple images of his creator. Though qualified to be king, early readers of Genesis were entitled to conclude that Adam never occupied the office.[56]

Secondly, for some, there was likely to be a philosophical objection to a claim for Adam's royal position. The Hebrew Bible is careful to separate the offices of king and priest. At least in the Mosaic constitution that precedes David and Solomon and that therefore carries greater authority than the institution of kingship, the king is either removed from Israel's ideal political economy or is subordinate to and separate from the priesthood (Deut 17). Holders of priestly and royal offices must come from different tribes (Levi and Judah).

Kings who claim a priestly position are grave transgressors of Torah (e.g. 2 Chr 26:16–21). Some in antiquity thought that Israel's priest could fulfill royal functions and this became a feature of Hasmonean rule (in the case of John Hyrcanus, if not others also). But a king fulfilling the requirements of a priestly office was both more problematic in view of the Sinaitic regulations and, for the most part, less discussed simply because Israel's political circumstances in the post-exilic period rarely presented the nation with a situation where a Jewish king might bid for a priestly office too.

We know that, from at least the second century B.C.E. onwards, some vigorously objected to the possibility of a royal priesthood. In Jubilees, for example, kingship and priesthood are carefully separated (31:11–20), and this too is the policy adopted by the Qumran community, probably also by the founders of the so-called "4th Philosophy" and by the leaders of the third Jewish revolt (the Bar Kochba revolt).[57] In the case of Jubilees the lack of any interest in Adam's "kingship" is, therefore, easy to explain.[58] This is because Jubilees gives Adam an explicit *priestly* role—in 3:27 Adam fulfils the regulation that incense be burnt at the time of the morning Tamid sacrifice—and so it would not do to have Adam be both priest and king. This explanation of Jubilees' reluctance to go beyond the bare statements of Genesis 1 helps explain why in other places (for example in

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[56] This explains the presence of texts which look forward to Adam's *future* attainment of royal authority (see n. 54 above).

[57] See Fletcher-Louis, "Jesus as the High Priestly Messiah: Part 1," 166–67 for details.

[58] Jubilees 2:14 simply restates Gen 1:26, 28: "He made him rule everything on earth. . . . over all these he made him rule."

Qumran literature) clear statements of Adam's kingship are lacking since Adam's identity was sometimes associated with the priesthood.[59]

The ascription to Adam of kingship appears, therefore, to be distinctive of 2 Enoch. *Though it is not unprecedented, it is reasonable to suppose that the author of 2 Enoch is particularly interested in Adam as king*.

II. *Enoch Is Priest, but Not King*

As we have seen, in 2 Enoch, Enoch is a priest. In this regard, 2 Enoch spells out what was at the very least implicit in the Book of the Watchers. Enoch's Mesopotamian forbear, Enmeduranki, it should be remembered, was also a *sacral* (priestly) king.

Orlov has argued that Enoch is also a king in 2 Enoch, that this is one of the ways in which Enoch takes on Adam's role and that in this 2 Enoch departs from earlier tradition (according to which Enoch was not a king).[60] Again, Macaskill has questioned Orlov's argument at this point.[61] The matter is important, and, in this case, Macaskill is, I think, right.

As was the case for the priestly *king* Enmeduranki, so too in tradition prior to 2 Enoch, *Enoch* has a royal as well as a priestly character. Isaiah 11:1–4—a classic prophecy of the coming royal messiah (taken up, for example, in Ps. Sol. 17 and 1QpIsa[a] 8–10 iii 8–22) is applied to the Elect One with whom Enoch himself is identified in 1 Enoch 49:1–4 and 62:2.[62] After 2 Enoch, in Hekhalot tradition, Enoch-Metatron's title Prince of the World (שר העולם) perhaps continues the venerable tradition of Enoch's royal status.

But in 2 Enoch, Enoch is nowhere named king nor given a clearly royal position. None of the passages that Orlov claims (2 Enoch 39:8; 46:1–2 [J]; 58:3) clearly ascribes kingship to Enoch as far as I can tell.[63] Enoch's designation as "*prometaya* of the earth" in 43:1 (in [A] and the *Merilo Provednoe*) does not ascribe to Enoch a royal status.[64] Enoch sits to the Lord's

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[59] For Adam's priestly status in Ben Sira (and later rabbinic writings) see C. T. R. Hayward, *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1996), 44–46 and cf. GLAE 29:3–6. In light of 2 Baruch 10:8, 2 Baruch 14:18 gives the language of Gen 2:15 a priestly interpretation.

[60] Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron*, 159–165, 215–219.

[61] Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom*, 223.

[62] Some have also seen the influence of the royal Psalm 110 on the Enochic son of man figure (e.g. M. Hengel, *Studies in Early Christology* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1995], 185–86).

[63] See Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom*, 223.

[64] As we have seen, Lourié now offers the best explanation of this word. If, however, the

left side (24:1), but there is no particular interest in his en*throne*ment and the context of that scene is Enoch's recording the secrets of the cosmos that are described to him (22:11; 23:3–4 and 33:5–12), not his exercising royal dominion.

III. *Adam, Enoch, and Melchizedek*

So, 2 Enoch seems to be distinctive in its assignment to Adam and Eve of certain offices. Adam's kingship is accentuated and there is not a whiff of his priesthood. Enoch's priesthood is affirmed but the text is silent about his royalty. In both cases wider Adamic and Enochic tradition could have offered the author of 2 Enoch the alternative perspective. Is there some deliberate authorial purpose here?

In 24:1 Enoch is invited to sit at God's *left* side. The position is striking and it is hard to think of a parallel. Sitting at the left implies there is somebody (superior?) to sit at the right (cf. Mark 10:37). If a scriptural warrant is needed, the person best qualified to sit at God's right hand is the Melchizedekian ruler of Psalm 110:1.

A simple explanation of the royal-but-not priestly Adam and priestly-but-not-royal Enoch of 2 Enoch is therefore presented by the narrative content of the whole work. The Melchizedek section has its own internal problems. Nevertheless, there is no difficulty now in seeing that 2 Enoch has set about a distinctive characterization of Adam and Enoch in preparation for the work's climactic arrival of a Melchizedek. Enoch recovered much of Adam's original identity (his divine glory, in particular), but not his kingship. And unlike the Enoch of the Similitudes, the Enoch of 2 Enoch was not expected to return to rule over God's people. For that, 2 Enoch waits for the Melchizedek who "will be *priest and king* in the place Akhuzan" (71:35 [J], cf. 72:6 [J]).[65]

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word *prometaya* means "manager" (Andersen in *OTP*, 1:217) or "governor" (so Orlov, *Enoch-Metatron*, 160–161) we are bound to think of a position like that of the biblical Joseph or of Adam's role in Gen 2:15 where Adam is (in the words of Philo in *Opif.* §88 to which Orlov appeals—*Enoch-Metatron*, 215 n. 19) "charged . . . with the care of the animals and plants, like a governor *subordinate to the chief and great King*".

[65] An explicit statement of Melchizedek's role as "priest and king" is absent from the shorter recension. And in this volume Harold Attridge argues that 71:35 is part of a secondary, Christian, addition to the original Jewish Melchizedek material. Be that as it may, there are three reasons to be confident that 2 Enoch always climaxed with a focus on Melchizedek *as king and priest*. The shorter recension does have a parallel of sorts to 71:35 when it says that "Melchizedek will become head of priests reigning over a royal people who serve you, O lord" (71:37). Thus, for both the longer and the shorter recensions

The author of 2 Enoch is thankful for the Enochic priesthood, but his hopes are now pinned on a new order; the order of Melchizedek. 2 Enoch, *then*, (like the Book of the Watchers, later parts of 1 Enoch, and other classic apocalypses, such as Daniel and 4 Ezra) *is engaged in political theology*. With the majority in the second temple period he wants a thoroughly priestly and cultic constitution. Unlike some—the author of Jubilees, for example—he is happy that, ultimately, priestly and royal offices be combined and it is the Melchizedek figure, not the violent Enochic Son of Man of the Similitudes, whom he believes will embody the perfect political and cultic constitution.

Melchizedek brings together the royal and the priestly. Secondly, with the clear biblical statements of Melchizedek's kingship and priesthood, Jewish (and the earliest Jewish Christian) sources are in agreement (with the *possible* exception of 11QMelch) that Melchizedek is distinctive for his possession of both these offices. The mere fact of his appearance in 2 Enoch suggests the author has turned to him because he offers a two-in-one deal. And, finally, after the focus on the royal Adam and the priestly Enoch, as one who comes climactically as king and priest, the Melchizedek figure gives to 2 Enoch a clear literary and conceptual cohesion.

THE WATCHERS OF SATANAIL: THE FALLEN ANGELS TRADITIONS IN 2 ENOCH

Andrei A. Orlov

> . . . they became servants of Satan and led astray those who dwell upon the dry ground.
>
> 1 Enoch 54:6

> . . . These are the Watchers (*Grigori*), who turned aside from the Lord, 200 myriads, together with their prince Satanail.
>
> 2 Enoch 18:3

Introduction

The first part of 2 Enoch, a Jewish pseudepigraphon written in the first century C.E., deals with the heavenly ascent of the seventh antediluvian hero carried by his angelic psychopomps to the abode of the Deity. Slowly progressing through the heavens while receiving detailed explanations of their content from his angelic interpreters, in one of them, the patriarch encounters the group of the fallen angels whom the authors of the apocalypse designate as the *Grigori* (Watchers).[1] The detailed report of the group's transgression given in chapter 18 of the text which mentions the angelic descent on Mount Hermon, leading to subsequent corruption of humanity and procreation of the race of the Giants, invokes the memory of the peculiar features well known from the classic descriptions of the fall of the infamous celestial rebels given in the Book of the Watchers. This early Enochic booklet unveils the misdeeds of the two hundred Watchers led by their leaders Shemihazah and Asael. What is striking, however, in the description given in 2 Enoch, is that in contrast to the classic Enochic account, the leadership over the fallen Watchers is ascribed not to

[1] Slav. Григори(ы) (Gk. ἐγρήγοροι). M. I. Sokolov, "Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе. Выпуск третий. VII. Славянская Книга Еноха Праведного. Тексты, латинский перевод и исследование. Посмертный труд автора приготовил к изданию М. Сперанский," *Чтения в Обществе Истории и Древностей Российских* 4 (1910): 1–167 (16).

Shemihazah or Asael, but instead to Satanail.[2] This reference to the figure of the negative protagonist of the Adamic story appears to be not coincidental. The careful examination of other details of the fallen angels traditions found in 2 Enoch unveils that the transference of the leadership over the Watchers from Shemihazah and Asael to Satanail[3] represents not a coincidental slip of the pen or a sign of a lack of knowledge of the authentic tradition, but an intentional attempt of introducing the Adamic development into the framework of the Enochic story, a move executed by the authors of 2 Enoch with a certain theological purpose.

I previously explored the influence of the Adamic story on the Enochic account of 2 Enoch, especially in the materials of the longer recension, noticing an unusual readiness of its authors for the adoption of traditions and motifs from the Adamic trend, a tendency which appears to be quite surprising for a Second Temple Enochic text.[4]

Indeed, Adam's story occupies a strikingly prominent place in 2 Enoch. The traditions pertaining to the first human can be found in all the sections of the book.[5] In these materials Adam is depicted as a glorious angelic being, predestined by God to be the ruler of the earth, but falling

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[2] Slav. Сатанаил. Sokolov, "Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе," 16.

[3] On the Satanail tradition in Greek and Slavic milieus see: O. Afinogenova, "Греческий вариант апокрифа о борьбе архангела Михаила и Сатанаила," *Scripta & E-scripta* ¾ (2005/2006): 329–348; H. E. Gaylord, "How Satanael Lost His '-el'," *JJS* 33 (1982): 303–309; J. Ivanov, *Старобългарски разкази. Текстове, новобългарски преводъ и бележки* (София: Придворна Печатница, 1935), 18–25; A. Miltenova, "Апокрифът за борбата на архангел Михаил със Сатанаил в две редакции," *Старобългарска литература* 9 (1981): 98–113; Miltenova, "Неизвестна редакция на апокрифа за борбата на архангел Михаил със Сатанаил," in: *Литературознание и фолклористика. Сборник в чест на акад. Петър Динеков* (София: Издателство на Българската Академия на Науките, 1983), 121–127; Miltenova, "Слово на Йоан Златоуст за това как Михаил победи Сатанаил," in *Българската литература и книжнина през XIII в.*, ed. I. Bozhilov, *et al.* (София, Български Писател, 1987), 150–156; D. Petkanova, "Слово за лъжливия Антихрист, безбожен Сатанаил, как го плени Архангел Михаил," in *Апокрифи*, Стара българска литература 1 (София: Български Писател, 1981), 41–48; 349–350; R. Stichel, "Die Verführung der Stammeltern durch Satanael nach der Kurzfassung der slavischen Baruch-Apokalypse," in: *Kulturelle Traditionen in Bulgarien*, ed. R. Lauer and P. Schreiner, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen 177 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 116–128.

[4] A. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, TSAJ 107 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 211–252; Orlov, " 'Without Measure and Without Analogy': The Tradition of the Divine Body in 2 (*Slavonic*) *Enoch*," in *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism: Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, A. Orlov, JSJSup 114 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 149–174; Orlov, "On the Polemical Nature of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch: A Reply to C. Böttrich," in *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism*, 239–268.

[5] 2 Enoch 30:8–32:2; 33:10; 41:1; 42:5; 44:1; 58:1–3; 71:28.

short of God's expectations. Although the bulk of Adamic materials belongs to the longer recension, which includes, for example, the lengthy Adamic narrative in chapters 30–32, the Adamic tradition is not confined solely to this recension. A number of important Adamic passages are also attested in the shorter recension. The extensive presence of Adamic materials in both recensions and their significance for the theology of 2 Enoch indicates that they are not later interpolations but are part of the original layer of the text.

It should be noted that such an extensive presence of Adamic materials in the Enochic text is quite unusual. In the early Enochic circle reflected in 1 Enoch, Adam does not figure prominently. His presence in these materials is marginal and limited to a few insignificant remarks. Moreover, when the authors of the early Enochic booklets invoke the memory of Adam and Eve, they try to either ignore or "soften" the story of their transgression and fall in the garden. Scholars previously noticed this remarkable leniency of the Enochic writers towards the mishap of the protological couple in the texts "concerned with judgment and accountability."[6]

This either modest or unusually positive profile which the protoplasts enjoy in the early Enochic circle can be explained by several factors. Scholars previously observed that early Enochic and Adamic traditions appear to be operating with different mythologies of evil.[7] The early

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[6] Kelley Coblentz Bautch notes that "the portrayal of the [first] couple is softened in the Book of the Watchers; like 'the holy ones' mentioned in 1 En 32:3, they eat from the tree and are made wise (cf. Gen 3:6). No references are made to the serpent, deception, the reproach of God, and additional punishments that figure prominently in the Genesis account. In a text concerned with judgment and accountability, Adam and Eve do not appear as actors in the eschatological drama . . . the Animal Apocalypse from the Book of Dream Visions seems even more favorable in its depiction of the first couple. The Animal Apocalypse opts to recast exclusively events familiar from Gen 2 and 4. . . . [it] does not offer a recitation of the fall in the garden. There is no tree, forbidden or otherwise, no illicit gain of knowledge, no expulsion from Eden, and no recapitulation of any part of Gen 3. . . ." K. Coblentz Bautch, "Adamic traditions in the Parables? A Query on 1 Enoch 69:6," in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables*, ed. G. Boccaccini (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 352–360 (353–354).

[7] In this respect Coblentz Bautch observes that ". . . discussion of the Enochic corpus frequently takes up the literature's distinctive view of evil. As is commonly asserted, Enochic texts posit that evil originates with the rebellious watchers who descend to earth: their prohibited union with women and teaching of forbidden arts lead to the contamination of the human sphere (for example, 1 En 6–11). This observation has led contemporary scholars to delineate two contrasting trends within Second Temple Judaism: one rooted in early Enochic texts like the Book of the Watchers where evil develops as a result of the angels' sin, and the other that understands sin to be the consequence of human failings (e.g., Gen 3)." Coblentz Bautch, "Adamic traditions in the Parables?" 354–355. On the subject of two mythologies of evil see also J. Reeves, *Sefer 'Uzza Wa-'Aza(z)el: Exploring Early Jewish*

Enochic tradition bases its understanding of the origin of evil on the Watchers' story in which the fallen angels corrupt human beings by passing on to them various celestial secrets.[8] In contrast, the Adamic tradition traces the source of evil to Satan's transgression and the fall of Adam and Eve in Eden—the trend which is hinted at in Genesis 3 and then fully reflected in the *Primary Adam Books* which explain the reason for Satan's demotion by his rejection to obey God's command to venerate a newly created protoplast.[9]

While in the early Enochic circle the presence of the Adamic traditions appears to be either marginalized or silenced—it looms large in 2 Enoch. In my previous research I suggested that the extensive presence of the Adamic motifs in 2 Enoch has a profound conceptual significance for the overall theological framework of the apocalypse.[10] It appears that the purpose of the extensive presence of Adamic themes in 2 Enoch can be explained through the assessment of Enoch's image in the text who is portrayed in 2 Enoch as the Second Adam—the one who is predestined to regain the original condition of the protoplast once lost by the first humans in Eden.[11] In this context many features of the exalted prelapsarian

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Mythologies of Evil (forthcoming); M. Stone, "The Axis of History at Qumran," *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. E. Chazon and M. E. Stone, STDJ 31 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 133–149 (144–149).

[8] John Reeves in his forthcoming research on the early Jewish mythologies of evil provides a helpful description of the main tenets of the Enochic paradigm of the origin of evil (or what he calls the "Enochic Template"). According to this template: "Evil first enters the created world through the voluntary descent and subsequent corruption of a group of angels known as the Watchers. Their sexual contact with human women renders them odious to God and their former angelic colleagues in heaven; moreover, they also betray certain divine secrets to their lovers and families. The offspring of the Watchers and mortal women, an illegitimately conceived race of bloodthirsty 'giants,' wreak havoc on earth and force God to intervene forcefully with the universal Flood. The corrupt angels are captured and imprisoned, their monstrous children are slain, and humanity is renewed through the family of Noah. Noticeably absent from this particular scheme are references to Adam and Eve, the garden of Eden, or the serpent. . . ." Reeves, *Sefer 'Uzza Wa-'Aza(z)el: Exploring Early Jewish Mythologies of Evil* (forthcoming).

[9] Reeves provides the description of the main features of what he called the "Adamic Template," noticing the following crucial points: "(1) God resolves to create the first human being, Adam; (2) after Adam's creation, all the angels in heaven are bidden to worship him; (3) a small group of angels led by Satan refuse to do so; (4) as a result, this group is forcibly expelled from heaven to earth; and (5) in order to exact revenge, these angels plot to lead Adam and subsequent generations of humans astray. . . ." Reeves, *Sefer 'Uzza Wa-'Aza(z)el: Exploring Early Jewish Mythologies of Evil* (forthcoming).

[10] Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 211–214.

[11] On the tradition of Enoch as the second Adam, see P. Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God: Transformation of the Biblical Enoch," in *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible*, ed. M. E. Stone and T. A. Bergren (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998), 102–104; M. Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," *Immanuel* 24/25 (1990): 220–240.

Adam are transferred to the seventh antediluvian hero in an attempt to hint at his status as the new protoplast, who restores humanity to its original state. This new protological profile of the elevated Enoch thus can serve as an important clue for understanding the necessity of the extensive presence of the Adamic traditions in 2 Enoch.

Moreover, it appears that the appropriation of the Adamic lore in 2 Enoch is not limited solely to the figure of the main positive protagonist—the seventh antediluvian patriarch, but also extended to the story of the negative angelic counterparts of the Enochic hero—the Watchers whose portrayals in 2 Enoch also become enhanced with novel features of the Adamic mythology of evil, and more specifically, with the peculiar traits of the account of its infamous heavenly rebel—Satan. Such interplay and osmosis of two early paradigmatic trends, which in John Reeves' terminology is designated as the mixed or transitional template, has long-lasting consequences for both "mythologies of evil" and their afterlife in rabbinic and patristic environments.[12] The purpose of this paper is to explore the Adamic reworking of the Watchers traditions in 2 Enoch and its significance for subsequent Jewish mystical developments.

I. *2 Enoch 7: The Watchers in the Second Heaven*

There are two textual units pertaining to the Watchers traditions in 2 Enoch. One of them is situated in chapter seven. The chapter describes the patriarch's arrival in the second heaven where he sees the group of the guarded angelic prisoners kept in darkness. Although chapter seven does not identify this group directly as the Watchers, the description of their transgressions hints to this fact. The second unit is situated in chapter eighteen which describes Enoch's encounter with another angelic gathering in the fifth heaven, the group which this time is directly identified as the Watchers (*Grigori*). Although our study of the traditions of the fallen angels in 2 Enoch will deal mainly with these two passages found in chapters seven and eighteen, some attention will be paid also to the Satanail traditions situated in chapters twenty-nine and thirty-one.

[12] Reeves detects the presence of the so-called "mixed template" that combines features of Adamic and Enochic "mythologies of evil" already in the book of Jubilees. Reeves, *Sefer 'Uzza Wa-'Aza(z)el: Exploring Early Jewish Mythologies of Evil* (forthcoming).

Traces of the Enochic Template

In chapter 7 of the longer recension of 2 Enoch the following description is found:

> . . . And those men picked me up and brought me up to the second heaven. And they showed me, and I saw a darkness greater than earthly darkness. And there I perceived prisoners under guard, hanging up, waiting for the measureless judgment. And those angels have the appearance of darkness itself, more than earthly darkness. And unceasingly they made weeping, all the day long. And I said to the men who were with me, "Why are these ones being tormented unceasingly?" Those men answered me, "These are those who turned away from the Lord, who did not obey the Lord's commandments, but of their own will plotted together and turned away with their prince and with those who are under restraint in the fifth heaven." And I felt very sorry for them; and those angels bowed down to me and said to me, "Man of God, pray for us to the Lord!" And I answered them and said, "Who am I, a mortal man, that I should pray for angels? Who knows where I am going and what will confront me? Or who indeed will pray for me?"[13]

Several scholars have previously recognized the connection of this passage about the incarcerated angels with the Watchers traditions.[14] One of these scholars, John Reeves, argues that "this particular text obviously refers to the angelic insurrection that took place in the days of Jared, the father of Enoch. The prisoners in this 'second heaven' are in fact those Watchers who violated the divinely decreed barriers separating heaven and earth by taking human wives and fathering bastard offspring, the infamous Giants."[15]

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[13] F. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth, 2 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1985 [1983]), 1:91–221 (1:112–114). The shorter recension of 2 Enoch 7 has the following form: "And those men took me up to the second heaven. And they set me down on the second heaven. And they showed me prisoners under guard, in measureless judgment. And there I saw the condemned angels, weeping. And I said to the men who were with me, 'Why are they tormented?' The men answered me, 'They are evil rebels against the Lord, who did not listen to the voice of the Lord, but they consulted their own will.' And I felt sorry for them. The angels bowed down to me. They said, 'Man of God, please pray for us to the Lord!' And I answered them and said, 'Who am I, a mortal man, that I should pray for angels? And who knows where I am going or what will confront me? Or who will pray for me?' " Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1:113–115.

[14] A. Rubinstein observes that "there is evidence that the Slavonic Enoch is dependent on some features which are known only from the Ethiopic Enoch only. There can be little doubt that the Slavonic Enoch has a good deal in common with the Ethiopic Enoch, though the differences between the two are no less striking." Rubinstein, "Observation on the Slavonic Book of Enoch," *JJS* 13 (1962): 1–21 (6).

[15] J. Reeves, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature: The Influence of the Enochic Library," in *Tracing the Treads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. C. Reeves, EJL 6 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1994), 185.

Another scholar, James VanderKam expresses a similar conviction when he remarks that the angelic group depicted in chapter seven "remind us of the Watchers and their mutual oath to commit the deeds that led to their imprisonment in 1 Enoch 6–11."[16]

VanderKam's suggestion that the theme of the angels "plotting together" found in 2 Enoch 7 might allude to the Watchers' council on Mount Hermon and their mutual oath is important. The Watchers tradition reflected later in the text in chapter 18 further strengthens the possibility that the authors of 2 Enoch were familiar with the early Enochic tradition of the bounding oath taken by the Watchers on the infamous mountain.[17]

Another important detail that hints to the possibility of the presence of the Watchers tradition in the passage is that the angels choose to ask the patriarch to intercede with God. This request for intercession before God appears to allude to the unique role of the seventh antediluvian hero reflected already in the earliest Enochic booklets where he is depicted as the envoy bringing petitions of intercession to God on behalf of this rebellious angelic group. John Reeves suggests[18] that the petition pressed upon the exalted patriarch by the imprisoned angels in 2 Enoch 7 is reminiscent of the language found in the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 13:4)[19] where the Watchers ask the patriarch to write for them a prayer of intercession.[20] From 1 Enoch 13:6–7 we learn that this prayer was prepared by the seventh antediluvian hero and later was delivered by him in a vision to the Creator.[21]

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[16] J. VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations* (Columbia: South Carolina University Press, 1995), 159.

[17] The longer recension of 2 Enoch 18:4 reads: "And they *broke the promise* on the shoulder of Mount Ermon." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1:132.

[18] "Identity [of the imprisoned angels] as rebellious Watchers is further underscored by the petition they press upon Enoch. . . ." J. Reeves, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature: The Influence of the Enochic Library," 173–203 (185).

[19] This connection was also mentioned by Robert Henry Charles who noticed that "the angels ask Enoch to intercede for them, as in 1 En. xiii.4," *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, ed. R. H. Charles, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), 2:433, note 4.

[20] "And they asked me to write out for them the record of a petition that they might receive forgiveness and to take the record of their petition up to the Lord in heaven." M. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 2:93.

[21] "And then I wrote out the record of their petition and their supplication in regard to their spirits and the deeds of each one of them, and in regard to what they asked, (namely) that they should obtain absolution and forbearance. And I went and sat down by the waters of Dan in Dan which is south-west of Hermon and I read out the record of their petition until I fell asleep." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2:93–94.

All these features demonstrate that the authors of 2 Enoch appear to be well cognizant of some peculiar details of early versions of the Watchers story and were using these various characteristics of the early Enochic template in their depiction of the group of incarcerated angels in chapter seven, thus implicitly hinting to their audience at the angels' identity as the Watchers.

Finally there is another piece of evidence that further confirms the identity of the mysterious imprisoned group as the Watchers. Although the angelic group kept under guard in the second heaven is not directly identified in chapter seven as the Watchers, this chapter connects the unnamed angels with another celestial gathering which the patriarch will encounter later in the fifth heaven. 2 Enoch 7 anticipates this encounter when it explains that the group in the second heaven "turned away with their prince and *with those who are under restraint in the fifth heaven*." Later, upon his arrival to the fifth heaven, the patriarch sees there another angelic group which his celestial guides identify as *Grigori* (Slav. Григори)[22]—the Watchers. During that identification a reference is also made to the group in the second heaven which puts this group also in the category of the Watchers: "These are the Grigori (Watchers), who turned aside from the Lord, 200 myriads, together with their prince Satanail. And *similar to them are those who went down as prisoners in their train, who are in the second heaven, imprisoned in great darkness*." Later, in 2 Enoch 18:7, when Enoch himself addresses the Watchers he tells them that he saw "their brothers" and "prayed for them." These details again appear to be alluding to the group in the second heaven who earlier asked the patriarch to pray for them.[23] As we can see the two angelic groups in the second and fifth heavens are interconnected by the authors of the apocalypse through the set of cross-references situated in both chapters.

[22] Sokolov, "Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе," 16.

[23] George Nickelsburg notices that the division of the fallen angels into two groups is also reminiscent of some early Enochic developments attested already in 1 Enoch. He observes that "in his description of the rebel angels the seer distinguishes between two groups, as does 1 Enoch: the *egregoroi* ('watchers'), who sinned with the women (2 Enoch 18); and their 'brethren' (18:7), called 'apostates' (chap. 7), who may correspond to the angels as revealers." G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah*, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 222.

Traces of the Adamic Template

We began our study by mentioning that the Watchers account situated in chapter 18 exhibits the clear features of the Adamic tradition when it names Satanail as the leader of the fallen Watchers. In the light of this later reaffirmation, it is also possible that the subtle traces of the Adamic template may already be present even in the description found in chapter seven.

A close look at chapter 7 demonstrates that along with implicit traces of the Enochic traditions of the fallen Watchers the passage also exhibits some familiarities with the Adamic mythology of evil by recalling some features of the story of Satan's fall.

One of the pieces of evidence that catches the eye here is the peculiar title "prince" by which the passage describes the leader of the incarcerated angels. Already Robert Henry Charles noticed that although the passage found in chapter 7 does not directly name Satanail as the leader of the rebellious angels, the reference to the fact that they "turned away *with their prince*" (Slav. с князом своим)[24] invokes the similar terminology applied to Satanail later in chapter 18:3 which tells that the Watchers (*Grigori*) turned aside from the Lord together *with their prince* (Slav. с князем своим)[25] Satanail.[26] Charles' suggestion appears to be plausible, and in light of the identical formulae attested in chapter 18 it is possible that the Satanail tradition is already present in 2 Enoch 7. If it is so, here for the first time in 2 Enoch the chief negative protagonist of the Adamic lore becomes identified as the leader of the fallen Watchers.

Another possible piece of evidence that hints to the presence of the Adamic mythology of evil in 2 Enoch 7 is connected with the motif of the imprisoned angels bowing down before Enoch. Both recensions of 2 Enoch 7:4 portray the incarcerated angels in the second heaven as bowing down before the translated patriarch asking him to pray for them before the Lord.

I've previously argued[27] that this tradition of angels bowing down before Enoch appears to stem from an Adamic mythology of evil[28] since

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[24] Sokolov, "Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе," 6.

[25] Sokolov, "Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе," 16.

[26] "Their prince = Satanail, xviii, 3," Charles, *APOT*, 2:433, note 3.

[27] Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 221–222.

[28] The motif of the prostration of angelic beings, including the Watchers, before the seventh antediluvian hero is unknown in the early Enochic circle reflected in 1 Enoch. A possible reference to another tradition of prostration—the theme of the *giants* bowing down before the patriarch might be reflected in the Book of the Giants [4Q203 Frag. 4:6]:

it invokes the peculiar details of the Satan story attested in the *Primary Adam Books*[29] and some other Jewish, Christian, and Muslim materials.[30] In order to clarify the Adamic background of the Watchers tradition found in 2 Enoch 7 one should take a short excursus in the later Enochic developments reflected in the Hekhalot materials.

In the later Enochic composition, known to us as the *Sefer Hekhalot* or 3 Enoch, the Adamic motif of the angelic veneration similar to 2 Enoch also appears to be placed in the context of the Watchers tradition(s). Thus, 3 Enoch 4 depicts the angelic leaders Uzza, Azza, and Azael, the characters whose names are reminiscent of the names of the leaders of the fallen Watchers,[31] as bowing down before Enoch-Metatron.[32]

"They bowed down and wept in front [of Enoch . . .]." *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 1.409. Although the passage is extant in a very fragmentary form and the name of Enoch is not mentioned, Józef Tadeusz Milik, Siegbert Uhlig, and Florentino García Martínez have suggested that the figure before whom the giants prostrate themselves is none other than Enoch himself. For the discussion of this tradition see L. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran: Texts, Translation, and Commentary*, TSAJ 63 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 75–76.

[29] The account of Adam's elevation and his veneration by angels is found in Armenian, Georgian, and Latin versions of the Life of Adam and Eve 13–15. These versions depict God's creation of Adam in his image. The first man was then brought before God's face by the archangel Michael to bow down to God. God commanded all the angels to bow down to Adam. All the angels agreed to venerate the protoplast, except Satan (and his angels) who refused to bow down before Adam, because the first human was "younger" ("posterior") to Satan.

[30] The Slavonic version of 3 Baruch 4; Gospel of Bartholomew 4, Coptic Enthronement of Michael, Cave of Treasures 2:10–24, and Qur'an 2:31–39; 7:11–18; 15:31–48; 17:61–65; 18:50; 20:116–123; 38:71–85. The traces of the motif of veneration seem also present in the temptation narrative of the Gospel of Matthew, where Satan asks Jesus to prostrate himself before him.

[31] Annette Reed suggested that the tradition about Uzza, Azza, and Azael is "reflecting direct knowledge of the account of the fall of the angels in 1 Enoch 6–11." A. Y. Reed, "From Asael and Šemihazah to Uzzah, Azzah, and Azael: 3 Enoch 5 (§§7–8) and Jewish Reception-History of 1 Enoch," *JSQ* 8.2 (2001): 105–136 (110).

[32] On Metatron's figure, see D. Abrams, "The Boundaries of Divine Ontology: The Inclusion and Exclusion of Metatron in the Godhead," *HTR* 87 (1994): 291–321; P. S. Alexander, "The Historical Setting of the Hebrew Book of Enoch," *JJS* 28–29 (1977–1978): 156–180; Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse) of Enoch," *OTP*, 1:223–315; H. Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum* (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1951), 143–160; M. Black, "The Origin of the Name Metatron," *VT* 1 (1951): 217–219; M. S. Cohen, *The Shi'ur Qomah: Liturgy and Theurgy in Pre-Kabbalistic Jewish Mysticism* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1983); J. Dan, "The Seventy Names of Metatron," in *Jewish Mysticism. Late Antiquity*, J. Dan, 2 vols. (Northvale: Jason Aronson, 1998), 1:229–34; idem, *The Ancient Jewish Mysticism* (Tel Aviv: MOD Books, 1993), 108–124; J. R. Davila, "Of Methodology, Monotheism and Metatron," *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus*, ed. C. C. Newman, J. R. Davila, and G. S. Lewis, JSJSup 63 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 3–18; idem, "Melchizedek, the 'Youth,' and Jesus," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early*

There are scholars who view this motif of angels bowing down before Enoch found in *Sefer Hekhalot* as a relatively late development which originated under the influence of the rabbinic accounts of the veneration of humanity.[33] Yet, there are other researchers who argue for early

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Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001, ed. J. R. Davila, STDJ 46 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 248–74; W. Fauth, "Tatrosjah-totrosjah und Metatron in der jüdischen Merkabah-Mystik," *JSJ* 22 (1991): 40–87; C. Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology*, WUNT 2/94 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 156; D. J. Halperin, *The Faces of the Chariot*, 420ff; M. Hengel, *Studies in Early Christology* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995), 191–194; I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 195–206; M. Himmelfarb, "A Report on Enoch in Rabbinic Literature," *SBLSP* (1978): 259–69; C. Kaplan, "The Angel of Peace, Uriel-Metatron," *Anglican Theological Review* 13 (1931): 306–313; M. Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," *Immanuel* 24/25 (1990): 220–240; idem, *The Mystical Experience of Abraham Abulafia*, trans. J. Chipman (Albany: SUNY, 1988), 117–19; S. Lieberman, שקיעין (Jerusalem, 1939), 11–16; Lieberman, "Metatron, the Meaning of his Name and his Functions," Appendix to Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, 235–241; R. Margaliot, מלאכי עליון (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1964), 73–108; Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 125–35; G. F. Moore, "Intermediaries in Jewish Theology: Memra, Shekinah, Metatron," *HTR* 15 (1922): 41–85; C. Mopsik, *Le Livre hébreu d'Hénoch ou Livre des palais* (Paris: Verdier, 1989), 28ff; C. R. A. Morray–Jones, "Transformational Mysticism in the Apocalyptic-Merkabah Tradition," *JJS* 43 (1992): 1–31 (esp.7–11); A. Murtonen, "The Figure of Metatron," *VT* 3 (1953): 409–411; H. Odeberg, "Föreställningarna om Metatron i äldre judisk mystic," *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 27 (1927): 1–20; idem, *3 Enoch, or the Hebrew Book of Enoch* (New York: KTAV, 1973) 79–146; idem, "Enoch," *TDNT*, 2:556–560; Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*; P. Schäfer, *The Hidden and Manifest God* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1992) 29–32; G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary, 1965) 43–55; idem, *Kabbalah* (New York: Dorset Press, 1987) 377–381; idem, *Major Trends* (New York: Schocken, 1954) 43–55; idem, "Metatron," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1971) 11:1443–1446; idem, *Origins of the Kabbalah* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987) 214–15; A. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism*, SJLA 25 (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 60–73; G. G. Stroumsa, "Form(s) of God: Some Notes on Metatron and Christ," *HTR* 76 (1983): 269–288; L. T. Stuckenbruck, *Angel Veneration and Christology*, WUNT 2/70 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995) 71ff; I. Tishby, *The Wisdom of the Zohar: An Anthology of Texts* (3 vols.; London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1989) 2:626–632; G. Vajda, "Pour le dossier de Metatron," in: *Studies in Jewish Religious and Intellectual History Presented to A. Altmann*, ed. S. Stein and R. Loewe (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1979) 345–354; E. E. Urbach, *The Sages, Their Concepts and Beliefs* (2 vols.; tr. I. Abrahams; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975) 1:138–139; 2:743–744; E. Wolfson, *Through a Speculum that Shines: Vision and Imagination in Medieval Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 113, 334; Wolfson, "Metatron and Shi'ur Qomah in the Writings of Haside Ashkenaz," in *Mysticism, Magic and Kabbalah in Ashkenazi Judaism*, ed. K. E. Groezinger and J. Dan (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), 60–92.

[33] On the tradition of the veneration of humanity in rabbinic literature see A. Altmann, "The Gnostic Background of the Rabbinic Adam Legends," *JQR* 35 (1945): 371–391; B. Barc, "La taille cosmique d'Adam dans la littérature juive rabbinique des trois premiers siècles apres J.-C.," *RSR* 49 (1975): 173–85; J. Fossum, "The Adorable Adam of the Mystics and the Rebuttals of the Rabbis," *Geschichte-Tradition-Reflexion. Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. H. Cancik, H. Lichtenberger, and P. Schäfer, 2 vols. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 1:529–39; G. Quispel, "Der gnostische Anthropos und die jüdische Tradition,"

"pseudepigraphical" roots of this Hekhalot tradition of the angelic veneration of Enoch. One of these scholars, Gary Anderson, previously noticed the early pseudepigraphical matrix of this peculiar development present in *Sefer Hekhalot* and its connections with the primordial veneration of the protoplast in the paradigmatic Adamic story where Satan and his angels refuse to bow down before the first human.[34] Moreover, some conceptual developments detected in 2 Enoch also point to early pseudepigraphical roots of the tradition of veneration of Enoch by angels. Scholars previously suggested that the Adamic motif of angelic veneration was transferred in the Enochic context not in the later Hekhalot or rabbinic materials but already in 2 Enoch where the angels are depicted as bowing down several times before the seventh antediluvian hero. Besides the previously mentioned tradition of the imprisoned angels bowing down before Enoch found in chapter seven there is another, even more explicit appropriation of the motif of angelic veneration, found in 2 Enoch 21–22 where God tests angels by asking them to venerate Enoch. These chapters depict Enoch's arrival at the edge of the seventh heaven. There, God invites Enoch to stand before him forever. The Deity then tells his angels, sounding them out: "Let Enoch join in and stand in front of my face forever!" In response to this address, the angels do obeisance to Enoch saying, "Let Enoch yield in accordance with your word, O Lord!"[35] Michael Stone previously noticed that the story found in 2 Enoch 21–22 is reminiscent of the account of Adam's elevation and his veneration by angels found in the Life of Adam and Eve.[36] Stone notes that, along with the motifs of Adam's elevation and his veneration by angels, the author of 2 Enoch appears also to be

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Eranos Jahrbuch 22 (1953): 195–234; idem, "Ezekiel 1:26 in Jewish Mysticism and Gnosis," *VC* 34 (1980): 1–13; Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven*, 108–115.

[34] Commenting on 3 Enoch 4, Gary Anderson suggests that if "we remove those layers of the tradition that are clearly secondary . . . we are left with a story that is almost identical to the analog we have traced in the Adam and Eve literature." G. Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan" in *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays*, ed. G. Anderson, M. Stone, and J. Tromp, SVTP 15 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 83–110 (107). He further notes that the acclamation of Enoch as the "Youth" in *Sefer Hekhalot* is pertinent since the reason 3 Enoch supplies for this title is deceptively simple and straightforward: "Because I am young in their company and a mere youth among them in days and months and years—therefore they call me 'Youth.' " Anderson proposes that the title might have Adamic origins since the explanation for the epithet "Youth" recalls the reason for the angelic refusal to worship Adam in the LAE on the basis of his inferiority to them by way of his age. Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan," 108.

[35] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1:136, 138.

[36] M. E. Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the *Books of Adam and Eve*" in *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays*, 47–48.

aware of the motif of angelic disobedience and refusal to venerate the first human. Stone draws the reader's attention to the phrase "sounding them out," found in 2 Enoch 22:6, with another translation of the Slavonic text rendered as "making a trial of them."[37] Stone notes that the expression "sounding them out" or "making a trial of them" implies here that it is the angels' obedience that is being tested. Further comparing the similarities between Adamic and Enochic accounts, Stone observes that the order of events in 2 Enoch exactly duplicates the order found in the *Primary Adam Books*. Stone concludes that the author of 2 Enoch 21–22 was cognizant of the traditions resembling those found in the Armenian, Georgian, and Latin versions of the Life of Adam and Eve. He also emphasizes that these traditions did not enter 2 Enoch from the Slavonic Life of Adam and Eve, because this form of the tradition does not occur in the Slavonic LAE.[38]

Keeping in mind these remarkable parallels it is now time to return to the tradition of Enoch's veneration by the incarcerated angels found in chapter seven of 2 Enoch in order to further explore its connection with the Adamic story of angelic veneration.

Several details of the story from 2 Enoch 7 seem also to be alluding to the Adamic template:

a. In 2 Enoch 7, similar to the Adamic accounts, the sin of the imprisoned angels is disobedience to the Lord's commandments.
b. The agents of the rebellion are a group of angels with "their prince." This recalls the information found in the Adamic accounts where not only Satan, but also other angels under him, refuse to venerate Adam. As we remember, the longer recension of 2 Enoch 18:3 directly identifies the prisoners of the second heaven as the angels of Satanail.
c. Finally, in the text the imprisoned angels bow down before a human being (Enoch). An additional important detail here is that the patriarch is addressed by the fallen angels as a "man"—"a man of God." The combination of the motif of angelic bowing with a reference to the human nature of the object of veneration is intriguing and again might point to the protological Adamic account where some angels bow down before the human and others refuse to do so.

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[37] W. R. Morfill and R. H. Charles, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1896), 28.

[38] Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the Books of Adam and Eve," 47–48.

II. *2 Enoch 18: The Watchers in the Fifth Heaven*

Traces of the Enochic Template

It is time now to proceed to the second textual unit dealing with the Watchers traditions situated in chapter 18 of 2 Enoch. In the longer recension of 2 Enoch 18 the following description can be found:

> . . . And those men took me up on their wings and placed me on the fifth heaven. And I saw there many innumerable armies called Grigori. And their appearance was like the appearance of a human being, and their size was larger than that of large giants. And their faces were dejected, and the silence of their mouths was perpetual. And there was no liturgy in the fifth heaven. And I said to the men who were with me, "What is the explanation that these ones are so very dejected, and their faces miserable, and their mouths silent? And (why) is there no liturgy in this heaven?" And those men answered me, "These are the Grigori, who turned aside from the Lord, 200 myriads, together with their prince Satanail. And similar to them are those who went down as prisoners in their train, who are in the second heaven, imprisoned in great darkness. And three of them descended (соидошася три) to the earth from the Lord's Throne onto the place Ermon. And they broke the promise on the shoulder of Mount Ermon. And they saw the daughters of men, how beautiful they were; and they took wives for themselves, and the earth was defiled by their deeds. Who . . . in the entire time of this age acted lawlessly and practiced miscegenation and gave birth to giants and great monsters and great enmity. And that is why God has judged them with a great judgment; and they mourn their brothers, and they will be outrages on the great day of the Lord." And I said to the Grigori, "I have seen your brothers and their deeds and their torments and their great prayers; and I have prayed for them. But the Lord has sentenced them under the earth until heaven and earth are ended forever." And I said, "Why are you waiting for your brothers? And why don't you perform the liturgy before the face of the Lord? Start up your liturgy, and perform the liturgy before the face of the Lord, so that you do not enrage your Lord God to the limit." And they responded to my recommendations, and they stood in four regiments in this heaven. And behold, while I was standing with those men, 4 trumpets trumpeted in unison with a great sound, and the Grigori burst into singing in unison. And their voice rose in front of the face of the Lord, piteously and touchingly.[39]

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[39] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1:130–132. The shorter recension of 2 Enoch 18 has the following form: "And the men picked me up from there and carried me away to the fifth heaven. And I saw there many armies and Grigori. And their appearance was like the appearance of a human being, and their size was larger than that of large giants. And their faces were dejected, and the silence of their mouths. . . . And there was no liturgy taking place in the fifth heaven. And I said to the men who were with me, 'For what reason are they so dejected,

Already in the very beginning of this passage the angelic hosts situated in the fifth heaven are designated as *Grigori* (Slav. Григори),[40] the term which represents "a transcription of the Greek word for the Watchers."[41] Unlike in chapter 7, where the identity of the celestial gathering remains rather uncertain, here the authors of the text explicitly choose to name the angelic group. The text then provides some details of the angels' appearance. When 2 Enoch describes them, an intriguing comparison is made about the size of these angelic hosts, who are depicted as beings "larger than the large giants"—a reference which might also invoke the Giants traditions—a conceptual trend which in early Enochic booklets is often intertwined with the Watchers story.

The text then describes the Watchers' faces as being dejected, emphasizing also their perpetual silence. Enoch, who appears to be puzzled by the view of this silent and depressive angelic company, then asks his angelic guides about their strange dejected looks and their non-participation in the angelic liturgy. In response he hears the story that further provides the array of crucial motifs that invoke the memory of the account of the Watchers' descent as it is described in the early Enochic circle. Two significant details here are the references to the number of the descended Watchers as two hundred (myriads)[42] and the designation of

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and their faces miserable, and their mouths silent? And why is there no liturgy in this heaven?' And the men answered me, 'These are the Grigori, 200 princes of whom turned aside, 200 walking in their train, and they descended to the earth, and they broke the promise on the shoulder of Mount Hermon, to defile themselves with human wives. And, when they defile themselves, the Lord condemned them. And these ones mourn for their brothers and for the outrage which has happened.' But I, I said to the Grigori, 'I, I have seen your brothers and I have understood their accomplishments and I knew their prayers; and I have prayed for them. And now the Lord has sentenced them under the earth until heaven and earth are ended. But why are you waiting for your brothers? And why don't you perform the liturgy before the face of the Lord? Start up the former liturgy. Perform the liturgy in the name of fire, lest you annoy the Lord your God (so that) he throws you down from this place.' And they heeded the earnestness of my recommendation, and they stood in four regiments in heaven. And behold, while I was standing, they sounded with 4 trumpets in unison, and the Grigori began to perform the liturgy as with one voice. And their voices rose up into the Lord's presence." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1:131–133.

[40] Robert Henry Charles was the first scholar who clarified the terminological background of the Slavonic word "*Grigori*." He observed that "these are the Watchers, the ἐγρήγοροι, or עירים, of whom we have so full accounts in 1 En. vi–xvi, xix, lxxxvi." Charles, *APOT*, 2:439.

[41] VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 159. It is intriguing that the authors of the Slavonic translation of 2 Enoch choose to keep this word in its Greek phonetical form, possibly envisioning it as a technical term.

[42] Some mss of 2 Enoch speak about 200 descended Watchers, others about 200 myriads of descended Watchers. Cf. the shorter recension of 2 Enoch 18:3 "These are the Grigori, 200 princes of whom turned aside, 200 walking in their train. . . ." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1:131.

the place of their descent on earth as Mount Hermon (Slav. Ермон/гора Ермонская). It is well-known that the numeral two hundred in relation to the descended Watchers is attested already in the Book of the Watchers—one of the earliest Enochic booklets, whose text also locates the place of the Watchers' descent at Mount Hermon.[43]

2 Enoch 18:4 then supplies another portentous detail by describing how the Watchers *broke the promise* on the shoulder of Mount Hermon. The reference to the "promise" (Slav. обещание)[44] that the Watchers "broke" on the shoulder of the infamous mountain is intriguing and appears to hint to the early Enochic tradition of the binding oath taken by the Watchers. The passage found in chapter 6 of the Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 6:3–6) unveils the motifs of mysterious promises and curses with which the rebellious angels decided to bind themselves, thus securing their ominous mission and fellowship.[45]

The descriptions of the Watchers' transgressions provided in 2 Enoch 18 are also noteworthy. The references to the Watchers' marriage to the human women, the procreation of the race of monstrous Giants, the enmity and evil that this infamous bastard offspring created on earth—all these features again betray the authors' familiarity with early Watchers and Giants traditions attested already in 1 Enoch 7.[46] It is also curious that 2 Enoch specifically emphasizes the sin of interbreeding (miscegenation) (Slav. смешение),[47] an important sacerdotal concern of intermarriage that looms large in the early Enochic circle.

Another typical "Enochic" detail of chapter 18 is the reference to God's sentencing the Watchers under the earth "until heaven and earth are

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[43] 1 Enoch 6:6 "And they were in all two hundred, and they came down on Ardis which is the summit of Mount Hermon." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2:67–69.

[44] Sokolov, "Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе," 16.

[45] 1 Enoch 6:3–5 "And Semyaza, who was their leader, said to them: 'I fear that you may not wish this deed to be done, and (that) I alone will pay for this great sin.' And they all answered him and said: 'Let us all swear an oath, and bind one another with curses not to alter this plan, but to carry out this plan effectively.' Then they all swore together and all bound one another with curses to it." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2:67–69.

[46] 1 Enoch 7:1–6: "And they took wives for themselves, and everyone chose for himself one each. And they began to go in to them and were promiscuous with them. . . . And they became pregnant and bore large giants, and their height (was) three thousand cubits. These devoured all the toil of men, until men were unable to sustain them. And the giants turned against them in order to devour men. And they began to sin against birds, against animals, and against reptiles and against fish, and they devoured one another's flesh and drank the blood from it. Then the earth complained about the lawless ones." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2:76–79.

[47] Sokolov, "Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе," 16.

ended forever." This motif also appears to stem from the early Enochic lore where the fallen Watchers are depicted as imprisoned under the earth until the day of the final judgment.

All aforementioned details point to familiarity of the authors of 2 Enoch with the features of the original Enochic template. Yet, despite the efforts of the authors of 2 Enoch to harmonize the plethora of early Enochic motifs into a coherent symbolic universe, the Watchers' account reflected in chapter 18 appears to be not entirely without contradictions. One of the puzzles here is a discrepancy about the location of the angelic group encountered by the patriarch earlier—the incarcerated rebels, whose memory is invoked again and again in chapter 18.

Thus, in 18:3 Enoch's angelic guides connect the Watchers in the fifth heaven with the angelic group in the second heaven depicted earlier in chapter 7: "And similar to them are those who went down as prisoners in their train, who are *in the second heaven*, imprisoned in great darkness" (2 Enoch 18:3). Later, in verse seven, Enoch himself reaffirms this connection between the two angelic groups when he unveils to the Watchers in the fifth heaven the sad destiny of their rebellious brothers in the lower realm: "And I said to the Grigori, "I have seen your brothers and their deeds and their torments and their great prayers; and I have prayed for them. But the Lord has sentenced them *under the earth* until heaven and earth are ended forever" (2 Enoch 18:7).

It is apparent that both passages about angelic rebellious groups in chapters 7 and 18 are interconnected by a series of allusions and familiar motifs intended to persuade the reader that both groups are interrelated and now are separated because of their previous deeds. Yet, 2 Enoch 18:7 exhibits a clear contradiction when Enoch reports to the Watchers in the fifth heaven that God has sentenced their brothers "*under the earth*."[48] Several scholars previously noticed this topological discrepancy about the exact location of the second group of Watchers.[49] Reflecting on the textual contradictions about the location of the imprisoned Watchers, one of these scholars, John Reeves, observes that

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[48] Francis Andersen points to the fact that even though the phrase "under the earth" is not found in some manuscripts of the shorter recension (V and N) its "genuineness cannot be doubted." He further acknowledges that the phrase "simply does not fit the cosmography of the rest of the book, and even contradicts this very ch. [18], which locates the other fallen angels in the second heaven. . . ." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1:132.

[49] Rubinstein, "Observation on the Slavonic Book of Enoch," 7–10; Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1:114; Reeves, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature," 185; VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 159.

> 2 Enoch is peculiar in that it places the prison for the incarcerated Watchers in heaven itself. This transcendent location contradicts the explicit testimonies of other works where these rebellious Watchers are held; viz. beneath the earth (1 Enoch 10:4–7; 12–14; 88:3; *Jub.* 5:6, 10; 2 Pet 2:4). Moreover, a later passage in 2 Enoch is simultaneously cognizant of this latter tradition: "And I said to the Watchers, I have seen your brothers, and I have heard what they did; . . . and I prayed for them. And behold, the Lord has condemned them below the earth until the heavens and the earth pass away . . ." The reference in this text is surely to the imprisoned Watchers that Enoch had previously encountered in the second heaven. But here, while touring the "fifth heaven," the imprisoned Watchers are spoken as being "beneath the earth"![50]

It is possible that the discrepancy pertaining to the location of the imprisoned angels can be explained by the topological peculiarities of 2 Enoch whose main theological emphasis is centered on the ascension of the translated hero into the heavenly realm. Yet, possibly cognizant of the various early traditions of the patriarch's tours into other (subterranean) realms, where Enoch observes the places of the punishment of the rebellious Watchers, the authors of 2 Enoch try to reconcile (not always seamlessly) these earlier traditions with their ouranological scheme.[51] In this respect the phrase, "I saw a darkness greater than *earthly darkness*"[52] used in the description of the incarcerated angels in the longer recension of 2 Enoch 7:1, deserves some additional attention. It appears that this phrase strives to underline the otherworldly, possibly even subterranean, nature of the darkness encountered by the patriarch in the second heaven. Clearly the text wants to emphasize that it is a darkness of *another realm* by comparing it with "earthly darkness." Later, in verse 2 this comparison with the *earthly* darkness is repeated again, this time in the portrayal of the angels' appearance: "And those angels have the appearance of darkness itself, *more than earthly darkness*."[53]

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[50] Reeves, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Manichaean Literature," 185.

[51] Martha Himmelfarb suggests that "in 2 Enoch the ascent is clearly a reworking of the ascent in the *Book of the Watchers* in combination with the tour to the ends of the earth. . . ." M. Himmelfarb, "Revelation and Rapture: The Transformation of the Visionary in the Ascent Apocalypses," in *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Colloquium*, ed. J. J. Collins and J. H. Charlesworth, JSPSup 9 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 82. Cf. also Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah*, 221–223.

[52] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1:112.

[53] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1:112.

Traces of the Adamic Template

Besides the references to the Enochic template, the passage from chapter 18 also reveals also the authors' familiarity with the Adamic mythology of evil and the peculiar details of its demonological settings. Moreover, it appears that the interaction between the two paradigmatic templates in 2 Enoch can be seen not merely as an attempt at mechanical mixture of the elements of both trends but rather the progressive movement toward their organic union when the mutual interaction is able to generate a qualitatively different tradition which is not equal anymore to their initial parts. Thus one can see here the consistent effort to "fuse" two mythological streams into a new coherent ideology—an enormously difficult creative task carried out masterfully by the authors of 2 Enoch. One of the crucial signs of such qualitative transition can be seen in the literary destiny of the main protological and eschatological opponent of the Adamic tradition—Satan(ail),[54] who is now invited into the new unfamiliar entourage of the rival mythological trend, where he is being fashioned as the leader of the rebellious Watchers: "These are the Grigori, who turned aside from the Lord, 200 myriads, together *with their prince* (с князом своим) Satanail . . ." (2 Enoch 18).

The fact that this identification represents not just an accidental slip of the pen or an interpolation, but a sign of the consistent and well-designed theological strategy of the text becomes evident if we compare

[54] Rendering of the name of the chief negative protagonist of the Adamic tradition here not as Satan but as Satanail(el), with a theophoric angelic ending, appears to underline his original angelic status. In this context the change of the name to Satan (Slav. *Сотона*) and removing the theophoric ending signifies the expelling from the angelic rank, a tradition hinted in the longer recension of 2 Enoch 31: "Adam—Mother; earthly and life. And I created a garden in Edem, in the east, so that he might keep the agreement and preserve the commandment. And I created for him an open heaven, so that he might look upon the angels, singing the triumphal song. And the light which is never darkened was perpetually in paradise. And the devil understood how I wished to create another world, so that everything could be subjected to Adam on the earth, to rule and reign over it. The devil is of the lowest places. And he will become a demon, because he fled from heaven; Sotona, because his name was Satanail. In this way he became different from the angels. His nature did not change, but his thought did, since his consciousness of righteous and sinful things changed. And he became aware of his condemnation and of the sin which he sinned previously. And that is why he thought up the scheme against Adam. In such a form he entered paradise, and corrupted Eve. But Adam he did not contact. But on account of her nescience I cursed him. But those whom I had blessed previously, them I did not curse; and those whom I had not blessed previously, even them I did not curse—neither mankind I cursed, nor the earth, nor any other creature, but only mankind's evil fruit-bearing. This is why the fruit of doing good is sweat and exertion." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1:152–154.

the description found in chapter 18 with the Watchers tradition found in chapter 7. There again the group of the incarcerated Watchers is described by the authors as the rebellious group who turn away *with their prince*: "These are those who turned away from the Lord, who did not obey the Lord's commandments, but of their own will plotted together and turned away *with their prince* (с князем своим)…" (2 Enoch 7).

Both passages are interconnected through identical Slavonic terminology since the leader of the rebellious angels in both cases is designated as *a prince* (Slav. князь).[55] It appears that in the theological tapestry of 2 Enoch, chapter 7 plays an important role by serving for its readers as a sort of a preliminary initiation into a new mythology of evil—the demonological setting where both the identities of the Watchers and their new leader Satanail are still concealed, thus anticipating their full conceptual disclosure in the later chapters.

But how really novel and original was this conceptual move for the Enochic trend? It should be noted that the leadership of Satan over the fallen Watchers is unknown in the earliest Enochic booklets. Yet, in the late Second Temple Enochic text, the Book of the Similitudes, one can see the extensive appropriation of the Satan terminology, both in the generic and in the titular sense.[56] One of the instances of the "generic" use of such terminology can be found in 1 Enoch 40:7 where the term "satans" appears to designate one of the classes of angelic beings[57] whose function is to punish[58] or to put forward accusations against those who dwell on earth: "And the fourth voice I heard driving away the satans, and not allowing them to come before the Lord of Spirits to accuse those who dwell on the dry ground."[59]

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[55] Sokolov, "Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе," 16.

[56] Robert Henry Charles underlines the peculiarity of the Satan terminology to this section of 1 Enoch. R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912), 66.

[57] Daniel Olson observes that "the author [of the Similitudes] could have deduced the existence of 'satans' as the class of malevolent angels from passages like Numbers 22, where the Angel of the Lord is twice described as coming, literally, 'as a satan' to block Balaam's progress (vv 22, 32)." D. Olson, *Enoch: A New Translation* (North Richland Hills: Bibal, 2004), 80.

[58] Matthew Black argues that in this passage "the satans are a special class of angels" that "have been identified with the 'angels of punishment.'" M. Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, SVTP 7 (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 200.

[59] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2:128. See also 1 Enoch 41:9; 53:3; 65:6. The Satan tradition might also be indirectly present in 1 Enoch 69:6, the passage which describes an angelic leader Gadre'el who is credited there with leading Eve astray. On this tradition see Olson, *Enoch: A New Translation*, 126; Coblentz Bautch, "Adamic traditions in the Parables? A Query on 1 Enoch 69:6," 352–360.

The first possible steps towards the transitional template in which Satan becomes the leader of the fallen Watchers might be discernable in the Similitudes 54:4–6 where the "hosts of Azazel" are named as the "servants of Satan":[60]

> And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: "These chain-instruments—for whom are they being prepared? And he said to me: "These are being prepared for the hosts of Azazel, that they may take them and throw them into the lowest part of Hell; and they will cover their jaws with rough stones, as the Lord of Spirits commanded. And Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel—these will take hold of them on that great day, and throw them on that day into the furnace of burning fire, that the Lord of Spirits may take vengeance on them for their iniquity, in that they became servants of Satan and led astray those who dwell upon the dry ground.[61]

Scholars have argued that the term "Satan" was used here not in the generic but in the "titular" sense.[62] If it is so this portentous conceptual development is relevant for our study of the Satanail tradition found in 2 Enoch, since it might provide additional proof that the extensive adoption of Adamic mythology of evil in 2 Enoch was not a later Christian interpolation, but a genuine Enochic development possibly stemming from other late Second Temple Enochic booklets.

Yet, despite its promising nature, the origin of the Satan tradition found in the Similitudes remains clouded in mystery. It is really difficult to discern from this terse and enigmatic passage found in the Similitudes 54 if the authors of the book did really have the knowledge of the full-blown Adamic template, including the story of the angelic veneration, or if they were merely borrowing the titular usage of Satan from the biblical materials. Scholars previously noticed this peculiar tendency of the Similitudes for the extensive and open adaptations of some biblical titles in relation to Enoch—a novel development in comparison with the earliest Enochic booklets whose authors deliberately tried to maintain distance from the "biblical" books.[63] In the light of these developments it is possible that

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[60] Matthew Black observes that "the idea that the watchers were the subjects of Satan is peculiar to the Parables, reflecting a later demonology. . . ." Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, 219.

[61] Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2.138.

[62] Daniel Olson notes that "Satan the individual is mentioned once in the 'parables' (54:6), so it would appear that both the generic and the titular use are employed in this book, but caution is in order because 'satans' in Ethiopic can simply mean 'the hosts of Satan' and need not imply a wholly distinct category of evil spirits." Olson, *Enoch: A New Translation*, 80.

[63] The Book of the Similitudes endows the seventh antediluvian patriarch with several roles and titles previously unknown in the early Enochic lore, such as "righteous one,"

titular usage of the name "Satan" similar to many of Enoch's titles found in the Similitudes might have here biblical roots. Nevertheless, it remains intriguing that the extensive appropriation of Satan terminology is found in such a transitional Enochic booklet as the Similitudes, a text which similar to 2 Enoch, tries to dramatically enhance the exalted profile of the seventh antediluvian patriarch leading this character into the entirely new, one might say "divine," stage of his remarkable theological career by identifying him with the preexistent son of man.

Now it is time to return to 2 Enoch where the mutual interaction between two mythologies of evil appears to be exercising a lasting influence not only on the story of the Watchers but also on the account of the negative protagonist of the Adamic stream, Satan(ail) who is now acquiring some novel features from the Enochic tradition.

The longer recension of 2 Enoch 29 elaborates the story of Satanail's fall by enhancing it with some new intriguing details. It describes that after his transgression (described there as the violation of the ranks of the angelic hierarchy in an attempt to exalt himself) Satanail was cast out from heaven with his angels.[64] The text further unveils that after his demotion "he [Satanail] was flying around in the air, ceaselessly above the

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"anointed one," "chosen one," and "son of man." One cannot fail to recognize that in contrast to other designations of Enoch found in the early Enochic materials, the titles from the Book of the Similitudes exhibit strong roots and connections with the motifs and themes found in the Bible, particularly in the Book of Isaiah, Psalm 2, and the Book of Daniel. Scholars have therefore proposed that these titles might be shaped by familiar biblical characters, such as the Servant of the Lord found in Deutero-Isaiah and the Son of Man found in Daniel 7. On the titles of Enoch in the Book of the Similitudes and their biblical roots see J. VanderKam, "Righteous One, Messiah, Chosen One, and Son of Man in 1 Enoch 37–71," in: *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity. The First Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth, *et al.* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 169–191 (169–70).

[64] 2 Enoch 29:1–6: "And for all my own heavens I shaped a shape from the fiery substance. My eye looked at the solid and very hard rock. And from the flash of my eye I took the marvelous substance of lightning, both fire in water and water in fire; neither does this one extinguish that one, nor does that one dry out this one. That is why lightning is sharper and brighter than the shining of the sun, and softer than water, more solid than the hardest rock. And from the rock I cut off a great fire, and from the fire I created the ranks of the bodiless armies—the myriad angels—and their weapons are fiery and their clothes are burning flames. And I gave orders that each should stand in his own rank. Here Satanail was hurled from the height, together with his angels. But one from the order of the archangels deviated, together with the division that was under his authority. He thought up the impossible idea, that he might place his throne higher than the clouds which are above the earth, and that he might become equal to my power. And I hurled him out from the height, together with his angels. And he was flying around in the air, ceaselessly above the Bottomless. And thus I created the entire heavens. And the third day came." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1:148.

Bottomless (Slav. бездна)."[65] This reference to the Slavonic word *бездна*, (which more precisely can be translated as "pit" or "abyss") as the place of punishment of the fallen angel, invokes the memory of the Asael/Azazel story from 1 Enoch 10 where the leader of the fallen angels is thrown by the angel Raphael into the subterranean pit.[66]

Here again one can see the profound dialogue between two formative traditions of the fallen angels that alters or enhances the features of the original templates, reshaping the stories of their infamous heroes.

III. *The Transitional Template and Its Afterlife in the* Shiʿur Qomah *and Hekhalot Accounts*

Our investigation of the mixed demonological template found in 2 Enoch is important not only because it witnesses to the portentous dialogue between Enochic and Adamic mythologies of evil but also because it helps to illuminate another important theological transition taking place for the first time in 2 Enoch—that is the paradigm shift from Jewish apocalypticism to early Jewish mysticism, thus in many ways anticipating future developments inside the Enochic lore and serving as a blueprint for the later Watchers traditions reflected in the *Shʿiur Qomah* and Hekhalot lore.[67]

In this respect it is therefore useful to discuss some early signs and facets of this ideological transition taking place at the end of the Second Temple period through the exploration of several pioneering aspects of the Watchers traditions found in 2 Enoch and the afterlife of these novel developments in later Jewish mysticism.

I have previously argued about the formative value of Enochic traditions reflected in 2 Enoch for late Jewish mysticism[68] and particularly

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[65] Sokolov, "Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе," 28.

[66] 1 Enoch 10:4–6: "And further the Lord said to Raphael: 'Bind Azazel by his hands and his feet, and throw him in the darkness. And split open the desert which is in Dudael, and throw him there. And throw on him jagged and sharp stones, and cover him with darkness; and let him stay there for ever, and cover his face, that he may not see light, and that on the great day of judgment he may be hurled into the fire." Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2:87–88.

[67] The similar development might be detected also in the Book of the Similitudes, an Enochic text already mentioned in this study which too exhibits some connections with the Merkabah tradition.

[68] Christfried Böttrich previously argued against a presence of early Jewish mystical traditions in the original core of 2 Enoch by suggesting that a pivotal description of the

for the Enochic developments attested in *Sefer Hekhalot*.[69] My previous research was mainly concentrated on Enoch's figure. Yet, in the light of the current investigation it becomes clear that the lessons which 2 Enoch provides for the later Hekhalot developments appear to be not limited solely to the transformation of the narrative involving the chief positive protagonist of the Enochic tradition—the seventh antediluvian hero, but also involve the peculiar reworking of the story of its anti-heroes—the fallen Watchers. In this section of my study I would like to concentrate on two motifs found in 2 Enoch that appear to be anticipating future Jewish mystical developments: the motif of the three watchers and the theme of the liturgical duties of Enoch-Metatron.

Three Watchers

This study has already drawn attention to the intriguing fact that 2 Enoch operates with the tradition of the descent of the three Watchers. Several manuscripts of 2 Enoch 18 tell that "*three of them* [the Watchers] descended to the earth from the Lord's Throne onto the place Ermon." This passage invokes the memory of a peculiar tradition found in the later Enochic lore reflected in *Sefer Hekhalot* that mentions three ministering angels, Uzza, Azza, and Azael, enigmatic characters, whose names are reminiscent of the infamous leaders of the Watchers, Shemihazah and Asael.[70] *Sefer Hekhalot* contains two textual units which deal with Uzza, Azza, and Azael. One of them is situated in chapter four and another in chapter five.

3 Enoch 4:1–10 reads:

> R. Ishmael said: I said to Metatron: "... why, then, do they call you 'Youth' in the heavenly heights?" He answered: "Because I am Enoch, the son of Jared ..." ... "... the Holy One, blessed be he, appointed me (Enoch) in the height as a prince and a ruler among the ministering angels. Then three of the ministering angels, Uzza, Azza, and Azael, came and laid charges against

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divine face in 2 Enoch 39, that contains a cluster of mystical motifs, represents a later interpolation. [See C. Böttrich, *Weltweisheit, Menschheitsethik, Urkult: Studien zum slavischen Henochbuch*, WUNT 2/50 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 112–113.] This theory no longer seems plausible in light of the recently discovered Coptic fragments of 2 Enoch that contain a portion of 2 Enoch 39 with a description of the divine face.

[69] Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 148–208.

[70] For the background of the tradition about Uzza, Azza, and Azael, see A. Y. Reed, *What the Fallen Angels Taught: The Motif of Illicit Angelic Instruction and the Reception-History of 1 Enoch in Judaism and Christianity* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 2002) 337ff; Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) 252ff.

> me in the heavenly height. They said before the Holy One, blessed be He, 'Lord of the Universe, did not the primeval ones give you good advice when they said, Do not create man!' . . . once they all arose and went to meet me and prostrated themselves before me, saying 'Happy are you, and happy your parents, because your Creator has favored you.' Because I am young in their company and a mere youth among them in days and months and years—therefore they call me 'Youth.' "[71]

As has already been noticed in this study this specimen of the late "Enochic" lore found in *Sefer Hekhalot* is significant for our investigation because it attests to the conceptual matrix of the mythology of evil very similar to the one found in 2 Enoch, where the Enochic trend attempts to emulate the paradigmatic features of the Adamic story. It is possible that the influence of the Adamic template in the Hekhalot passage is even more decisive than it might appear at first glance since besides the theme of the angelic veneration of the seer it also invokes the motifs of the protological situation of the creation of humanity and the angelic opposition to this act of the Deity. Although the tradition of the veneration of Adam is not mentioned directly in this unit—it is indirectly (similarly to 2 Enoch) reaffirmed by the veneration that angels offer to Enoch. As has been mentioned already in this study, previous scholars have noticed the presence of the pseudepigraphical matrix of the Adamic tradition in this passage.[72]

In *Sefer Hekhalot* 5 the tradition about three "Watchers" takes another, this time clearly "Enochic" turn, by connecting Uzza, Azza, and Azael with the familiar theme of the corruption of humankind through a reference to the angels' illicit pedagogy, a motif known already in the earliest Enochic mythology of evil: "What did the men of Enosh's generation do? They roamed the world from end to end. . . . They brought down the sun, the moon, the stars and the constellations. . . . How was it that they had the strength to bring them down? It was only because Uzza, Azza, and Azael taught them sorceries that they brought them down and employed them, for otherwise they would not have been able to bring them down."[73]

It is noteworthy that both passages about three fallen angels from *Sefer Hekhalot* have distinctive features of the mixed template, very similar to the one found in 2 Enoch. Both texts are trying to bring the whole array of the Adamic motifs, including the account of the angelic veneration, into

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[71] P. Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," *OTP*, 1:223–315 (258–59).
[72] Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan," 107.
[73] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1:260.

the framework of the Watchers story. Although the transmission history of the post-Second Temple Enochic traditions is clouded in mystery—it is possible that the developments detected in 2 Enoch exercised a formative influence on the later Enochic lore, including *Sefer Hekhalot*. In this respect it is noteworthy that despite the tradition of the fallen angels' opposition to God's creation of humans found in several places in rabbinic literature,[74] the motif of the *three watchers* appears in Jewish milieus only in *Sefer Hekhalot*.[75]

Enoch As the Celestial Choirmaster of the Watchers

Another portentous aspect of the Watchers traditions found in 2 Enoch that appears to exercise a long-lasting influence on later Jewish mystical developments is its liturgical dimension. The repeated and persuasive invocation of the idea of angelic veneration in many ways hints (directly and indirectly) to this peculiar sacerdotal aspect, since this motif is often placed in the Second Temple and rabbinic materials in the context of celestial worship. In this respect one should not ignore the persistent liturgical concern that permeates the Watchers story in 2 Enoch.

Indeed, the authors of the Watchers narratives of 2 Enoch do not shy away from expressing their interest in the theme of the heavenly liturgy. Thus, when Enoch sees the "dejected" Watchers in the fifth heaven, the passage immediately invokes the tradition of angelic worship by pointing to the Watchers' non-participation in the celestial liturgical praxis: "And their faces were dejected, and the silence of their mouths was perpetual. And there was no liturgy in the fifth heaven. 'What is the explanation that these ones are so very dejected, and their faces miserable, and their mouths silent? And (why) is *there no liturgy in this heaven*?'"[76]

The liturgical dimension of the Watchers tradition in 2 Enoch is intriguing and deserves further investigation. Yet, in order to apprehend the full meaning of this tradition for the later Enochic developments a short excursus in the Hekhalot and *Sh'iur Qomah* materials is necessary.

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[74] *b.* Sanh. 38B, *Midrash of Shemhazai and Azael* 2, and *Zohar* III.207b–208a.

[75] The motif of the three Watchers is also found in several Tafsirs on the Qur'an. For the original texts, translations and extensive discussion of these traditions see Ф.И. Абдуллаева, *Персидская Коранической экзегетика: Тексты, переводы, комментарии* (С.-Петербург: Петербургское Востоковедение, 2000).

[76] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1.130.

The later Merkabah materials emphasize the crucial role that Enoch-Metatron occupies in celestial worship by serving as the leader of the angelic hosts. 3 Enoch 15B provides the following description of his spectacular liturgical office: "Metatron is the Prince over all princes, and stands before him who is exalted above all gods. He goes beneath the throne of glory, where he has a great heavenly tabernacle of light, and brings out the deafening fire, and puts it in the ears of the holy creatures, so that they should not hear the sound of the utterance that issues from the mouth of the Almighty."[77]

A similar description in another Hekhalot text (*Synopse* §390)[78] elaborates further Metatron's unique liturgical role:

> One *hayyah* rises above the seraphim and descends upon the tabernacle of the youth whose name is Metatron, and says in a great voice, a voice of sheer silence: "The Throne of Glory is shining." Suddenly the angels fall silent. The watchers and the holy ones become quiet. They are silent, and are pushed into the river of fire. The *hayyot* put their faces on the ground, and this youth whose name is Metatron brings the fire of deafness and puts it into their ears so that they could not hear the sound of God's speech or the ineffable name. The youth whose name is Metatron then invokes, in seven voices, his living, pure, honored, awesome, holy, noble, strong, beloved, mighty, powerful name.[79]

These enigmatic passages reveal that one of Metatron's duties in the heavenly realm involves his leadership over the angelic hosts delivering heavenly praise to the Deity. The testimonies that unfold Metatron's liturgical role are not confined solely to the Hekhalot corpus, but can also be detected in another prominent literary expression of early Jewish mysticism represented by the *Shiʿur Qomah* materials. The passages found in the *Shiʿur Qomah* texts attest to a similar tradition in which Metatron is portrayed as a liturgical leader. Thus, *Sefer Haqqomah* 155–164 reads:

> And (the) angels who are with him come and encircle the Throne of Glory. They are on one side and the (celestial) creatures are on the other side, and the Shekhinah is on the Throne of Glory in the center. And one creature goes up over the seraphim and descends on the tabernacle of the lad whose name is Metatron and says in a great voice, a thin voice of silence, "The Throne of Glory is glistening!" Immediately, the angels fall silent and

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[77] Alexander, "3 Enoch," 1.303.

[78] MS New York JTS 8128.

[79] P. Schäfer, with M. Schlüter and H. G. von Mutius, *Synopse zur Hekhaloth-Literatur*, TSAJ 2 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1981), 164.

> the *ʿirin* and the *qadushin* are still. They hurry and hasten into the river of fire. And the celestial creatures turn their faces towards the earth, and this lad whose name is Metatron, brings the fire of deafness and puts (it) in the ears of the celestial creatures so that they do not hear the sound of the speech of the Holy One, blessed be He, and the explicit name that the lad, whose name is Metatron, utters at that time in seven voices, in seventy voices, in living, pure, honored, holy, awesome, worthy, brave, strong, and holy name.[80]

In reference to these traditions Martin Cohen notes that in the *Shʿiur Qomah* tradition Metatron's service in the heavenly tabernacle appears to be "entirely liturgical" and "is more the heavenly choirmaster and beadle than the celestial high priest."[81]

It is evident that the tradition preserved in *Sefer Haqqomah* cannot be separated from the microforms found in *Synopse* §390 and 3 Enoch 15B since all these narratives are unified by a similar structure and terminology. All of them also emphasize Metatron's leading role in the course of the celestial service.

It is possible that this tradition of Enoch-Metatron as the one who encourages and prepares angels for their liturgical praxis in heaven might have its early roots already in 2 Enoch.

As we remember in the beginning of chapter 18 the patriarch is depicted as the one who laments about the absence of angelic liturgy in the fifth heaven and the silence of the Watchers. In the light of the Hekhalot and *Shʿiur Qomah* materials, his concern about the pause in the angelic liturgical routine appears to be not just a matter of curiosity. Further in the same unit Enoch encourages the celestial Watchers to start their liturgy before the face of God. The longer recension of 2 Enoch 18:8–9 relates: "And I [Enoch] said, 'Why are you waiting for your brothers? And why don't you *perform the liturgy*[82] before the face of the Lord? Start up *your liturgy*,[83] and perform the liturgy before the face of the Lord, so that you do not enrage your Lord to the limit.' And they responded to my recommendation, and they stood in four regiments in this heaven. And behold, while

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[80] M. Cohen, *The Shiʿur Qomah: Texts and Recensions*, TSAJ 9 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985), 162–4.

[81] M. Cohen, *The Shiʿur Qomah: Liturgy and Theurgy in Pre-Kabbalistic Jewish Mysticism* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1983), 134.

[82] Slav. служите. Sokolov, "Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе," 17.

[83] Slav. службы ваше. Sokolov, "Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе," 17.

I was standing with those men, 4 trumpets trumpeted in unison with a great sound, and the Watchers burst into singing in unison. And their voice rose in front of the face of the Lord, piteously and touchingly."[84]

One can notice that the imagery of this account represents a rather vague sketch that only distantly alludes to the future prominent liturgical role of Enoch-Metatron. Yet here, for the first time in the Enochic tradition, the seventh antediluvian patriarch dares to assemble and direct the angelic creatures for their routine job of delivering praise to the Deity.

It is also significant that, despite the fact that in 2 Enoch 18 the patriarch gives his advice to the angels situated in the fifth heaven, he repeatedly advises them to start the liturgy "before the Face of the Lord," i.e., in front of the divine *Kavod*, the exact location where Youth-Metatron will later conduct the heavenly worship of the angelic hosts in the *Shiʿur Qomah* and Hekhalot accounts.

These later specimens of Jewish mystical lore provide an important interpretive framework that allows us to discern the traces of these later fully developed liturgical traditions already in 2 Enoch. In this respect 2 Enoch can be seen as the crucial conceptual nexus loaded with several portentous transitions that become instrumental in shaping the angelological template prominent in the later *Shiʿur Qomah* and Hekhalot lore.

In light of the developments discernable in 2 Enoch it is possible that the unique liturgical role that Enoch-Metatron occupies in the Merkabah tradition in relation to the celestial creatures is linked to the tradition of his veneration by the angels. Already in 2 Enoch the celestial citizens recognize the authority and the leadership of the seventh antediluvian hero by bowing down before him. This peculiar ritual of recognition of the celestial leader appears not to be forgotten in the later mystical lore. In this respect it is striking that in the aforementioned liturgical passages from the *Shiʿur Qomah* and Hekhalot accounts various classes of angels, including the class named עירין (the Watchers), are depicted with "their faces towards the earth" while Enoch-Metatron puts fire in their ears. It cannot be excluded that one can have here the liturgical afterlife of the familiar motif of the angelic bowing before the translated hero. It is noteworthy that already in early Adamic lore that constitutes the background of the developments found in 2 Enoch—the theme of the angelic veneration of Adam is placed in the larger framework of divine worship—where

[84] Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1:132.

the protoplast appears to be understood not as the ultimate object of veneration but rather as a representation or an icon of the Deity through whom angels are able to worship God.[85]

Conclusion

In conclusion of our study of the intriguing relationships between the Enochic and Adamic templates of the fallen angels in 2 Enoch we should again draw attention to the broader theological concerns and circumstances for such striking metamorphoses of two previously relatively independent trends. As has been already pointed out in our study, one possible reason why many Adamic themes, including the motif of the angelic veneration, were brought for the first time in 2 Enoch into the framework of the Enochic developments, was the changing status of the main hero of the Enochic tradition. It appears that in 2 Enoch the story of the exalted protagonist of the Enochic lore seems to be stepping into the new era of its theological and anthropological development in which the patriarch undergoes a remarkable transition from an exemplar of the transformed angelomorphic humanity, as he appears in the early Enochic literature, to the new conceptual stage in which he is envisioned now as a specimen of the theomorphic humanity.

Scholars previously noted that many future roles of Enoch-Metatron as the lesser representation of the divine name and the replica of the divine body, the offices that clearly intend to exalt the translated hero above the angelic world—are already hinted in 2 Enoch. In this respect it appears to be not coincidental that the authors of 2 Enoch are repeatedly trying to emphasize the supra-angelic status of the translated patriarch and his unique position in relation to the Deity.[86] The motif of the angelic

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[85] See Georgian LAE 14:1: "Then Michael came; he summoned all the troops of angels and told them, 'Bow down before the likeness and the image of the divinity.' " Latin LAE 14:1: "Having gone forth Michael called all the angels saying: 'Worship the image of the Lord God, just as the Lord God has commanded.' " *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve. Second Revised Edition*, ed. G. Andersen and M. Stone, SBL.EJL 17 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999),16E.

[86] Thus, in 2 Enoch 24 God invites the seer to the place next to him, closer than that of Gabriel, in order to share with him the information that remains hidden even from the angels. The shorter recension of 2 Enoch 24 puts even greater emphasis on the unique nature of this offer; in this recension God places the patriarch "to the left of himself, closer than Gabriel (Slav. Ближе Гаврила)." Andersen, "2 Enoch," 1:143; Sokolov, "Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе," 90 (Ms. B), 117 (Ms. U). Crispin Fletcher-Louis

veneration, a development borrowed by the Enochic authors from the rival Adamic trend, seems to help further affirm this new status of the elevated patriarch securing his unique place above the angels.

In light of these significant anthropological transitions leading Jewish mediatorial lore into the new era of its evolution, a brief look at another portentous theological account of the divine humanity, also written in the first century C.E., might provide additional illuminating insights. Narrating Jesus' temptation in the wilderness the Gospel of Matthew unveils the following tradition: "Again, the devil took him to a very high mountain, and showed him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them; and he said to him, 'All these I will give you, if you will fall down (πεσὼν) and worship me.' Then Jesus said to him, 'Begone, Satan! for it is written, "You shall worship the Lord your God and him only shall you serve." ' Then the devil left him, and behold, angels came and ministered (διηκόνουν) to him" (Matt 4:8–11. RSV).

It has been previously noticed that this passage where the Devil tempts Jesus by asking him to fall down (πεσὼν) and worship the demon appears to be alluding also to the Adamic account of the fall of Satan who once refused to venerate the protoplast.[87] The ancient enemy of humankind appears to be trying to take revenge for his protological mishap involving the First Adam by asking now for the veneration and worship from the Last Adam—Christ. Yet, Jesus refuses to follow this demonic trap, and after he rejects Satan's proposal—the motif of angelic worship is then invoked again, this time directly and unambiguously in the text. Matt 4:11 tells its readers that after the temptation was over, angels came to worship Jesus.[88]

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writes that the fact that in 2 Enoch the seer is seated next to God "suggests some contact with the rabbinic Enoch/Metatron tradition." C. Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology*, WUNT 2/94 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 154. Michael Mach also suggests that this motif is closely connected with the Metatron imagery. He notes that "the exaltation to a rank higher than that of the angels as well as the seating at God's side have their parallels and considerable development in Enoch's/Metatron's transformation and enthronement as depicted in *3 Enoch*." M. Mach, "From Apocalypticism to Early Jewish Mysticism?" in: *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, 3 vols., ed. J. J. Collins (New York: Continuum, 1998), 1:229–264 (251).

[87] On the Adamic background of the temptation narrative in Matthew and Luke see J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke*, 2 vols., AB 28, 28A (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1981), 1:512.

[88] A significant number of scholars believe that Matthew reflects the original order of the threefold temptation story, and that Luke represents the inversion of this original order.

Here, similar to the possibly contemporaneous tradition found in 2 Enoch, the motif of angelic worship hints at the new divine status of a human character and helps to understand the anthropological paradigm shift which is leading the restored humankind back into the new, but once before lost, abode of its divine existence[89]—the dimension in which a long time ago humanity was exalted above the angels humbly venerated by them.

[89] Cf. Armenian LAE 14:1: "Then Michael summoned all the angels and God said to them, 'Come, bow down *to god* whom I made.' " *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 16E.

PATRIARCH, PROPHET, AUTHOR, ANGELIC RIVAL: EXPLORING THE RELATIONSHIP OF 1 ENOCH TO 2 ENOCH IN LIGHT OF THE FIGURE OF ENOCH

Kelley Coblentz Bautch and Daniel Assefa

Introduction

As is apparent from the extensive scholarship of contributors to this volume, 2 Enoch has generated much discussion and many questions especially concerning authorship and dating that have yet to be definitively answered.[1] Moreover, scholars in the first decade of the twenty-first century await a critical edition of 2 Enoch and the clarification of the relationship of the long and short recensions.[2] In the face of so much that is unresolved about this enigmatic work, one aspect that might seem far less complicated, and perhaps might be assumed, is the relationship of 2 Enoch to other writings associated with the patriarch of Gen 5:21–24, books such as 1 Enoch and 3 Enoch. Indeed, these contemporary titles for works also commonly referred to as the Ethiopic Book of Enoch (1 Enoch), Slavonic Enoch (2 Enoch) and Hebrew Enoch (or ספר חנוך and *Sefer Hekhalot*)—however unhelpful these linguistic monikers are as much of the literature is attested in other languages as well[3]—would seem to suggest some sort of relationship among the writings as if the second and third follow chronologically and sequentially from the first of the works. The very nature of 1 Enoch, an anthology attested only in Geʿez, as a collection of booklets that evince diverse provenances suggests a complex development for Enochic literature and lore. Thus, the onus remains

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[1] In this volume, see C. Böttrich, "The 'Book of the Secrets of Enoch' (2 En): Between Jewish Origin and Christian Transmission. An Overview," D. Suter, "Excavating 2 Enoch: The Question of Dating and the Sacerdotal Traditions," as well as Basil Lourié, "One Hapax Legomenon and the Date of 2 Enoch: *Promitaya—*prwmṯy(')—prwṯmy—προτομή*, in *Enochic Traditions and Mediatorial Figures in Second Temple Judaism and Their Legacy in Early Christianity, Rabbinic Judaism, and Islam*, ed. J. M. Zurawski, *Hen* 33 (2011): 94–96, for example.

[2] See in this volume, for example, G. Macaskill, "2 Enoch: Manuscripts, Recensions and Original Language."

[3] For example, most of the booklets within 1 Enoch are attested in Aramaic and Greek, and a selection of 2 Enoch has been recovered recently in Coptic.

for scholars to demonstrate points of contact between early Enochic literature (especially the booklets associated with 1 Enoch which were quite influential in antiquity) and 2 Enoch.

Several treatments of 2 Enoch do contend that some sort of relationship between this work and early Enochic literature existed. Indeed, the subject can be approached from a variety of angles, which range from making a case for the literary dependence of 2 Enoch on previous writings to establishing that 2 Enoch has inherited in some manner assumptions, perspectives and worldviews of earlier traditions.[4] One recent study focusing in particular on the portrayal of Enoch by Andrei Orlov takes up the latter approach; by examining the roles and titles accorded to the seer, Orlov attempts to situate more precisely 2 Enoch among the Enochic writings.[5]

While more work remains on the question of literary dependence so as to discern whether the author(s) and tradent(s) of 2 Enoch knew and used early Enochic texts, we revisit the work of Orlov and extend his study by further examining the role of Enoch in early Enochic texts and 2 Enoch. Building on Orlov's important work, we demonstrate the ways in which the latter's depiction of Enoch is in continuity with earlier traditions, and also take the discussion in new directions as we critically assess what we can assume from these commonalities. Our hope, finally, is to reinvigorate the interest of others in defining more precisely the relationship of the various texts associated with Enoch.

The Relationship of 1 Enoch and 2 Enoch in Light of Titles and Roles Attributed to Enoch

In *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, Orlov takes up the titles attributed to and the roles played by the main recipient of revelation, Enoch.[6] An

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[4] Those arguing for the profound influence of a collection like 1 Enoch on 2 Enoch include A. Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Henoch: Texte slave et traduction francaise* (Paris: Institut D'Etudes Slaves, 1952), J. T. Milik with the collaboration of M. Black, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 109 and G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 79. A more circumspect appraisal of the relationship between early Enochic literature and 2 Enoch may be observed, for example, in the work of J. C. VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, Studies on Personalities of the Old Testament (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 159.

[5] *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, TSAJ 107 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

[6] See especially *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 40–120.

overarching goal of Orlov's study is to clarify the connection between Enoch and Metatron though examination of titles and the roles of these figures ("from patriarch to second divinity") in respective traditions.[7] Within the literature he examines, Enoch emerges as diviner, primeval sage, expert in secrets, scribe, mediator, and heavenly priest. Orlov understands the roles and the titles of Enoch to have developed, something that can be deduced through close study of 1 Enoch, 2 Enoch and 3 Enoch. The examination also has the benefit of bringing into sharper relief the place of 2 Enoch within Enochic literature and lore. From Orlov's persective, the study reveals that 2 Enoch represents an "intermediary" stage between the traditions reflected in 1 Enoch and those represented in *Merkabah* literature.[8]

The Enoch-Metatron Tradition demonstrates the continuity of roles and titles within Enochic literature and at the same time transformation (in every sense of the word!) of the figure Enoch from seer to angelic mediator. The extended study of titles and roles suggests that 2 Enoch and the religious expression and traditions it represents are situated between the early literature (or Second Temple period texts) involving Enoch and later Jewish mystical texts such as 3 Enoch. Orlov emphasizes the "transitional character of the Slavonic apocalypse" in the course of his study, and, though the dating of 2 Enoch may continue to elude us, we gain insight regarding a relative chronology of various texts, including 2 Enoch, that concern the patriarch.[9]

Orlov appropriately acknowledges the challenges of such a study which include, for example, significant overlap of appellations and the composite nature of many of the roles performed by the patriarch.[10] Yet, the clear parameters established in this work on titles and roles allow Orlov to focus on the work's primary goal involving Enoch-Metatron and 2 Enoch; he does not set himself up to write *the* definitive study of all titles and offices appearing in Enochic literature nor should his study be evaluated in that light.[11] In fact, it is important to note that the task of identifying roles and titles is not particularly easy, as Orlov remarks as well. The roles and the titles attributed to Enoch do not come from one perspective; "divine, angelic and human agents" offer different perceptions of this key

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7 *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 23.
8 *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 207.
9 *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 151, 181.
10 *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 41.
11 *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 40.

figure and would use different terms in order to define the roles of Enoch.[12] As self-conscious exegetes, we note that this observation may be applicable as well to other agents, namely, readers of the literature. Still, finding Orlov's line of investigation fruitful, we suggest some additional titles or roles that might be profitably explored in both early Enochic literature and 2 Enoch and in this manner seek to complement Orlov's research.

Pursuing Enoch Further in Early Enochic Texts and 2 Enoch

Roles that we suggest illumine further the emerging portraits of Enoch and the relationship of early Enochic lore to 2 Enoch include patriarch, prophet, author, and rival to angels. We begin with Enoch's role as antediluvian patriarch, an appellation available also from Genesis's view of the seer. While scholars might disagree as to how interested early Enochic literature and 2 Enoch are in history, Enoch emerges in these writings as a patriarch in both a general and very specific sense. Enoch emerges as patriarch in the early works inasmuch as he blesses the elect and the righteous (1 En 1:1) and offers a message for generations to come (cf. 1 En 1:2). More specifically, stories of the seventh patriarch (1 En 93:3), son of Jared (1 En 6), father of Methusalah and other sons run throughout 1 Enoch. For example, in the Epistle of Enoch Methuselah is asked to gather Enoch's additional sons so that he can show them everything that is to occur (1 En 91:1), and in 1 Enoch 106–107, the patriarch, Lamech, and Noah appear as Methuselah must consult Enoch about the paternity of his grandson. Even the Parables, considered anomalous in Orlov's study, ground the visionary experience with a statement of Enoch's lineage and also incorporate Noachic traditions.

Such an interest in patriarchy is not unusual for Enochic literature. 2 Enoch seems fascinated with the family of Enoch as well, recalling his lineage, both ancestors (2 En 33) and offspring. 2 Enoch 68–73 take up the stories of Methusalah, Lamech, Noah, and nephew Melchizedek (here looking forward to the postdiluvian story of Israel). As if to underscore, 2 Enoch speaks not of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, but of the God of Enoch (e.g. 2 En 69). Thus, we should consider what role the seer's pedigree as patriarch, especially as antediluvian patriarch, plays in the figure's legacy.

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[12] *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 41.

It is worth noting that in addition to an interest in his status as patriarch, boundary crossing divine beings, the notion of judgment, and the flood[13] all are themes or motifs that somehow manage to follow Enoch even to much later traditions. Thus, Enoch is associated with a particular setting, a cast of characters, and a context which accompany him. Perhaps this is no surprise given the other roles Enoch assumes; as antediluvian patriarch endowed with special knowledge, the seer is poised to speak to protology, eschatology, and esoteric matters.

Another title for us to consider is that of prophet. Our discussion of this role might begin with the New Testament epistle, Jude 1:14, which reports: "It was also about these that Enoch, in the seventh generation from Adam, prophesied (προεφήτευσεν), saying, 'See, the Lord is coming with ten thousands of his holy ones.' " If Enoch is presented as a prophet in Jude, it is not on the basis of any explicit use of the term "prophet" in the book of Enoch. Yet, following the tenor of the Letter of Jude, various Ethiopian traditions also perceive Enoch as a prophet. In the *Book of Nativity* Enoch is repeatedly called "prophet," for example.[14] Thus one might ask why Enoch should be portrayed as a prophet. If a prophet is someone who speaks in the name of God and communicates the secrets of God to people so that the latter may be righteous, this title could well be attributed to Enoch.[15] Since Enoch speaks on behalf of God (see, for example,

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[13] From among the early literature associated with Enoch from Qumran, consider 4Q227 (Ps. Jub), 4Q203, 4Q206, 4Q530 and 4Q531 (Book of the Giants), and 1Q20 (Genesis Apocryphon).

[14] K. Wendt, ed. and trans., *Das Mashafa Milad* (*Liber Nativitatis*) *und Mashafa Sellase* (*Liber Trinitatis*) *des Kaisers Zar'a Ya'qob*, CSCO 221; Scriptores Aethiopici 41 (Louvain: Secretariat du Corpus SCO, 1962); for traditions which speak explicitly of Enoch as a "prophet," see 53–54, 60–61.

[15] See, for example, P. S. Alexander, "From Son of Adam to Second God: Transformations of the Biblical Enoch," in *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible*, ed. M. E. Stone and T. A. Bergren (Harrisburg, PA.: Trinity Press International, 1998), 87–122 (94), who examines Enoch as a prophet on the basis of Enoch preaching righteousness and warning of divine judgment. Alexander argues that the image of Enoch as sage is in tension with the image of Enoch as prophet and that the two depictions probably derive from different circles; following the mid-second century B.C.E., the roles become tightly intertwined ("From Son of Adam to Second God," 96). Alexander's sharp distinction between the roles of prophet and sage may not be warranted. The means by which Enoch receives revelation and wisdom as sage are not so unlike that of the visionary (חזה, cf. Amos 7:12) or seer (ראה; cf. 1 Sam 9:9), roles associated with prophecy in ancient Israel. On the origin, phenomenon, and texture of prophecy in the ancient Near East, including practices associated with oracles, omens, and visions, see, for example, J. Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 41–48. Further, on the role of mantic wisdom and techniques, divination, and oneiromancy in the context of prophecy, especially Second Isaiah, Zechariah, and Daniel, see J. C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*,

1 En 5:4–9), though without a messenger formula, he takes on the prophetic role. Further, he receives an important message, a revelation from God to be conveyed to future generations through writing. One such instance is in 1 Enoch 106:13–19 which describes the heavenly tablets to which Enoch has access. No doubt, the transcendent message which Enoch, the antediluvian patriarch, receives is distinct when compared to the messages of the classical prophets like Amos who focus on the history of Israel and all the matters related to it. Still, Enoch's status as seer (see 1 En 1:5–6; 14:8–22; 17–36; 85–90) and eschatological rebukes (see, for example, Jub 4:18–24) recall prophets like Ezekiel and Zechariah. Moreover, the genres and forms attested in the early Enochic literature also suggest familiarity with prophetic literature and perhaps are self-consciously modeled on such works.[16] In 2 Enoch, the hero of this literature continues to serve as the prophet "who admonishes his contemporaries to walk in righteousness and warns them of judgment if they do not."[17]

Enoch as prophet recalls another figure associated with eschatology, angels, and revelation: Daniel. The legacy of Daniel is a complex one. While the figure was associated, like Enoch, with wise men and mantic practices, the book of Daniel is included among the Writings (Ketuvim) in the Hebrew Bible; in the Christian Bible (based on the LXX), the book appears, rather, among the prophetic texts. A number of writings from the Second Temple period present Daniel as a prophet (see, for example, Josephus, *Ant* 10.11.7; §§ 266–68; Matt 24:15; and 4QFlor 2:4). Christians apparently regarded both Enoch and Daniel as prophets. Thus, Jude 14–15 regards Enoch's words a prophecy. Later Christians, like Tertullian (*De idololatria* 4.2), also understand the seer in that manner and the tradition continues to this day, for example, in the Ethiopian Orthodox Tawāhedo Church.[18]

CBQMS 16 (Washington D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 71–75. Thus, even while we might differ with other aspects of his thesis, Enoch is both "Prophet und Weiser," in the words of H. Ludin Jansen, *Die Henochgestalt: Eine Vergleichende Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Oslo: Jacob Dybwad, 1939), 5–7.

[16] See, Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 29–33, 59–60; cf. the throne visions of Isaiah 6 and Ezekiel 1–2 and the seer's journey to Zion in Ezekiel 40–48. The "oracle of judgment" in 1 Enoch 1–5 also seems to make use of various biblical traditions, including those associated with prophetic literature like Mic 1:3–4; Isa 65:9–22 and 66:15–16. See L. Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning: A Study of 1 Enoch 1–5* (Uppsala: Almquist and Wiksell, 1979) and Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 31; 131. Also see VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, 115–119 on Enoch's depiction as a type of Balaam in 1 Enoch 1.

[17] Alexander, "From Son of Adam to Second God," 102.

[18] The authors also acknowledge that in the Second Temple period and Late Antiquity titles and roles such as priest, prophet, and sage were associated with a variety of figures

Next we consider Enoch as author. Orlov also sees continuity in Enochic traditions concerning the seer's role as an exalted scribe. At the same time, the literature makes reference to the books of Enoch. It is clear in the early Enochic literature that Enoch writes for various reasons. Not only does Enoch write a petition for the watchers (1 En 13:6; 14:4; 14:7) and record what he observes of both natural and cosmic phenomena (1 En 33:3; 40:8–9; 74:2), he is also a composer of prayer (1 En 83:10) and of books (1 En 92:1; see also 1Q20 XIX [Genesis Apocryphon]) to be passed down to later generations. Enoch is also said to be able to recount from books (1 En 93:1–2) which may also be suggestive of his authorial activities.[19]

2 Enoch more clearly preserves the image of Enoch as author. For example, Enoch is to pass along to his descendants the books in his own handwriting (2 En 33) which will assist them in acknowledging God as creator; indeed we are told the books of Enoch reveal the deeds of the Lord and none will be as clear in this objective as his work (2 En 47). Do these instances serve as evidence of tradents calling attention to books attributed to Enoch that were known to ancient communities? Or, do these examples, as we see in the Genesis Apocryphon, simply serve to solidify the status or establish the sagacity of an ancient hero like Enoch vis-à-vis the "Salons" or wise men of other cultures? While reference to the books of Enoch become something of a stock motif, it is worth considering also what may stand behind these allusions to the many works which were being associated with Enoch and the claims to these writings' antiquity or authenticity.[20]

Another role assumed by Enoch in these writings is that of quasi-angelic rival. Works such as the Book of the Watchers play with the notion that Enoch assumes the role naturally accorded to angels by interceding

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and were rather ubiquitous in the re-presentations of figures familiar to us from the Hebrew Bible. Thus Adam and other patriarchal figures could be associated anachronistically with the priesthood (see, for example, Jub 3:27; Epiphanius, *Panarion*, 78), Adam and David with prophecy (see, for example, *Ant*, I. 70; Ps.-Clem. Hom. 2.52; Genesis Rabba 17; and 11QPsalms[a] 27:2–11), and Baruch and Ezra with access to information about the cosmos and creation (2 Baruch and 4 Ezra respectively). Associating various biblical figures with particular roles and assigning them new qualities may also signal rivalry or contestation among communities as both Alexander ("From Son of Adam to Second God," 108–112) and Orlov (*The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 211–53) have suggested; thus Enoch may assume in some texts attributes assigned to Adam or to Moses as a way to minimize other communities' heroes in polemical contexts.

[19] On the tradition of books, see also 1 En 89:62, 65, 68; 90:14; 98:7–8; 104:7.

[20] One might also note that the reference to 360 and 6 books which are attributed to the seer in 2 Enoch 22 and 68 recalls the "Compositions of David" of the Qumran Psalter (see 11QPsalms[a] 27:5–11) and a connection to the solar year.

for disobedient watchers (1 En 15:2).[21] Moreover, Enoch, who is with the angels (1 En 12:1), desires to know what the angels know (see, for example 1 En 21:5). Enoch emerges in this early literature, moreover, as having a unique proximity or intimacy with God; thus, in the heavenly temple, Enoch has access to God that is forbidden to angels (see 1 En 14:21; 15:1; 87:3–4). The narrative presents Enoch finally, not the angels, as a resource for those in trouble; for instance, Enoch, whose dwelling-place is among the angels (1 En 106:7), is implored by his son Methuselah to interpret the extraordinary birth of Noah (1 En 106:13–19).

Enoch's ascendancy vis-à-vis other heavenly beings continues in 2 Enoch. After being clad in garments of glory Enoch is described as comparable to the "glorious ones" in 2 Enoch 22, with no observable difference. Enoch is frequently contrasted with the angels in this work and comes out on top in such rivalries. To give one example, in contrast to earlier Enochic works which featured the stock apocalyptic *angelus interpres* which introduces Enoch to the secrets of creation, the "middleman" is dispatched in 2 Enoch; instead God addresses the seer directly in an extended monologue about creation (2 En 24–36). Further, Enoch is credited with knowing everything (2 En 40), information not even available to angels.

Our examination of titles and roles associated with the seer in early Enochic literature and in 2 Enoch suggest the following. With Orlov we see continuities in the additional roles and titles that we have discussed in this article and note our indebtedness to his fine work that is both thorough and groundbreaking. *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition* helps scholars to isolate points of contact in the literature considered early (like many of the Enochic booklets from 1 Enoch and the fragmentary texts at Qumran like the Book of the Giants) and 2 Enoch. Does 2 Enoch seem to be aware of these writings? The numerous commonalities in titles and roles help to make the case for some sort of awareness on the part of the authors of 2 Enoch of these early traditions. At the same time, our study encourages methodological caution, especially for those who would attempt to plot the development of a singular Enochic tradition along a linear line.

According to Orlov, the examination of roles and titles assists us in situating 2 Enoch among the other Enochic traditions of the Second Temple period and Late Antiquity and in fact, allow one to place conceptual developments of the work more closely to Second Temple pseudepigrapha than

[21] See also *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 65.

to Medieval Hekhalot materials. Yet are the conceptual developments more closely related by way of date to Second Temple period traditions or are these suggestive of an emergence from a geographical region common to these earlier traditions? Or, could the similarities speak only or primarily to tradition-specific trajectories? The last question is especially relevant as we consider the diverse traditions that existed about Enoch in antiquity. To elaborate, is the elevated scribe of 2 Enoch contributing in some way to the conceptual development of the patriarch as Metatron? If so, can we place these conceptual developments on a continuum, or could it be that we are dealing not with a single thread but rather with multiple and varied Enochic traditions that coexist and may be difficult to plot?[22] Perhaps a more apt way to envision conceptual developments would be to think of the Enochic traditions as many branches of a tree with roots likewise that extend in numerous directions. The image suggests relationship, but not ones easily sorted out.

[22] To give an example, Orlov calls attention to a tradition in 2 Enoch involving enigmatic stones (later in the narrative reference is to only one stone) placed in the water during the process of creation (*The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 197). The Zohar (I, 231a and II, 222a) also contains such a tradition in which the foundation stone is placed in the abyss. Orlov notes shared vocabulary and intimates that these common traditions indicate a certain proximity to Merkabah and "later developments of Jewish mysticism" (*The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 193). Yet both these texts happen to share an interest in cosmology or creation with 1 Enoch, the Book of the Watchers, in particular. 1 Enoch 17–18 also takes up the seer's tour to the ends of the earth, the mouth of the abyss, and then the foundation stone. Thus we could not be certain that 2 Enoch would serve as either source of the tradition involving the foundation stone or even represent a transitional voice of this Enochic motif; 2 Enoch and later mystical traditions could receive such a tradition independent of the other and we would be more challenged in determining the relative chronology of such works on the basis of this one example.

CALENDRICAL ELEMENTS IN 2 ENOCH

Basil Lourié

It is widely known that 2 Enoch is rich in calendrical material of both luni-solar and solar nature. The early attempts to reconstruct the corresponding calendrical schemes failed due to the general unawareness of the pre-Qumran scholarship of the real variety of the Jewish calendars in the Hellenistic period. This early epoch of the calendrical studies of 2 Enoch has been closed by André Vaillant[1] in his critical edition of the shorter recension. However, since the 1950s, especially in the studies of Annie Jaubert,[2] the structure of the luni-solar calendar[3] implied in 2 Enoch has been described as being based on the 364-day year. Jaubert noticed that the solar calendar in 2 Enoch has a structure of its own, but limited herself to a description of its general outlook with no comments on its origin and meaning. The next important contribution is that of Francis Andersen[4] who précised several manuscript readings in the calendrical sections, already knowing that the luni-solar calendar was based on the 364-day year.[5]

It is only in the 1990s that it became clear, due to the Dead Sea Scrolls studies, that the 364-day calendars themselves could be quite varied,[6] and so, the question of the further specification of 2 Enoch's luni-solar calendar comes to our attention. An earlier attempt at a detailed reconstruction

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[1] A. Vaillant, A., *Le Livre des secrets d'Hénoch. Texte slave et traduction française*, Textes publiés par l'Institut d'Études slaves 4 (Paris: Institut d'études slaves, 1952; reprint 1976).

[2] A. Jaubert, *La date de la Cène. Calendrier biblique et liturgie chrétienne*, Études bibliques (Paris: Gabalda, 1957). See also an important study by J. van Goudoever, *Fêtes et calendriers bibliques*, Troisième édition revue et augmentée. Traduit de l'anglais par M.-L. Kerremans, Théologie historique 7 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1967), 163–167.

[3] This calendar is in fact solar rather than luni-solar and could be called "luni-solar" only in the sense that it presupposes a 12-month division of the year. It is useful, nevertheless, to call it "luni-solar" and to reserve the name of "solar" calendar for another calendaric scheme of 2 Enoch which presupposes a division of the year into 10 solar "months."

[4] F. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (New York: Doubleday, 1983), 1:91–221.

[5] See 2 En 16:2 in Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," 128–129, and note *d*. There is no manuscript which preserves all relevant readings without distortion.

[6] J. C. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*, The Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls (London: Routledge, 1998).

of the luni-solar calendar of 2 Enoch has been offered by the present author in 2006.[7] The solar calendar of 2 Enoch has not been touched upon since Jaubert.

1. *Preliminaries: Chronological Markers*

To obtain some criteria for choosing between different manuscript readings in the scheme of the luni-solar calendar in 16:2 we start with an analysis of the important dates within the narrative.

1.1. *The Problem of 6.III: Pentecost or Not?*

One of the most important dates of the narrative is the 6th day of the 3rd month, 6.III, which is involved in the plot of the narrative in several ways. Even the early scholarship has suggested that this is the date of Pentecost, because such is the date of Pentecost in the rabbinic calendar.[8]

This solution is not without problems. On the one hand, the rabbinic calendar has no luni-solar nature and does not contain 364 days a year. On the other hand, in well-known luni-solar 364-day calendars, especially in that of the Book of Jubilees, the date of Pentecost is 15.III. So, there are doubts as to whether 6.III corresponds to Pentecost.

We will go back to the problem, taking into account two considerations. First, the data of 2 Enoch on the number of days in each month are quite peculiar and so far ignored in previous interpretations of 6.III. The months from the first to the third contain the following number of days: 30/31, 35, 30/31 (the slash divides different manuscript readings). Second, let us take into account another important feature of most 364-day calendars: the count of the 50 days of the Pentecost period is started, not on the day following the day of the Passover, but one week later, after the

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[7] B. Lourié, Лурье, *Метатрон* и *Прометая*: *Вторая книга Еноха* на перекрестке проблем [*Metatron* and *Prometaya*: *Second book of Enoch* on the crossroad of problems], *Scrinium* 2 (2006): 371–407.

[8] Cf., e.g., van Goudoever, *Fêtes et calendriers bibliques*, 166–167, who notes the coincidence of the date 6.III with Pentecost in rabbinical Judaism but reaches a farfetched conclusion that this could be a result of the intervention of a late Jewish (!) editor. Andersen is much more cautious when he, following J. Morgenstern, supposes that the date 6.III "was the portentous date of the Festival of Firstfruits;" Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," 196, note *c* to ch. 68.

Omer ceremony.[9] We need to discuss this point in more detail, because there are two possibilities here.[10]

1.2. *The Sunday 364-Day Calendar*

The day of the Passover is always 14.I (Lev 23:5). It is followed by the seven-day feast of Unleavened Bread, 15–21.I (Lev 23:6–8). The counting of the seven weeks of Pentecost must be started "from the day after the Sabbath (מִמָּחֳרַ֣ת הַשַּׁבָּ֔ת), from the day on which you bring the sheaf of the elevation offering" (Lev 23:15 NRSV). The latter verse raised difficulties for the creators of Jewish calendars.

In rabbinic Judaism, the mention of Sabbath was ignored in its literal sense (in both Lev 23:15 and Lev 23:11: "He shall raise the sheaf . . . on the day after the Sabbath"). Thus, the day of the raising of the sheaf is 15.I, the first day of counting of the seven weeks is 16.I, and the Day of Shavuoth (Pentecost) is 6.III (the first month having 30 and the second month having 29 days). Of course, the rule that the Day of Pentecost must fall on Sunday (Lev 23:16: "the day after the seventh Sabbath") is also ignored in its literal sense.

In the 364-day calendars of 1 Enoch and Jubilees, as Jaubert pointed out, the situation is quite different. All the rules of Lev 23 regarding the Sabbath are kept in their literal sense. In these calendars, 14.I is Tuesday. Thus, the final day of Unleavened Bread, 21.I, is Tuesday as well. However, the first day of counting of the seven weeks must be the Sunday after the feast of Unleavened Bread. The first Sunday after 21.I is 26.I. Thus, the Day of Pentecost is Sunday 15.III (both the first and second months having 30 days). However, these calendars presuppose a breaking of the commandment, in its literal sense, in the second part of the verse Lev 23:15 ". . . from the day on which you bring the sheaf of the elevation offering." The same situation occurs in other 364-day calendars, still unknown to Jaubert (e.g., that of the Temple Scroll).

All these calendars, presupposing that the Day of Passover, 14.I, is a Tuesday, presuppose that the beginning of calendar, 1.I, is a Wednesday,

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[9] On this Pentecost count, see especially J. P. Audet, "Jésus et le « Calendrier sacerdotal ancien ». Autour d'une variante de *Luc* 6, 1," *Sciences ecclésiastiques* 10 (1958): 363–383.

[10] I am especially grateful to Steven Fraade for his discussion of this point, as well as for other notes and corrections given in his reply to my paper at the Fifth Enoch Seminar and in our private discussions.

the day when the luminaries were created. However, we know another tradition where the 364-day calendar starts on the day of the creation of the world, Sunday. So far, it was known only from the calendar discussions among the Christians who were following different traditions of 364-day calendars.[11]

Supposing that 1.I is Sunday, we have 14.I on Saturday, that is, the Passover falling on the Sabbath. It is very interesting, because, for example, the tradition of the Passover on the Sabbath is reflected in the Epistle to the Hebrews.[12]

If the Day of Passover, 14.I, is the Sabbath, the days of the Unleavened Bread festival are from 15.I to 21.I, from Sunday to Saturday. The day of the raising of the sheaf is the Sunday immediately after the end of the festival of Unleavened Bread, 22.I, which is in perfect correspondence with Lev 23:11. The same day is the beginning of the counting of the seven weeks, again, in perfect correspondence with the commandment of Leviticus (23:15): to start on the Sunday but on the day of the raising of the sheaf.

Thus, as Steven Fraade pointed out,[13] the Sunday 364-day calendar is the only calendar in which all the commandments regarding the counting of the seven weeks of Shavuoth are kept, that is, honored in their literal sense.

1.3. *6.III in 2 Enoch: Pentecost*

Given that the calendar of 2 Enoch is a 364-day one, we have to choose between two kinds of such calendars. Of course, in the case of the Wednesday calendar, 6.III is by no means the day of Pentecost. For this calendar, we must start counting the seven weeks (49 days) on 26.I. Therefore, taking into account the number of days in the first two 2 Enoch months (30/31 and 35), the day of Pentecost would be either 10.III or 9.III (depending on the number of days in the first month, 30 or 31).

In the case of the Sunday 364-day calendar, we must start counting on 22.I, which leads us to either 5.III or 6.III as the day of Pentecost, depending

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[11] M. van Esbroeck, "Deux homélies pseudo-basiliennes sur le Dimanche et le Vendredi," *Parole de l'Orient* 16 (1990–1991): 49–71.

[12] B. Lourié, "Calendrical Implications in the Epistle to the Hebrews: Seven questions concerning the liturgy of the Sabbath rest," *Revue biblique* 115 (2008): 245–265.

[13] In his response to this paper at the Fifth Enoch Seminar, and now, also, in S. D. Fraade, "Theory, Practice, and Polemic in Ancient Jewish Calendars" in Fraade, *Legal Fictions: Studies of Law and Narrative in the Discursive Worlds of Ancient Jewish Sectarians and Sages* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 255–284.

on the number of days in the first month. Such a correspondence with an important date in 2 Enoch could not be merely coincidental.

This means, in turn, that the date of 6.III in 2 Enoch is either Pentecost itself (accepting the reading "30" for the number of days in the first month) or the second day (Monday) after the Sunday of Pentecost (accepting the reading "31"). The latter is extremely improbable due to the most important nature of the events fixed on 6.III and no specific importance of the day after the Pentecost in any known traditions.

Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that 6.III is, indeed, the day of the Pentecost, and that the genuine reading of the number of days in the first month is 30 (and not 31).

1.4. *Two Ascensions of Enoch: A Difficulty in the Narrative*

The narrative of 2 Enoch contains a confusion in the plot. There is a consensus among scholars that the text is distorted.

The first ascension of Enoch takes place on an otherwise unspecified, "assigned" (*naročitij* = ἐπισήμιος) day of the first month (1:2).[14] Then, in the heavens Enoch spends two periods of 30 days, in sum 60 days (during the first 30-day period he is instructed himself, during the second period he writes his books for humankind, 23:3–6).[15] Then, he returns to the earth where he passes 30 days more, and, then, ascends into heaven permanently. The latter date, the date of the second ascension of Enoch, is 6.III, and the same is the date of the carnal birth of Enoch (68:3, longer recension only). Then, the festival of the consecration of Methusalam takes place "on the third day" after the second ascension of Enoch (69:1).

The date of the second ascension contradicts the date of the first ascension (even if the latter is imprecise) because there is no place for a 90-day period within the gap between any date in the first month and 6.III.

Most scholars are inclined to consider the date of 6.III as that of the return of Enoch, while the date of his second ascension must be 30 days later, that is, in the fourth month.

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[14] In some manuscripts there is an exact date here, 1.I. On its inauthenticity, Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," 105, note *d* to ch. 1. Vaillant, *Le Livre des secrets d'Hénoch*, 3, supposes, on the basis of the parallels from Lev 23:7 and Num 28:12, that the genuine reading here could be "on the first, assigned day."

[15] Therefore Vaillant's attempt to see in 23:6 not a repetition of a 30-day period but an addition of two times 30 days = 60 days (which would lead to 90 days for the whole time of Enoch's heavenly journey) looks very strange, not to say unfounded in this text; *Le Livre des secrets d'Hénoch*, 36–37. Andersen rejects such an interpretation; "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," 140–41.

There are several new reasons to enforce this position of the previous scholarship. Andrei Orlov[16] wrote much on the "Mosaic polemics" in 2 Enoch, and I tried to enlarge his dossier.[17] Enoch is also a legislator, like Moses—both reveal to humankind a divine law. If so, the descent of Enoch from heaven is a kind of Pentecost, a parallel to the descent of Moses from Sinai (where Moses, like Enoch, saw, in his way, the structure of heavens, the heavenly Tabernacle; cf. Ex 25:9 and its various exegetical traditions). Therefore, given that 6.III is the day of Pentecost, it is natural that this is the day of two arrivals of Enoch, that is, of both his descent from heaven and his carnal birth.

As to the carnal birth of a messianic figure on Pentecost, there is also a strong tradition going back to the birth of Isaac according to the Book of Jubilees and reaching to the Palestinian dating of the birth of Jesus Christ on May 15.[18]

Our reconstruction of the plot of 2 Enoch corroborates the previous conclusion that 6.III is the date of Pentecost and, moreover, makes us assign to the fourth month another important feast, that of the consecration of Methusalam.

1.5. *The Date of the First Ascension of Enoch*

It is obvious that the day of the first ascension of Enoch could be found from the equation:

$$x + 60 = 6.\text{III}.$$

Given that the first month contains 30 days (not 31), x = 11.I.

Then, a problem arises: Is it possible that 11.I is an "assigned" (ἐπισήμιος) day? Of course, it is hardly probable within the pre-Passover period according to Leviticus.

The situation is quite different in the calendars where the greatest feasts are preceded by a specific strict fast for 3.5 days. On the Passover, this fast has to be terminated after the immolation of the Passover lamb

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[16] A. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, TSAJ, 107 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

[17] Lourié, Лурье, *Метатрон* и *Прометая*: *Вторая книга Еноха* на перекрестке проблем.

[18] W. D. Ray, *August 15 and the Development of the Jerusalem Calendar*. A Dissertation / Directors: P. F. Bradshaw, M. E. Johnson. Notre Dame University, Department of Theology (Notre Dame, IN, 2000) (unpublished).

"in twilight" on 14.I (Lev 23:5),[19] covering only one-half of the day 14.I (given that the day starts at the morning, not at the evening). Therefore, the days from 11 to 13 of the first month belong to the fast in full. The day 11.I is the first day of this pre-Passover fast, and so, it is certainly "assigned."

Thus, the day 11.I, Wednesday in the Sunday 364-day calendar, is analogous to the day of "taking off of the bridegroom" of the Gospel's Passion Narrative, perfectly suited for the day of the disappearance of Enoch before his second coming.

1.6. *Midpentecost on the Heaven: The Meaning of 30 + 30*

For the sake of completeness, I want to mention here a date that will not be directly involved in our subsequent restoration of the 2 Enoch calendar, but is nevertheless interesting for a general understanding of 2 Enoch.

The 60-day period spent by Enoch in the heavens is subdivided into two halves, each of 30 days. Given that 60 days cover the interval between the beginning of the pre-Passover strict fast and the Pentecost, it is probable that the middle of the 60-day period is the feast of Midpentecost.

Van Goudoever hypothesised that the earliest meaning of the Midpentecost had been as a memory of the Flood.[20] His hypothesis is corroborated by the data of a Hellenistic Jewish Alexandrian calendar preserved as the theoretical scheme lying behind the Ethiopian Easter computus.[21] We know little about this calendar, but its origin is not very distant from that of 2 Enoch because both were used in some parts of the Jewish milieu in Egypt.

This could be an interesting starting point for further research into the, so-called, "Noahic polemics" (as Orlov coined it) in 2 Enoch. Possible parallels between Enoch's 60-day heavenly sojourn and Noah's navigation in the ark are still to be explored.

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[19] See, for the details, B. Lourié, "Les quatre jours « de l'intervalle »: une modification néotestamentaire et chrétienne du calendrier de 364 jours," in *L'église des deux Alliances. Mémorial Annie Jaubert (1912–1980)*, ed. M. Petit, B. Lourié, A. Orlov, Orientalia Judaica Christiana, 1 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2008), 103–133. The earliest document from which that kind of the pre-Passover fast could be reconstructed seems to be the Book of Tobit.

[20] Van Goudoever, *Fêtes et calendriers bibliques*, 193–4.

[21] B. Lourié, "Computus," in *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica*, ed. S. Uhlig (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2003), 1:784–787.

1.7. *Problem of* Pamovus(a)

One of the crucial problems of the 2 Enoch chronology is the meaning of the word *Pamovus*(*a*) that one of the manuscripts (R) has where the others have *Tsivan* (= *Siwan*).[22] This question is not especially important for understanding the calendrical scheme as such, but it is quite important in the search of the *Sitz im Leben* of the calendar. It is especially important to appreciate the possible gap between the origin of the calendar used in 2 Enoch and the origin of the book itself. Indeed, unlike 1 Enoch, this text does not contain any indication that its goal is to introduce a new calendar. On the contrary, it is limited to the events covering only four months of an already existing calendar.

Andersen stated that the name *Pamovus*(*a*) is an Egyptian equivalent of *Siwan*,[23] though he offers no proof. Other scholars—Vaillant,[24] van Goudoever,[25] and Böttrich[26]—identify it with *Tammuz*, considering *Tsivan* of the remaining manuscripts an error.[27] Both sides use the same method, trying to find an appropriate calendrical meaning for either *Siwan* or *Tammuz*. Nobody says anything on the etymology of *Pamovus*(*a*).

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[22] 2 Enoch 48:2 (on the days of solstices, quoted here below), 68:1, 3 (6 *Tsevan*/*Pamovusa* as the birthday and the day of the second ascension of Enoch). Cp. discussion of the manuscripts in Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," 196 *b* to chap. 68. The calendric data of ch. 73 (longer recension only) relating to the chronology of the Flood are a late interpolation from a Byzantine source—thus Vaillant and Andersen, see Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," 212—, and so, will not be discussed here.

[23] Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," 175, note *e* to ch. 48.

[24] Vaillant, A., *Le Livre des secrets d'Hénoch*, 109, 112–13.

[25] Van Goudoever, *Fêtes et calendriers bibliques*, 166–67.

[26] C. Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, JSHRZ V, 7 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1995) 813.

[27] Vaillant, followed by van Goudoever, considers the second ascension of Enoch to be appointed on the feast of *Tammuz* 17 known from the later Jewish sources. Böttrich thinks that the same Jewish feast is the date of the consecration of Methusalam, while he acknowledges the difficulty to harmonize the joyful nature of the festivity in 2 Enoch with the sorrowful Jewish feast of *Tammuz* 17 (commemoration of the destruction of the walls of Jerusalem in 70 C.E.). Thus, Böttrich thinks that 2 Enoch's festival represents some pre-70 C.E. form of the same Jewish feast. The original nature of the feast on *Tammuz* 17 is, according to Böttrich, the summer solstice (but one should note that there is no source indicating the summer solstice on *Tammuz* 17!). Thus, Böttrich accepts the conjecture in 2 Enoch 48:2, 68:1, 3 correcting 17 of *Siwan*/*Pamovus*(*a*) to 17 of *Tammuz*. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 328–330, argues against Böttrich's attempt to establish a link between the radiance of the face of Methusalam and the solar cult. From the liturgical point of view, Böttrich's attitude seems to me a step backward in comparison with that of van Goudoever. The latter put forward a hypothesis about a connection between the date of *Tammuz* 17 and the death of Moses that is represented in several traditions as the ascension into heaven. This intuition seems to me correct, except for the date of *Tammuz* 17 itself.

The *crux interpretum* is here 48:2 (existing in the longer recension only): "From the month Tsivan [= *Siwan*], from the 17th day, he [sun] descends until the month Theved [= *Tebet*]; and from the 17th day of Theved he ascends." It is clear that the verse describes the solstices, and *Tebet* 17 (17.X) is apparently a non-problematic date for the winter solstice. But the 17th day of *Pamovus*(*a*)/*siwan* is a very problematic date for the summer solstice.

If the winter solstice is 17.X, then, the month of the summer solstice is IV, not III, that is, *Tammuz*, not *Siwan*.[28] These astronomical reasons, however, are not applicable to 2 Enoch in which the sun's movement in the heavens, from solstice to solstice, is not dividing the year into two equal halves (see below, point 3.4). Moreover, there are some facts suggesting that *pamovus*(*a*) roughly corresponds to Julian June.

1.8. Pamovus(a): *Linguistic Considerations*

Andersen does not explain why he thinks that the name *Pamovus*(*a*) is Egyptian, but we can suppose that he meant the name of the month φαμενῶθ, Coptic *Paremhotep*, Old Egyptian *p-n-jmnḥtp* ("[month] of Amenḥotep"). There is no, at least, relatively similar month name of the Egyptian calendars in any of the languages of Egypt (that is, Greek, Coptic, and Old Egyptian). However, Coptic *Paremhotep* is roughly Julian March, which is scarcely the month of the summer solstice. The month of the summer solstice should be roughly Julian June. It is possible for the third month, *Siwan*, in some calendars of Asia Minor (this is why, in Syriac, the month name *Siwan* is an equivalent of Julian "June") where the name of the first month of the Babylonian calendar, *Nisannu*, has been identified with April and its equivalents, not with March. This is of no help in the case of φαμενῶθ.

However, there is a known historical situation where Egyptian *p-n-jmnḥtp*, Semitic *Siwan* and the month of the summer solstice roughly corresponding to Julian June occur together. This is in the calendar of the Jewish community in Elephantine in Egypt, in the fifth-century B.C.E. This calendar is neither Jewish nor Egyptian but Babylonian.[29] The month names of this calendar are Babylonian, but well-known in Hebrew and

[28] See Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," 175, note *e* to ch. 48.

[29] S. Stern, "The Babylonian Calendar at Elephantine," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 130 (2000): 159–171.

Aramaic texts, too. The Elephantine papyri are written in Aramaic, but the dates given according to the Elephantine calendar are translated into the contemporary Old Egyptian calendar with its movable Sothic year. *Siwan* in the Elephantine papyri occurs five times,[30] where it is always rendered in Egyptian as *pmnḥtp* (a word unknown elsewhere in Hebrew or Aramaic texts).

All these five dates belong to Julian June that corresponds to the Sothic year in the fifth-century B.C.E. The later correspondence between φαμενῶθ and March reflects the situation in the time of the calendaric reform in 30 B.C.E. when the Sothic year was abrogated and the calendar of Alexandria was transformed into a variation of the Julian calendar.

Therefore, the situation in which a month called *Siwan* is equivalent to the Old Egyptian *p-n-jmnḥtp* and roughly to June would correspond to the calendar of some Jewish community in Egypt about 400 B.C.E.

Now we are prepared to pose another question, that is, whether the Slavonic *hapax legomenon, Pamovus*(*a*), could reflect Old Egyptian *p-n-jmnḥtp*, or more simply its known Semitic (Aramaic) rendering *pmnḥtp*.

From the Greek (of course, much later than 400 B.C.E.) φαμενῶθ we know that the final *p* disappeared and the pharyngeal *ḥ* became voiceless leading to the prolongation of the vowel *ō*. Moreover, there was no phonological difference, in either Old Egyptian/Coptic or Egyptian Greek, between aspirated and non-aspirated consonants, including *p* and *f*.[31] This is why the initial *p* became φ in φαμενῶθ.

Therefore, Aramaic *pmnḥtp* could be pronounced, especially in a later epoch, somewhat as **pamenōt*(*h*) (the first two short vowels are reconstructed tentatively, the aspiration of the final consonant is not phonological). Such a pronunciation corresponds, in Hebrew and Aramaic writing systems, to **pmnwt*.

Being transliterated into another writing system, such as Greek, **pmnwt* could easily result in *παμοουουτ /*pamowut*/ with subsequent simplification of orthography into *παμοβουτ. The consonants *n* and *w* could be easily confounded, being quite similar in the Aramaic and Hebrew writing systems of the Second Temple period (both were written as almost

[30] According to the database of the *Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon* (*CAL*): http://cal1.cn.huc.edu/.

[31] F. Th. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Period*, Vol. I. *Phonology*, Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'Antichità, LV [1] (Milano: Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1976), 90–95.

right strokes).[32] This is sufficient for **pmnwt* to lose its *n*. Then, the letter *waw* could be read as *ū* as easy as *ō*. The simplification of orthography is likely under the influence of the Coptic milieu. In Coptic, the digraph OY when it signifies /*w*/ and the letter B are interchangeable. This norm could affect the Egyptian Greek spelling of a foreign word, if its digraph ου were misread as /*w*/.

The only problem that remains is the final *t*(*h*): I do not see how it could be transformed into the Slavonic letter *slovo* (*s*), neither through a Greek intermediary nor otherwise.

Be that as it may, our etymology for *Pamovus*(*a*) seems to be probable:

Pamovus(*a*) < *παμοβουτ < *παμοουουτ < **pmnwt* < *pmnḥtp* < *p-n-jmnḥtp*

And, most important, our etymology explains why *Pamovus*(*a*), being an Egyptian month name, is equated with *Siwan* but, at the same time, is the month of the summer solstice, that is, roughly June. This linguistic reconstruction could be accepted if and only if it results in a meaningful reconstruction of the astronomy of 2 Enoch. We will revisit this question below (point 4.2). However, there is one point that would be more convenient to discuss now, anticipating our future astronomical confirmation of the present linguistic reconstruction.

1.9. Pamovus(a) *and the Age of the 2 Enoch Calendar*

As is seen from my linguistic reconstruction, I do not consider the available Slavonic form *pamovus*(*a*) as a direct reflection of the older Aramaic form *pmnḥtp*. *Pamovus*(*a*) should reflect (through Greek) an Aramaic form existing at the time of the composition of 2 Enoch, probably **pmnwt*. Nevertheless, the calendar itself could be as early as about 400 B.C.E., around the same date as the calendar of 1 Enoch. Such is the conclusion from the comparison of the 2 Enoch calendar with the Old Egyptian one: our calendar bears a mark of the period when the Egyptian Sothic year presupposed the correspondence of *p-n-jmnḥtp* with June and (Elephantine Babylonian) *Siwan*.

Such a remote date is, nevertheless, quite probable, even if it is earlier than that of the Astronomical Book of 1 Enoch (3rd cent. B.C.E.). As

[32] See for example, the comparative tables by J. Euting in Th. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste Syrische Grammatik*, Zweite verbesserte Auflage (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1898), and S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik mit Bibliographie, Chrestomathie und Glossar* (Leipzig: Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1975), 60–61.

Matthias Albani has demonstrated,[33] the calendar of 1 Enoch is, from the astronomical point of view, the calendar of the Babylonian treatise MUL.APIN ("Polar Star"), now dated to about 1000 B.C.E.[34] This astronomical tradition is also presented in other Babylonian texts roughly datable from the twelfth century B.C.E. onward.[35] There is, thus, plenty of room to invent another Jewish modification of the MUL.APIN calendar than that known from 1 Enoch.

Francis Andersen once said that the Semitic originals of 1 Enoch and 2 Enoch might be "even of comparable antiquity."[36] While unlikely in a literal sense, Andersen does appear to be correct with respect to their calendars.

1.10. *Chronology of the Feast of Consecration of Methusalam*

Now we will skip van Goudoever's interesting speculations as to the possible connection between the date of the second ascension of Enoch and Moses's death,[37] as well as my own considerations on the same topics.[38] It is quite possible that there is here an expression of Orlov's so-called "Mosaic polemics."[39]

The date of the second ascension of Enoch is 6.III + 30 = 5/6.IV (depending on the number of days in the third month). The counting is exclusive, that is, the day 6.III, the day of Enoch's arrival after his first ascension, is not included into the number 30 (the number of days passed by Enoch on the earth). We have already used the same manner of exclusive counting when we did not include the day of Enoch's first ascension into the number of days passed by him in the heavens.

The day of the second ascension of Enoch is the first day of a large feast, concluded by the consecration of Methusalam (68:5–7). The text contains an important statement that after the last day of the festival, before the night, the people "went off to their own shelters, each one of them" / "went

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[33] M. Albani, *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube. Untersuchungen zum Astronomischen Henochbuch*, WMANT, 68 (Neukirchen—Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1994).

[34] H. Hunger and D. Pingree, MUL.APIN. *An Astronomical Compendium in Cuneiform*, Archiv für Orientforschung. Beiheft 24 (Horn: F. Berger & Söhne, 1989).

[35] H. Hunger and D. Pingree, *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, I, 44 (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

[36] Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," 94.

[37] Van Goudoever, *Fêtes et calendriers bibliques*, 173–75.

[38] Lourié, Лурье, *Метатрон и Прометая*: *Вторая книга Еноха* на перекрестке проблем, 387–89.

[39] Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 274–75.

off to their houses" (69:19, longer/shorter recensions). The consecration of Methusalam starts "on the third day," "at the evening" (69:1) and is continued the next morning by the animal sacrifices (ch. 69).

Thus, for the third day after the ascension of Enoch, we obtain the date 7/8.IV and, for the date of consecration of Methusalam, 8/9.IV. The day, as always, begins at the morning, and so, the end of the feast at the evening of the fourth day (thus, in the middle of the twenty-four hours) means that the whole feast continues for 3.5 days. Such a structure has no parallels in other known calendars among the feasts, but does have parallels among the fasts.[40]

The whole cycle of the first ascension, return and second ascension of Enoch is opened by a fast for 3.5 days and is closed by a feast for 3.5 days.

2. *The Structure of the 12-Month Cycle of the Luni-Solar Calendar*

2.1. *The Structure of the Luni-Solar Year: General Principles*

The Enoch narrative covers, in total, 94 days: the day of the first ascension + 60 days in the heavens + 30 days on the earth of which the last one is the first day of the feast + 2.5 days of the continuation of the feast. This number cannot be coincidental in the 364-day calendar because the number 364 is divisible into four 90-day periods plus four extra days. These four additional days can be distributed within the year in different ways. In the earliest 364-day calendars (1 Enoch, Book of Jubilees, Temple Scroll) they are distributed uniformly, in adding one day at the end of each quarter of the year. There are other 364-day calendars of the Second Temple period (e.g., those that I have reconstructed for the Passion narrative and for the Book of Tobit) where these four days are introduced as one 4-day "epagomenal" period.[41] This period is especially convenient for the 3.5-day fast.

The importance of the 90-day period in 2 Enoch is expressed in the narrative where the plot covers a total of 94 days, expressed in three periods of 30 days, plus the four extra days.

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[40] Lourié, "Les quatre jours « de l'intervalle »: une modification néotestamentaire et chrétienne du calendrier de 364 jours."

[41] Lourié, "Les quatre jours « de l'intervalle »: une modification néotestamentaire et chrétienne du calendrier de 364 jours."

Thus, it would be legitimate to suppose that the rest of the year contains three periods of 90 days. Such a supposition has a confirmation in, what is at first glance, a very strange feature of our calendar: the number of days in the last (twelfth) month is 22. This number turns out quite natural on the condition that the 90-day periods have more importance than the months. If so, this 22-day month is to be united with the first ten days of the first month (divided by the starting date of the first 94-day period on 11.I) resulting in a 32-day period comparable with other months.

The same reasoning forces us to decline one manuscript reading (ms P) where the twelfth month contains 28 days. Another argument against this reading is the extremely high total number of days in the year according to the same manuscript, 373 (instead of the correct number 364).

Let us sum up our previous considerations on the manuscript readings.

Only for two months have we already chosen the exact number of days: 30 for the first month and 22 for the twelfth month. Moreover, we have assumed, despite some previous scholars, that the number of days of the second month, 35 (with no variant reading in the manuscripts) is the correct one.

The number of days in the remaining months may be reconstructed according to the following principles:

1. The year is divided into four quarters, 94 + 90 + 90 + 90 days.
2. Each of these periods must have some festival at the beginning and/or at the end.
3. Among these festivals, we know only the earliest. Besides the Passover and Pentecost, these are only the Day of Atonement (10.VII) and the feast of Tabernacles (15.VII). The rest of them could be unknown to us in the same manner as the feast of 5–8/6–9.IV.
4. It is probable that each of the 90-day cycles is divided into three parts each of them being marked by some "assigned" (ἐπισήμιοι) days of a minor importance.

We shall use all these principles in deciding between the variant manuscript readings.

2.2. *Luni-Solar Calendar in 16:2: Manuscript Readings*

The table that follows is adapted from Andersen.[42] The sigles of the manuscripts are those Orlov uses.[43] [$\mathfrak{A}_1$], [$\mathfrak{A}_2$] and $\mathfrak{A}$ are different stages of the reconstruction of the archetype readings.

The first stage of reconstruction, [$\mathfrak{A}_1$] is our present step: only two choices are accepted, 30 days for the first month and 22 days for the last.[44]

	P	J	R	A	U	B	[$\mathfrak{A}_1$]	[$\mathfrak{A}_2$]	$\mathfrak{A}$
I	(3)1[44]	31	31	31	31	30	30	30	30
II	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35	35
III	30	30	30	31	31	30	30/31	30	30
IV	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30	30
V	31	31	31	31	31	30	30/31	30	30
VI	31	—	31	31	31	31	31	*30/31	*30
VII	30	—	30	30	30	30	30	30	30
VIII	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	*30/31	31
IX	35	31	31	31	31	31	31/35	35	35
X	30	30	30	30	30	—	30	30	30
XI	31	31	31	31	31	—	31	*30/31	31
XII	28	22	22	*22	*22	—	22	22	22
Σ	373		363	*364	*364		364	364	364

The last row, Σ, for the columns with the manuscript readings, contains the sum for the column, but only for the manuscripts where the figures for all the twelve months are preserved. The asterisks indicate the readings of

[42] Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," 128–29, note *d* to ch. 16.

[43] Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition.*

[44] One letter in the manuscript is lost but all the editors fill the lacuna in the only possible and obvious way.

A and U reconstructed by Andersen where these manuscripts have lacunae (month XII), as well as the corresponding figures in the row Σ (364). Andersen already knew that the total number of days in the year must be 364, and not 365 (*pace* Vaillant).

The figure in row Σ for the column [$\mathfrak{A}_1$], 364, is not a sum but is taken as known from the data apart from 16:2.

2.3. *Second Stage of Reconstruction,* [$\mathfrak{A}_2$]*: Possibilities among the Manuscript Readings*

Andersen has already put forward a reconstruction of the luni-solar 2 Enoch calendar based on the manuscripts AU. His arguments, both palaeographic and calendaric, are convincing in the sense that AU represent a consistent recension of the calendar corresponding to some stage of the history of the text. Andersen's conjecture for the month XII in AU coincides with our reconstruction in [$\mathfrak{A}_1$]. This stage is not, however, $\mathfrak{A}$, the archetype. For the reasons explained above, we cannot accept as belonging to the archetype the reading of AU for month I (31 vs. 30 in B and in [$\mathfrak{A}_1$]), and so, we cannot accept the reading of AU for, at least, one more month from II to XI (the total number of days for the year being equal to 364).

As Andersen noted himself, the manuscript R is the best in preserving the figures for each month, even if it is *a priori* not blameless because the total number of the days in the year is, according to R, 363, one day less than one needs. Taking into account that even in R the number of days in the month I is excessive (31 instead of 30), there are not one but two days that are lost in the structure of the year in R. If so, the figures for the months from II to XI in R are corrupted in that two days are lost.

There is another interesting *lectio difficilior*, the figure 35 for the month IX in P (all others manuscripts have here 31). This figure turns out to be symmetrical to the same figure (35) in the month II: both months have the middle place in the corresponding quarters (the first and the third), and the quarters themselves are symmetrical within the year. Let us recall that the figure 35 for the month II is confirmed in the two possible ways, palaeographical (by the agreement of the six manuscripts) and calendrical (see above our computations for 6.III as the Day of Pentecost).

The symmetry of the four quarters is the first principle of the 2 Enoch calendar that we have formulated above (see point 2.1). This principle

demands a counterpart to the anomaly in the length of the month II, and such a counterpart must be located in the symmetrical month IX. On the contrary, if the month II is the only 35-day month in the year, the calendar becomes sharply asymmetrical. Moreover, the fact that the figure 35 is a *lectio difficilior* is itself an argument *pro*. Therefore, we have to choose the figure 35 for the month IX, too. Nevertheless, below we will look at the probability of this reconstruction once more when dealing with the structure of the year as a whole.

Having established the reading "35" for the month IX, we are now in a position to return to the manuscript R that contains, normally, the best readings. As we have noticed above, in this manuscript, there are two days "lost." Now, in correcting its reading "31" to "35" for the month IX we have "found" not two days, but four. This fact has consequences for our further reconstruction. Now, we may basically accept the readings of "improved" R (with 35 days in the month IX) but still need to subtract from these readings two more days. The readings for the months I, II, IX, and XII are already established, and so, not subject to further revisions.

Our "basic agreement" with R forces us to accept its reading "30" for the month III: it is now extremely unlikely that there is a reading in our "improved" R that is to be corrected incrementally. Our reconstruction of the figure for the month III turns out to be in accordance with the majority of manuscripts PJB but against the recension represented by AU.

Therefore, all that is left to us for the further corrections are the readings of R for the months IV, V, VI, VIII, and XI. We still need to subtract two days from these five months.

In one case, we have direct support from the manuscripts. One of them, B, gives us the reading "30" against "31" in R and the others for the month V. It is reasonable to accept this reading as genuine.

After this, we still must find one "excessive" day somewhere in the months IV, VI, VIII, or XI but with no direct support from the manuscripts: there is no manuscript reading that fits our conditions.

According to our already established rule that the readings of our "improved" R are not to be corrected incrementally, we must accept as genuine also the figure 30 for the month IV where all six manuscripts agree.

Thus, we have exhausted our possibilities to reconstruct the luni-solar calendar without conjectures. At the corresponding stage of reconstruction, [$\mathfrak{A}_2$] we still have one "excessive" day concealed somewhere in three months, VI, VIII, and XI. For all these months, we have an agreement

between the manuscripts (while not a perfect one, due to the lacunae) demanding the figure 31. However, we need, in one case from three, to correct this figure to 30. This is possible on the basis of the calendrical considerations.

Already at the stage [$\mathfrak{A}_2$], after having established the genuine reading for the month III, we can establish the precise date of the second ascension of Enoch and that of the consecration of Methusalam: 6.IV and 9.IV, respectively.

2.4. *Reconstruction of the Archetype of the Luni-Solar Calendar,* $\mathfrak{A}$

Our further calendrical considerations will deal with the part of the year outside the plot of 2 Enoch, that is, from 10.IV to 10.I. This interval contains 270 = 90 × 3 days.

So far, at the stage [$\mathfrak{A}_2$], we have three alternative variants of the structure of the year, depending on the month for which we accept the conjectural reading "30" instead of "31."

According to the main principles formulated above (point 2.1, nr 2 and 3), the festivities on 10.VII and 15.VII (Day of Atonement and Feast of Tabernacles) must be marked, in one way or another, within the structure of the 90-day quarters.

The conjecture in either the VIII or XI month affects the place of the festival dates in the month VII within the structure of the year in the same way. This is why these dates will be relevant to discern between only two schemes:

[$^1\mathfrak{A}_2$], where the conjecture is accepted for either VIII or XI month,
[$^2\mathfrak{A}_2$], where the conjecture is accepted for the month VI.

For both schemes, the conjecture is the same: "30" instead of "31."

The area of comparison is the border between the second and the third quarters.

According to the [$^1\mathfrak{A}_2$] scheme, the third quarter starts at 9.VII. According to the [$^2\mathfrak{A}_2$] scheme, at 10.VII, that is, exactly at the Day of Atonement.

According to the principle nr 2 (from the point 2.1 above), we must prefer the second scheme, [$^2\mathfrak{A}_2$], that presupposes the conjecture in the month VI.

This scheme has greater agreement with one of the most common trends of the Jewish calendars of the Second Temple period, that is, the

symmetry between the first and the seventh months.[45] In our scheme, in both the first and seventh months one opens a half-year period not only by a great festival, but also by a day of strict fasting.

Within the context of the whole year, we can reassert our previous conclusion that the reading "35" is genuine for the month IX. Let us suppose the contrary, that is, that the authentic reading for the month IX is "31," the actual reading in R with the majority of manuscripts. Then, we have four extra days to be distributed within the year. However, no one day could be added to the months from I to VI without affecting the plot of the Enoch story and/or the start of the third quarter at the Day of Atonement. Moreover, no one day could be added to the month XII. So, these four days should be added to the months from VII to XI only. It is also extremely unlikely, in consideration of symmetry, that any of these months could be longer than 31 days. Therefore, the extra days could be added only to the months VII and X, by one day to each of them. However, we have to add not two, but four days. Therefore, our initial assumption that "31" is the genuine reading for the month IX is wrong. We obtain an additional confirmation to our previous conclusion that the *lectio difficilior* "35" is genuine.

Let us recall that our scheme $[^{2}\mathfrak{A}_{2}]$ presupposes only one reading that is not contained in the manuscripts.

Therefore, our main conclusion is the following:

$$[^{2}\mathfrak{A}_{2}] = \mathfrak{A},$$

that is, the scheme $[^{2}\mathfrak{A}_{2}]$ is the genuine structure of the luni-solar year in 2 Enoch.

2.5. *General Outline of the Liturgical Year*

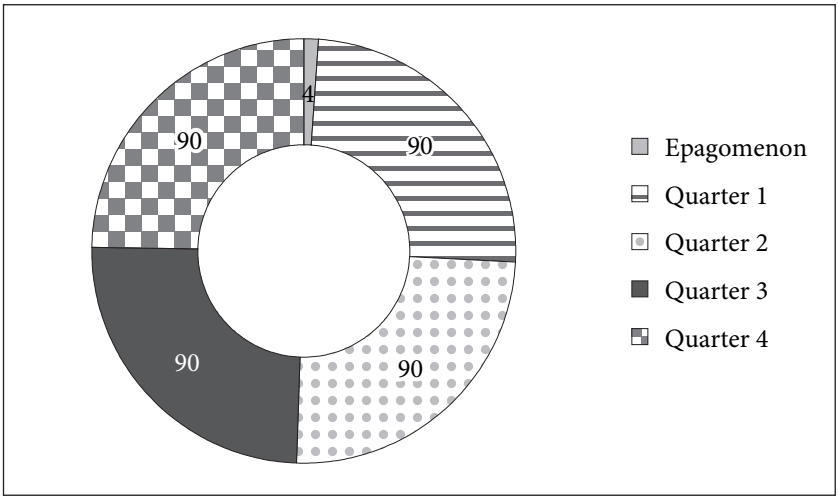
The structure of twelve months with the feasts allotted to some days of these months has never been abrogated, but in the 364-day calendars, they ceased to be the most important within the liturgical years. Thus, we have such calendars as that of Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice in which the most important structure is the cycle of seven pentecontads (49-day periods) within the year. In our 2 Enoch calendar, we have another important structure, that of four 90-day quarters.

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[45] J. B. Segal, *The Hebrew Passover from the Earliest Times to A. D. 70*, London Oriental Series 12 (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 117–27.

Another important feature is the manner of the insertion of the four "epagomenal" days that are in all such calendars, the days of some solemn mourning. An "epagomenal" period placed just before the Passover is the feature of the calendar that I have reconstructed for the Passion narrative.[46] In 2 Enoch's calendar these four "epagomenal" pre-Passover days have an even more isolated place because they are not included within the count of the 90-day quarters. Instead, they are inserted before the first quarter, somewhat as a "zero-period" of the year.

The general outline of the year is the following:



Structure of the year. "Epagomenon" (4 days) + First (Passover) quarter (90 days) + Second quarter (90 days) + Third (Day of Atonement) quarter (90 days) + Fourth quarter (90 days).

First quarter	from 11.I	to 9.IV
Second quarter	from 10.IV	to 9.VII
Third quarter	from 10.VII	to 3.X
Fourth quarter	from 4.X	to 10.I

[46] Lourié, "Les quatre jours « de l'intervalle » : une modification néotestamentaire et chrétienne du calendrier de 364 jours."

The borders of the months do not coincide with the borders of the quarters.

Two quarters, the first and the third, are opened by the most important festivals (Passover and Day of Atonement, respectively) and are closed by some less important and less widespread feasts.

For the first quarter, we know that its closing feast is the feast of the consecration of Methusalam. For the last days of the third quarter, that is, 3.X and several days before, we know nothing, because it belongs to the part of year that is outside the plot of the 2 Enoch. Despite this, it is reasonable, in consideration of symmetry, to suppose that there was some feast ending on 3.X.

Be that as it may, a specific festal nature of the uneven quarters in comparison with the even ones is obvious. This is another kind of symmetry in the structure of our calendar.

It is also interesting to note that the existence of a feast terminated on 3.X is hardly compatible with the existence of the feast of Hanukkah, eight days starting from 25.IX (cf. 1 Mac 4:59). In our calendar in which the month IX contains 35 days, the Hanukkah period would cover the days from 25 to 32.IX. Such a feast would compete with the necessary closing feast of the third quarter a few days later. However, the feast of Hanukkah was established after 164 B.C.E., that is, much later than the date of our calendar (about 400 B.C.E.).

The first quarter, according to the plot of 2 Enoch, is divided into three parts by some remarkable dates, one of them being the Pentecost. It is possible that the same structure should be postulated for the third quarter. If so, the days 10.VIII and 9.IX are also festal dates. So far, however, we have no evidence and no liturgical parallel to confirm this.

3. *2 Enoch Solar Calendar*

3.1. *General Outlook*

Fortunately, the structure of the solar calendar (13:3–4) is preserved perfectly, in complete accord between the best manuscripts of both recensions, R (longer) and AU (shorter), despite the corruptions in other manuscripts. No reconstruction is needed.

The year contains ten solar months, while the text avoids naming them "months" using the term "gates" (of the sun). The sun runs through six heaven gates as follows (solar month numbers are added by me):

Solar month number	Gate number	Number of days
I	I	42
II	II	35
III	III	35
IV	IV	35
V	V	35
VI	VI	42
VII	V	35
VIII	IV	35
IX	III	35
X	II	35
Σ		364

3.2. *Two-Calendar System and Its Parallel in Athens*

The year divided into 10 months is not unknown in the Ancient World. The most familiar example is the Old Roman calendar. However, it had no precise structure, and, what is most important, was not synchronised with another 12-month calendar.

There is, nevertheless, a close parallel to 2 Enoch's two-calendar system in two co-existing calendars of Athens, which had been synchronised in the late fifth-century B.C.E.[47] There were, in Athens, one luni-solar festival calendar for the religious events containing 12 months per year and another business calendar of the so-called prytanies containing 10 months per year.

The Athenian parallel to the 2 Enoch two-calendar system is especially important because it is roughly contemporary (and, most probably, a bit earlier) than the luni-solar 2 Enoch calendar.

[47] On their synchronisation, see especially F. M. Dunn, "Tampering with the Calendar," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 123 (1998): 213–231, and Dunn, "The Council's Solar Calendar," *American Journal of Philology* 120 (1999): 369–380.

In 2 Enoch we have a very similar scheme: a luni-solar 12-month calendar for the religious events and another 10-month solar calendar synchronised with the former in a very strict way but with no precise purpose indicated, but in the context of a cosmological treatise. It is, therefore, not improbable that the solar calendar of 2 Enoch was a business (secular) calendar of the community that followed the 2 Enoch luni-solar calendar in its religious life. However, even in this case, it remains saturated with a liturgical symbolism, as we shall see below.

An Athenian influence is likely both for the author(s) of 2 Enoch, a text written in a Hellenized milieu, and for the earlier milieu in which the calendar traditions underlying 2 Enoch were elaborated.

We have no specific arguments for dating the 2 Enoch solar calendar, but the Athenian parallel suggests that its origin may be early, very probably more or less contemporary to the luni-solar 2 Enoch calendar.

3.3. *Astronomical Innovations*

The sun going through the six heaven-gates forward and backward within a one-year time span, from solstice to solstice, is familiar from the Astronomical Book of 1 Enoch (see, especially on the heavenly gates and the sun's motions, 1 Enoch, ch. 72). Otto Neugebauer analyzed this section in his now classic study,[48] reprinted in its main part by Black[49] and continued by Albani.[50]

However, in 1 Enoch, the six gates are responsible for the 12–(= 6 + 6) month structure of the luni-solar year. This is a fundamental feature of Babylonian cosmology, with its exceptional value of the number 6, and its multiples. Therefore, in the Babylonian cosmology of 1 Enoch, the sun passes the first and the sixth gates two times: the sixth gate it passes forward and immediately backward, and the first gate it passes forward at the beginning of the year and backward at the end.

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[48] O. Neugebauer, *The 'Astronomical' Chapters of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch* (*72 to 82*). *Translation and Commentary. With Additional Notes on the Aramaic Fragments by Matthew Black*, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Matematisk-fysiske meddelelser 40:10 (København, 1981).

[49] M. Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Translation. With Commentary and Textual Notes by Matthew Black. In Consultation with James C. VanderKam. With an Appendix on the 'Astronomical' Chapters* (*72–82*) *by Otto Neugebauer*, SVTP, 7 (Leiden: Brill, 1985).

[50] Albani, *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube.*

In 2 Enoch, the sun passes each gate only one time a year. This is why the number of solar months is 10, not 12. The first and the sixth gates are still marked, however, by a longer period (number of days) needed for the sun to pass them.

The rationale of such an innovation is clear from the number of days in the months: 35 (normally) or 42 (first and sixth months only). Both 35 and 42 are multiples of 7.

In the 1 Enoch calendar, there is no specific unit stressing the importance of the number 7, except the week and the year itself that contains an integer number of weeks, 52 ($52 \times 7 = 364$). Let us recall that the importance of the number 7 in the 1 Enoch calendar's structure is not a Jewish development, but a raw borrowing from late Babylonia.

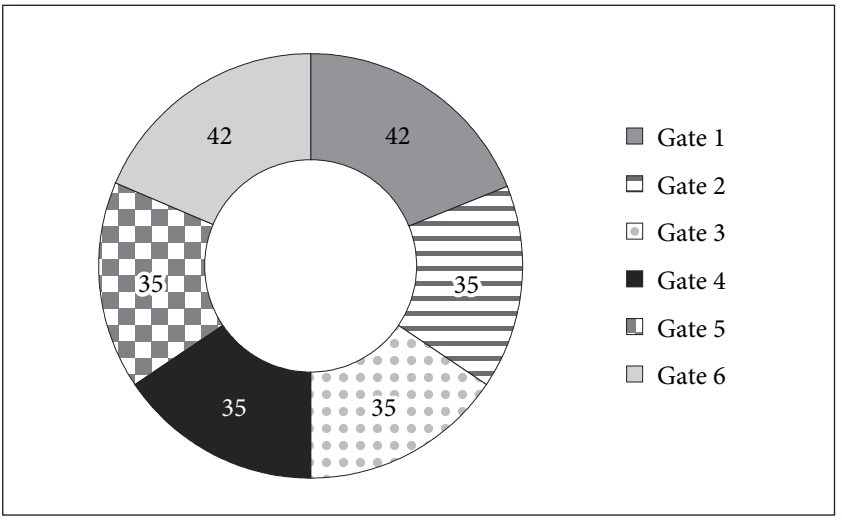
Transplanted to a Jewish milieu, the 364-day calendar obtained a general trend to develop more units based on the number 7, on both intra-year and extra-year levels. On the intra-year level, the most known 7-based units are the pentecontad cycles (from the three 49-day cycles in the Temple Scroll to the seven such cycles in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice), still absent in the early Jewish 364-day calendars of 1 Enoch and Jubilees. A preponderance of the pentecontad cycles in such calendars as those of the Temple Scroll or of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, by necessity, led to an overshadowing of the 12-month structure (remnant of a Babylonian 6-based structure).

The calendar of 2 Enoch proceeds along another path but with the same effect of a partial overshadowing of the 12-month structure. It forms a separate 7-based structure of the whole year.

If there is a need to create a 7-based unit with a duration of about one month (approximately 30 days), then, there is only one alternative: 28 or 35 days per unit. In the latter case, we obtain our 2 Enoch solar calendar. In the former case, we obtain a perfectly even structure of the year comprising 13 months each of 28 days.

It is difficult to say why our calendar chose 10 solar months and not 13. Is the Athenian parallel of any importance here? The latter possibility is especially probable because the Athenian prytanies calendar was used for regulating business, and the solar calendar of 2 Enoch is used for regulating the days of rest, Sabbaths, by the very fact that it is directly grounded on the week division of the year.

Here I omit any discussion of the cosmological aspect of this reconsideration of the notion of heavenly "gates." Indeed, these tunnel-like long "gates" are quite different from the heavenly gates used for the daily



Structure of Heaven

motion of the sun, moon, and stars, known from 1 Enoch and Babylonian astronomy, where they are also called "gates": *abullu* = ideographic KÁ.GAL.[51] However, these tunnel-like "gates" are known in 3 Baruch, and they also have Babylonian precedents in the cosmological concept of the heavenly "ford/ferry" (*neberu*; cf. *Enūma elīš* 5:5–8). I briefly elaborate on this elsewhere.[52]

3.4. *Asymmetry of Solstices*

Now, knowing the way of the sun's movement through the six heaven-gates, we must acknowledge that the apparent error in 48:2 (see above, point 1.7) where 7 and not 6 months separate the two solstices, is not an error. Such an asymmetry between the solstices, despite its blatant contradiction to the astronomy, is a consequence of the peculiar structure of 2 Enoch's heaven.

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[51] W. Heimpel, "The Sun at Night and the Doors of Heaven in Babylonian Texts," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 38 (1986): 127–151.

[52] B. Lourié, "Review of A. Kulik, *3 Baruch: Greek-Slavonic Apocalypse of Baruch*," *JSP* (forthcoming).

According to 2 Enoch's structure of the heavens, the sun goes forward for 224 days and then goes backward for 140 days. The solstice is the day when the sun changes the direction of its movement. Thus, one solstice, according to 2 Enoch, is 1.I of the solar year, and another solstice is solar 1.VII. The text (13:4) tells us that after the sixth gate the sun "does an about-turn and goes back" (longer recension) / is "turning around" (shorter recension).

If so, the distribution of the two solstices between *Siwan* and *Tebet* (months III and X) in 48:2 is right. The two solstices are separated not by 182 days but by 224/140 days. The longer part of the solar year is its first part, and the shorter one is its second. Because the months of solstice are the third and the tenth, our text implies the beginning of the solar year on the summer solstice—as it is explicitly stated in 48:2 and as it was in the Babylonian astronomy, especially in the MUL.APIN.[53] Thus, solar 1.I is the summer solstice, and solar 1.VII is the winter solstice.

What is certainly not right in 48:2 is the figure "17," either in one case or in both. If the luni-solar date of the winter solstice 17.X is right, the date of the summer solstice must be 9.III. If the luni-solar date of the summer solstice 17.III is right, the date of the winter solstice must be 25.X. As it seems, some later editor was trying to make these dates more symmetrical than they were intended to be. The figure "17" makes sense, nevertheless, within the context of other calendrical schemes, which will be discussed below.

The asymmetry of solstices has no precedent in the known calendar systems. The only possible exception is one of the Slavonic recensions of 3 Baruch, where Baruch's journey occupies 224 days. However, the origin of this recension as well as its possible connection to 2 Enoch are unclear.[54] Anyway, it is difficult to imagine the exact structure of the heavens that is so sharply asymmetrical.

It seems very probable that the astronomy in the 2 Enoch has fallen victim to the Sabbath. The solar calendar became an imaginary ground for the regulation of the weeks, with their working and rest days.

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[53] Hunger and Pingree, MUL.APIN. *An Astronomical Compendium in Cuneiform*, 75.
[54] Lourié, "Review of A. Kulik, *3 Baruch: Greek-Slavonic Apocalypse of Baruch*."

4. *Other Calendrical Schemes*

4.1. *Lunar and Julian Calendars*

The presence of the 19-year lunar cycle and the 28-year solar cycle within the text of 2 Enoch was noticed even by the early scholars, but Steven Fraade is the first who used this fact to demonstrate the plurality of the calendaric schemes presented in the extant text of 2 Enoch (in both recensions). As Fraade states:

> . . . in 16:8 we find acknowledgement of the Metonic luni-solar cycle of seven month-long intercalations every nineteen years, as employed in the 354-day (before intercalation) rabbinic calendar, but irrelevant to either of 2 Enoch's solar calendars: "And the moon has a sevenfold intercalation, and a period of revolution of nineteen years. And she begins once again from the start." Additionally, 15:4 recognizes a twenty-eight-year cycle by which the sun returns, as it were, to its starting place at the same time of day and day of the week (presuming a solar year of 365.25 days), known in rabbinic parlance as *birkhat ha-ḥammah*: "and the cycle of him [the sun] goes on for twenty-eight years, and begins once more from the start."[55]

In his response to my Enoch Seminar paper, Fraade justly continues: "However, since it seems to me that more than two calendars are evidenced in 2 Enoch, we might ask to what extent it needs be assumed that they all necessarily functioned in practical terms, and whether at least some could have been exercises in calendrical imagination, that is as schematizations of how the cycles of the cosmos and those of religious life and memory might be brought into greater, if not perfect, harmony with one another."

Both 19-year and 28-year cycles make sense only with regard to the 365.25-day solar year. The 19-year luni-solar cycle ("Metonic") appeared in the fifth-century B.C.E. almost simultaneously in Babylonia and in Greece; it remains unclear whether the Greeks borrowed it from Babylonia or invented it themselves.[56] In any case, it could constitute a part of the Babylonian legacy of 2 Enoch's astronomical theory.

The presence of the 28-year solar cycle is much more interesting. It implies the knowledge of the Julian calendar. This cycle results from

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[55] Fraade, "Theory, Practice, and Polemic in Ancient Jewish Calendars."

[56] O. Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*, Studies in the History of Mathematics and Physical Sciences 1 (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1975), 4, 354–57, 541–42.

combination of the 4-year intercalation cycle specific to the Julian calendar with a 7-day week cycle, and so, it makes sense in the frame of the Julian calendar only and not in any other 365-day calendar (i.e., those which have different rules of intercalation; e.g., the Old Egyptian 365-day calendar with the Sothic year).

This fact has some importance for dating 2 Enoch: the Julian calendar was introduced by Julius Caesar in 46 B.C.E., came into force in Rome in 45 B.C.E., and was introduced in Alexandria (in a localized design) by Augustus in 30 B.C.E.

4.2. *Solstices and Traces of MUL.APIN Theoretical Legacy*

Now, knowing that there are several calendaric schemes in 2 Enoch besides the two main 364-day calendars, we can revisit the problem of the two solstices, 17.X and 17.III.

The number 17 as the solstice day seems to be established. In the MUL.APIN and related Babylonian texts, the solstices were defined theoretically for the ideal calendar: 15.IV and 15.X. The equinoxes were defined in the same way: 15.I, 15.VII.[57] Thus, the year was divided symmetrically into the four 91-day quarters. Such a division makes sense if only the four days of the year, which are added to the twelve 30-day months, are distributed throughout the four quarters symmetrically as well. However, if all four days are collected somewhere in the first quarter, the rules of symmetry require different dates. Namely, in such a modification of the MUL.APIN-type 364-day calendar, for the solstices, we would have either 13.IV for the summer solstice and 15.X for the winter solstice or 15.IV for the summer solstice and 17.X for the winter solstice.[58] Therefore, only one middle-month date of the solstice would be preserved.

In the MUL.APIN calendar, from the two solstice days, the day of the summer solstice was more important being the beginning of the solar year. Therefore, it is *a priori* more likely that the hypothetical creators of the modified MUL.APIN calendar where the four additional days are collected somewhere in the first quarter would choose not to touch the day

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[57] Hunger and Pingree, *Astral Sciences in Mesopotamia*, 66.

[58] Here I avoid as irrelevant the discussion of the possible impact of such a modification of the calendar on the dates of equinoxes. They will depend on the exact way of introducing of these four days into the first quarter and of the possible need to maintain the vernal equinox on 15.I.

of the summer solstice, and so, to change the day of the winter solstice to 17.X.

It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the date of the winter solstice, 17.X, is a possible trace of the described above modification of the 364-day calendar belonging to the MUL.APIN tradition.

The shift of the date of the summer solstice from 15.IV to 17.III could be understandable based on the Egyptian evidence. In Egypt, the summer solstice was rather a geophysical than astronomical phenomenon. The summer solstice was preceded by the heliacal rising of Sirius (the key astronomical event in Egypt) and was followed in several days by the inundation of the Nile (the key annual event in the whole life of Egypt). The summer solstice was the beginning of the Egyptian civil year. Thus, in the Egyptian calendars, the date of the summer solstice has had to be relatively close to its astronomical value, that is, to 25–27 of Julian June.[59] However, from the Elephantine documents we know that these dates belonged rather to the third month of the Jewish/Babylonian calendar than to the fourth.

[59] According to the data for the period from 431 B.C.E. to 140 C.E. collected by Ptolemy in his *Almagest* 3:1. These dates already converted into the Julian calendar could be obtained from any commented translation of the *Almagest*; C. Ptolemy, Клавдий Птолемей, *Альмагест, или Математическое сочинение в тринадцати книгах.* Пер. с древнегреческого И. Н. Веселовского. Прим. Г. Е. Куртика, М. М. Рожанской, Г. П. Матвиевской (Moscow: Nauka, 1998), 496).

2 ENOCH AND HALAKHAH

Lawrence H. Schiffman

I have consistently argued that one of the central ways to evaluate Jewish texts is by analyzing their stances regarding halakhah, Jewish law. In preparing for the present symposium, I therefore took it as a most welcome assignment when I was requested to prepare a study entitled, "Halakhic Elements in 2 Enoch." Careful readers will note that I have changed the title to indicate that despite the many references to Jewish practices described in the Hebrew Scriptures, the book of 2 Enoch does not preserve a single element that can truly be identified as halakhic, since no passage demonstrates any details resulting from either tradition or exegesis besides those found in the Hebrew Bible. In fact, the absence of these distinguishing elements that unite all versions of Second Temple Judaism raises serious questions about the nature and provenance of this text—questions that have been raised often before and to which our seminar is dedicated. This paper will examine all mentions of biblical commandments or Jewish practices in 2 Enoch in order to demonstrate this thesis.

Enoch's discourse to his children begins in 2:2 with an instruction to keep God's commandments.[1] Among these commandments we find the following listed: prayer, gifts due to God (apparently the agricultural gifts), offering firstborn animals, redemption of firstborn children, and avoidance of idol worship. While these commandments are not listed in all of the manuscripts of this work,[2] nonetheless, for our purposes we will take the most inclusive view.

Only one of these commandments, listed only in version A, does not have a direct biblical mandate, and that is prayer. It seems that this version of our text is referring to daily, statutory prayer services, required by

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[1] F. I. Andersen "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch, A New Translation and Introduction," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. Charlesworth (New York: Doubleday, 1983) (below, *OTP*), 1:109, note d argues that the original text would have read "judgments" as in recension A. J, however interpreted this difficult word as meaning "commandments." Nonetheless, Andersen's comment that the original Hebrew would have been משפטים means that the passage clearly referred to biblical laws.

[2] R. H. Charles and W. R. Morfill, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896) (below, Charles, *Secrets of Enoch*), 3, note 9 and Andersen, *OTP* 1:109, note c.

some Jews such as the Qumran sectarians in Second Temple times[3] and mandated for all Jews by the Tannaim after the destruction of the Temple (m. Ber. 4:1). However, it seems that the earliest version of 2 Enoch probably did not mention prayer, but rather sacrifice, and that the text was modified at a later date by a community that practiced regular prayer services.[4] If so, this text simply follows biblical requirements.

In 9:1, Enoch is told of the reward awaiting the righteous. In this respect, the actions of the righteous are described as performing a variety of charitable acts required by biblical ethics: giving bread to the hungry, clothing those who are naked, lifting up the fallen, helping the injured, the orphans and the crippled. This list of good deeds, shared with prophetic, New Testament and rabbinic parallels, is in toto a reflection of the obligations imposed by the Bible.

Enoch is then shown a kind of purgatory in which the wicked are punished. In 10:4–5 we read a catalog of their transgressions. Version J includes "child corruption in the anus in the matter of Sodom," "which is against nature," as well as witchcraft of a variety of kinds, stealing, lying, insulting others, committing sexual offenses, murder, and mistreating the poor.[5] Version A leaves out the transgression of sodomy, referring only to "godless uncleanness." In addition, A leaves out a catalog of violations of the Ten Commandments that appeared in version J. The reference to taking away the last garment in 10:5 is a reflection of the prohibition of holding a garment as a pledge overnight in Exod 22:25 (cf. Deut 24:17). Again, what strikes us here is that all the transgressions refer to prohibitions explicitly found in the Pentateuch for which the evildoers are being punished in purgatory.

In 31:1, a passage preserved only in version J and lacking in version A, the text refers to Adam's having been placed in Paradise, "so that he might keep the agreement and preserve the commandment."[6] This passage may actually preserve a form of exegesis and in some ways parallels the rabbinic sources[7] that speak of the one commandment that Adam was commanded to observe in the Garden of Eden.[8] Indeed, Genesis indicates that

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[3] Cf. L. H. Schiffman, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Early History of Jewish Liturgy," in *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity,* ed. L. Levine (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1987), 33-48.

[4] Andersen, *OTP* 1:109, note d.

[5] Cf. also 63:2.

[6] Andersen, *OTP* 1:152.

[7] Exod. Rab. Mishpaṭim 32:1, Pesiqṭa Rabbati 21 and parallels.

[8] This transgression is also mentioned in chap. 32 (preserved only in J) in the heading.

Adam was placed in the garden "to work in it and guard it" (Gen 2:15). It is apparent that our text has interpreted this passage to refer to the obligation of Adam to observe God's covenant and to keep the one commandment that he had been given. This passage no doubt reflects a concept that God entered into a covenant with Adam, one of a series of antediluvian covenants entered into by God with the ancestors of Israel.[9]

In 32:2, preserved only in recension J, we have mention of the Sabbath. The text, however, is nothing more than a reflection of Gen 2:2. Chap. 34:1–2, in both recensions (including the heading in recension J), refers to the sins of idolatry and homosexual immorality ("sodomite fornicators") as causes of the deluge.[10] References to "sowing the seed" or "worthless seed" clearly refer to illicit sexual behavior.[11] In this connection, chap. 71 (both recensions) assumes that a married woman who had adulterous relations (not a victim of rape)[12] was forbidden to return to her husband. This is the Mishnaic ruling (m. Sot. 6:1) and may be assumed by Hos 3:1 if it advocates an action designed to teach a lesson by going against the normal legal procedures. Nonetheless, this may be the only example where 2 Enoch follows Tannaitic teaching.

Recension J, however, makes specific reference to homosexual anal sex ("friend with friend in the anus"), prohibited in Lev 20:13 (cf. Deut 23:17) and to worship of an "evil one," apparently a devil. This seems to be a later, probably Christian, interpolation into the original text.[13] We should note that Gen 5:13 speaks only of violence (Hebrew *ḥamas*) as the cause of the flood. Rabbinic literature, however, does speak of idolatry and adultery as causes of the flood.[14] This is because according to rabbinic exegesis, both of these transgressions are documented in earlier chapters of Genesis.[15] Chap. 36:1, in both recensions, emphasizes that Enoch must teach his children that there is only one true God (cf. 47:3–6, both

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[9] Cf. L. H. Schiffman, "The Concept of Covenant in the Qumran Scrolls and Rabbinic Literature," in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel*, ed. H. Najman and J. H. Newman, JSJSup 83 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 257–278.

[10] Rabbinic tradition (b. Sanh. 74a, Palestinian Amoraic) understood there to be three cardinal sins, sexual immorality (adultery or forbidden consanguineous marriages), idolatry, and murder. Jews are required to give up their own lives before committing these transgressions.

[11] Andersen, *OTP* 1:34, note c. Note that Hebrew *zeraʿ*, "seed," refers to semen. Cf. esp. Gen 38:9.

[12] Cf. Num 5:13.

[13] Cf. the "evil one" in Mt 5:37.

[14] E. G. Hirsch, "Flood, In Rabbinical Literature," *JE* 5:410–11.

[15] Gen 4:26 (idolatry); Gen 6:4 (adultery).

recensions). The same is said in 66:1–2, where it is also said that only God may be worshiped and that oblations may be offered only to him.[16]

We also find a catalog of good deeds in a sort of beatitude in 42:6 (both versions). Among these good deeds are: revealing the name of the Lord, serving God continuously, and offering the proper gifts to God, probably a reference to the agricultural dues outlined by the Pentateuch. This list of beatitudes continues, mentioning those who carry out righteous judgment, do not take bribes, clothe the naked and feed the hungry, and help the widow and orphan.[17] Again there is reference here to the one who "who sowed his right seed," clearly a reference to proper sexual behavior. However, it is clear that this list is built on Hebrew scriptural passages and no more. Another catalogue of good and bad deeds (happy . . . cursed . . .) in 52:1–15 includes the prohibition of slander, cursing and blasphemy, all biblical transgressions mentioned in the Pentateuch.

Chapter 44, clearly based on the notion that human beings are created in the image of God (Gen 1:27, 9:6), speaks against insulting others, having contempt for them, and expressing anger (the latter only in version J). Rather, one should not have malice to anyone (version J), but (according to both recensions) show compassion to the needy. Again, we encounter here simply Hebrew biblical motifs and values.

The same is the case in 44:5 (both recensions) with the requirement that all maintain just weights and measures, a requirement repeated twice in the Pentateuch (Lev 19:35–36, Deut 25:13–16). Version A emphasizes God's knowledge even of such private cheating and its effect on the final judgment.

Although not mentioned in recension A, chap. 49 as it appears in recension J is essentially a protest against the taking of oaths, based on the view attributed to Jesus in the New Testament (Mt 5:33–37).[18] While Judaism discouraged oaths and vows outside of the judicial system (cf. Eccl 5:2–5), it did not consider them prohibited.[19] Christianity, however, did. It appears that this later interpolation was a result of New Testament influence.

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[16] This notion is repeated in 66:5, but only in recension J.

[17] The obligation to be charitable is again taken up in 50:6, in both recensions; in 51:1–2, recension J; and in 63:1, both recensions.

[18] Cf. Mt 23:16–22, Jas 5:12, and the similar formulation of b. B.M. 49a. See D. E. Garland, "Oaths and Swearing," in *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*, ed. J. B. Green, S. McKnight, with I. H. Marshall (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1992), 577–8.

[19] Cf. L. H. Schiffman, "The Law of Vows and Oaths (Num 30, 3-16) in the *Zadokite Fragments* and the *Temple Scroll*," *RevQ* 15 (1991): 199-214.

Both recensions of 51:4 encourage attendance thrice daily at the temple.[20] Actual Jewish sacrifices, when the temple stood, took place only twice daily, in the morning and late afternoon (Num 28:4). Prayer three times a day is mentioned first in Dan 6:10. However, the older pattern of twice daily prayer, equivalent to the sacrificial services, is evident in the prayers preserved by the Qumran sectarians. Later, the rabbis debated whether the third prayer, the evening prayer, which did not correspond to one of the required daily *tamid* offerings, was required or optional. The eventual decision was that it was "optional," from a halakhic point of view, but behaviorally required.[21] The Tannaim understood the evening prayer to relate to the burning of the fats and limbs of the sacrifices, which extended throughout the night for sacrifices that had been offered earlier that day. 2 Enoch seems to know the general Jewish custom of thrice daily prayer,[22] but has incorrectly and anachronistically retrojected it onto temple practice.

Chap. 59 is an enigmatic passage. Some commentators have seen the introductory words in recension J as indicating reference to bestiality, but Charles has correctly argued against this, except perhaps regarding verse 5.[23] The text seems to refer, on the one hand, to a prohibition of cruelty to animals and, on the other hand, to laws of sacrifice and slaughter. In verse 2, the text speaks positively of *ḥattat* offerings, whether of animals, fowl, or grain. The process of expiation is described as "healing," not a known Jewish image. Recension A is parallel, except in that it omits the passage that we have taken as referring to cruelty to animals as well as the mention of grain offerings.

However, in both recensions there is a strange requirement, namely the binding of the four legs of the sacrificial victim. This is again mentioned in 69:12 in both recensions, and that passage also refers to proper ritual slaughter. It has been suggested that this practice may be for the purpose of minimizing the suffering of the slaughtered animals.[24] In 69:13 and in

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[20] One manuscript substitutes "church," an obvious Christian adaptation (Andersen, *OTP* 1:179, note c).

[21] B. Ber. 27b; cf. y. Ber. 4:1 (7c–d).

[22] The attempt of Charles, *Secrets of Enoch*, 68, to relate this passage to specific prayer times mentioned in Acts 2:15 (9:00 AM), 3:1 (3:00 PM), 10:9 (12:00 PM) is not successful since both 12 o'clock and three o'clock would have fit into the time of the afternoon sacrifice and, hence, the afternoon prayer (*minḥah*) in rabbinic terminology.

[23] R. H. Charles, *APOT* 2:465.

[24] G. Macaskill, "Enoch and Salvation," Online version of a lecture given on 23 February 2007, http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/divinity/rt/otp/abstracts/2enoch2/.

70:21 (in both recensions J and A) it is stated that slaughter requires a knife. Indeed, the Septuagint translates Hebrew שחט as σφάζειν, "slay, slaughter, properly by cutting the throat."[25]

Actually, this prescription in 2 Enoch is directly at variance with the ruling of m. Tam. 4:1 that forbids tying all four feet of an animal (לא היו כופתים), and that indicates that it was normal practice to tie two feet of an animal (מעקידים) in preparation for sacrifice. It was decisively because it was a pagan practice that the rabbis forbade binding all four feet (b. Tam. 31b). Binding the four feet was not the practice of the Greeks or Romans, but it was the practice of Oriental cults and of the Egyptians.[26] In regard to this strange requirement, it seems that 2 Enoch is influenced here by eastern cults and requires a procedure directly in contradiction to rabbinic halakhah and, most likely, the practice of the ancient Jerusalem temple.

Finally, there is the enigmatic section (verse 5) that prohibits some kind of harming of an animal in secret, labeled as "an evil custom." It is the latter prohibition that Charles is willing to consider might refer to bestiality, which indeed is prohibited in the Torah (Exod 22:19; Lev 18:23, 20:15–16; Deut 27:21).

In rabbinic tradition, cruelty to animals is definitely prohibited, although there is debate as to whether or not the prohibition is on the level of a Torah law or a rabbinic enactment (b. B.M. 31a-33a). Bestiality is prohibited by the Pentateuch (Exod 20:19, Lev 18:23, 20:16) without any question, if that is being referred to here. But as to harming an animal in secret, this could also be taken to refer to castrating it, also understood by the rabbis to be prohibited by the Torah,[27] even if done by non-Jews. Again, when we closely analyze the material, we find only biblical prohibitions and, in this case, a ruling that goes completely against Tannaitic law and that does not have any basis in sectarian texts.

Chapter 60, in both recensions, prohibits murder and argues that expiation ("healing") is impossible for eternity. Recension J actually defines "healing" as "forgiveness." As mentioned above, this is not a motif found in Jewish sources. Further, the text similarly prohibits pushing a person into a trap or some such thing, but the various translations are very unclear

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[25] LSJ, 1738a. Cf. R. E. Clements, "שחט," *TDOT* 14:563–6.

[26] S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1962), 157–8; C. Albeck, *Shishah Sidre Mishnah, Seder Qodashim* (Israel: Bialik Institute and Dvir, 1958), 427.

[27] Cf. A. Steinberg, *Encyclopedia of Jewish Medical Ethics* (Jerusalem: Feldheim, 2003), 128. Lev 22:24 prohibits sacrificing castrated animals.

here. This may be a reflection of Lev 19:14, the prohibition on putting a stumbling block before the blind. This passage was taken by the rabbis to refer to giving bad advice,[28] and so if it is behind our text in 2 Enoch it would be seriously at variance with rabbinic tradition. Chap. 46:2 (only in recension J) seems to prohibit leading somebody astray through dishonest speech. This, also, is a violation of Hebrew biblical ethics, probably dependent also on Lev 19:14.

Chap. 62:1–2 seems again to refer to expiation offerings.[29] This passage prohibits the retracting of vows, even if done before "the time comes" (version J).[30] According to version A, once the time for an offering elapses, even if he then carries out his promise, he will not gain expiation. This passage seems to assume that there is some kind of time frame for the offering of expiation offerings (Hebrew *ḥattat*). No such idea is found in biblical or rabbinic literature.

This investigation of 2 Enoch and halakhah has turned out essentially to show that the phenomenon we generally call halakhah is completely absent in the book of 2 Enoch. We do not find there any attempt systematically to present legal rulings that derive from a combination of tradition and interpretation that seeks to make possible life according to the Torah's regulations. All references that appear to be to Jewish practices are in fact simply to biblical ideals and ethical requirements or to rituals as defined in biblical literature. We do not find evidence that this text emerges from a community of practicing Jews who would have been united with other Jews in the exegesis of biblical law and tradition.

Lest one claim that books like this one show evidence of the existence of a kind of proto-Karaite Judaism that would have depended only on biblical tradition, we need to remember that Karaism itself represents an attempt to create such a system of Jewish observance based on the impossibility (no matter what they claimed) of living a life of "biblical Judaism." It is this fact that produced the enormous library of exegetical and legal texts that stem from the early medieval Karaite community. But even early Christian texts, to the extent that they reflect the Jewish background of Christianity, whether in ancient Israel or the Hellenistic world, virtually always show evidence of the system of intricate exegesis and dialectic that always characterize Judaism, even in its non-rabbinic varieties.

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[28] Sifra Qedoshim parashah 2.

[29] See Andersen, *OTP* 1:188, note c for parallels.

[30] Fulfillment of vows also appears in both versions of 61:4–5.

No sensible scholar would attempt to judge the provenance of a text, let alone one so difficult as 2 Enoch, simply based on one aspect and on one scholarly paper. But nevertheless, it is our obligation to caution colleagues that no matter how much we find evidence that Second Temple "aggadic" traditions—even those with parallels in rabbinic literature—reached a community, we cannot necessarily see that community as Jewish, at least not in the usual sense of the term. This is especially so when many of those Second Temple and aggadic—even mystical—traditions are divorced from any form of Jewish practice. The success of Second Temple Judaism in conveying the basics of Jewish ethics and morality to what would become the widespread Christian community should not be used as a reason to attribute non-Jewish books to Jewish authorship.

We hope that this paper will serve to wave the necessary red flag of caution, while we ourselves see a need for continued study before confirming even our own results. But as Hillel said, "you are not obligated to complete the work" (m. Avot 2:16).

HALAKHA, CALENDARS, AND THE PROVENANCES OF 2 ENOCH

Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra

2 Enoch divulges less information about the attitudes of its author(s) towards halakha and to specific halakhic issues than texts such as Jubilees or the Damascus Document.[1] Yet, this dearth does not imply that the religious behavior of its author was ahalakhic. After all, what counts is *doing* it, not talking about it, and the opinions and approaches towards halakha of a given group or author are not necessarily expressed in each and every of its texts. Circumstantial hints to practices given *en passant* can be more important to establish the provenance of a text than detailed discussions. Other clearly Jewish books such as Genesis or large parts of the hekhalot literature have little to say about halakha. The factor genre should therefore be taken into consideration when we discuss halakha in 2 Enoch. Considering the relative dearth of halakha in 2 Enoch, even the smallest allusions to halakhic issues should be analyzed in order to determine the sociological place and context of the author(s)' group.

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[1] This paper evolved out of a response to the paper on "2 Enoch and Halakha" given by Lawrence Schiffman. Quotations are according to the manuscript submitted to the conference in June 2009. I would like to warmly thank my distinguished colleague and the other participants for a lively discussion. In addition, I would like to thank particularly Philip Alexander, Jonathan Ben-Dov, Christfried Böttrich, Lutz Doering, Basil Lourié, Liudmilla Navtanovich, and James VanderKam for discussing these and other issues before, during and/or after the conference and Jason Zurawski for providing me with literature unavailable in Aix-en-Provence.

The main thesis of Larry Schiffman's paper on halakha and 2Enoch is summarized in the following statements from the beginning and the end of his paper: "The book of 2 Enoch does not preserve a single element that can truly be identified as halakhic, since no passage demonstrates any details resulting from either tradition or exegesis besides those found in the Hebrew Bible. In fact, the absence of these distinguishing elements that unite all versions of Second Temple Judaism raises serious questions about the nature and provenance of this text." "Nowhere do we find evidence that this text emerges from a community of practicing Jews who would have been united with other Jews in the exegesis of biblical law and tradition." "We cannot necessarily see that community as Jewish, at least not in the usual sense of the term."

One of the most important halakhic issues seems to be calendars.[2] And clearly, calendars are one of the most important issues in 2 Enoch.[3] So I shall spend most of my attention on this issue.[4] While it is impossible to cover the complex calendaric systems behind 2 Enoch in extenso here,[5] it seems absolutely crucial for the discussion of the halakha and its implications for the provenance of the author and subsequent redactors of this book.[6]

I shall try to demonstrate that the use of different calendars in 2 Enoch coincides with different literary strata following—partially—the work of the liturgist Jan van Goudoever who in turn followed the great slavist André Vaillant.[7] In the closing session of the conference, many participants stated that their understanding of the provenance of 2 Enoch and its literary genesis was less clear to them than before. I had the opposite

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[2] For calendars of the Jewish world see S. Stern, *Calendar and Community A History of the Jewish Calendar, 2nd Century B.C.E.–10th Century C.E.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). Excellent surveys of recent developments in the study of the 364-day and other calendars attested in Qumran (but omitting 2 Enoch) is J. Ben Dov, "יום 364 השנה בת בקומראן ובספרות החיצונית" (The 364-day Year at Qumran and in the Pseudepigrapha) in *The Qumran Scrolls and Their World*, ed. M. Kister (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2009), 435–476 (Hebrew); and J. Ben Dov and S. Saulnier, "Qumran Calendars: A History of Research 1980–2007," *Currents in Biblical Research* 7 (2008): 124–168. I am most grateful to Jonathan Ben Dov for having kindly sent me a copy of his Hebrew article before its publication. J. VanderKam, "The 364–Day Calendar in the Enochic Literature," *SBL Seminar Papers* 22 (1983): 157–165, treats almost exclusively 1 Enoch (for a very brief remark to 2 Enoch see footnote 18 on page 161).

[3] Calendars were absent from Schiffman's paper in the version discussed in the seminar but he envisaged to add a section on this issue for the published version.

[4] I have used the editions, commentaries, and translations by F. I. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch (Late First Century A.D.)" in *The Old Testamnent Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. Charlesworth (New York: Doubleday, 1983), 1:5–90; C. Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, JSHRZ 5/7 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1995); A. Vaillant and M. Philonenko, "Livre des sécrets d'Hénoch," in *La Bible. Écrits intertestamentaires*, A. Dupont-Sommer and M. Philonenko (Paris: Gallimard, 1987), 1171–1223; and A. Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Henoch. Texte slave et traduction française* (Paris: Institut d'Études Slaves, 1952). References to chapters, verses, and manuscripts are given according to Andersen.

[5] For example, the number of days for each month according to the tradition in chap. 16 that should be treated separately from the other 364-day calendar traditions in 2 Enoch. Please consult also the paper by Basil Lourié on this highly complex question. I disagree with a number of calculations made by my learned colleague as he did not consider a diachronic perspective on the calendaric issues.

[6] On the redactions and versions, cf. now also the contribution by G. Macaskill in the present volume.

[7] J. van Goudoever, *Fêtes et calendriers bibliques*, Théologie historique 7 (Paris: Beauchesne et ses fils, ^{3}1967), 163–167; Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch*; also C. Böttrich accepts a 364-day calendar in the "Grundschicht" but he sees many "Inkonsequenzen und Brüche" in it and ascribes later calendrical interpolations to both Jewish and Christian authors, see C. Böttrich, "Astrologie in der Henochtradition," *ZAW* 109 (1997): 222–245 (235, n. 25).

experience as the results of my investigations correlate quite well with the discovery of a Coptic manuscript of the short text published by Joost Hagen and with the linguistic observations by Liudmila Navtanovich who has confirmed and added upon the thesis of André Vaillant.[8] In fact, Navtanovich's important findings and my remarks mutually reinforce each other. Let me therefore quickly resume the points of these two papers and related arguments central to my own argumentation.

The Coptic fragment of 2 Enoch 36–42 presented by Joost Hagen is the final nail in the coffin of the (marginal) theory that 2 Enoch was composed by a tenth century Byzantine monk.[9] But much more important is the fact that, according to Hagen, the Coptic follows the short (Slavonic) version. There is now a consensus that both the Coptic and the Slavonic were translated from Greek. If the short version existed already in Greek, we have to assume either that the (hypothetical) long and short Greek versions were translated each on its own into Slavonic or that the short version was indeed primary and was expanded *after* having been translated *once* into Slavonic. According to Christfried Böttrich's solution to the knotty problem of the number of recensions and translations in 2 Enoch, *one long* Greek text was translated *once* into Slavonic and then abbreviated (in Slavonic). If Hagen's results are true, and we have little to doubt it, Böttrich's suggestion has to be emended. It was not the long text but the short one.[10]

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[8] See her article in this volume. I am most grateful to Liudmila Navtanovich for having shared her updated paper with me before its publication. It should be noted also that her research is much more detailed than what can be expressed in the brief paper in this volume.

[9] See Hagen's contribution in this volume.

[10] The parallels between the long version of 2 Enoch, the Greek Disputation of a Greek and a Latin and its Slavonic version are of little help in the discussion of which version should be earlier. In one scenario the Greek *Disputatio* is the source, translated into Slavonic and then some of its traditions were interpolated into 2 Enoch (as argued by Vaillant and others before him). In the other scenario, the hypothetical long Greek version of 2 Enoch would be the source that influenced the Greek *Disputatio* that was then translated into Slavonic after (the long and short versions of) 2 Enoch had already been translated: C. Böttrich, *Weltweisheit Menschheitsethik Urkult. Studien zum slavischen Henochbuch*, WUNT 2/50 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 139–142. As others have pointed out before, most of the arguments for abbreviation or interpolation in this or that direction are a matter of taste and can go either way. However, Böttrich himself seems to hesitate when he notes (140, n. 387) that the adjectives qualifying the tree of life (golden and crimson) appear in both 2 Enoch 8:4 (long version) and the Slavonic version of the *Disputatio* but not in the Greek, a fact that needs longwinded explanations if we do not simply assume that the Slavonic *Disputatio* added these adjectives that were then interpolated with the rest of this passage into 2 Enoch.

In view of the relative homogeneity of the Slavonic text of the chapters extant in both long and short versions, the option of two translations seems less preferable. According to Navtanovich, the same rare words extant only once in Slavonic literature are attested in chapters common to both the short and long versions. Had the text been translated twice we would have expected that in these cases two different words had been chosen. Navtanovich also points out that at several points where the translation seems to be erroneous both versions share the same misunderstandings.

On a linguistic level, the language of the passages extant only in the long versions differs from the language of the chapters shared by both.[11] While the archaic grammatical features of the short version speak for a translation that took place in the 10th to 11th century, the language of the surplus chapters of the long versions express a later stage in the development of Slavonic, perhaps the 13th to 14th century. In addition, sometimes the long version changes archaic forms or words found only in the short version into more "modern" ones. Consequently, we should regard the shorter version witnessed in Coptic and Slavonic ms A as primary and the longer version as expansion.

Vaillant has been attacked for arguing in the same direction exclusively based on linguistic criteria. Yet, I shall show (following van Goudoever and, in fact, Vaillant himself)[12] that the surplus material of the long version uses a different calendar than the short version. In this case, linguistic criteria are joined by content, which is a more forceful combination that hopefully will convince more readers that the long version is secondary. To anticipate my results, I see the following three-step development of the calendrical traditions in the calendar closely connected to the evolvement of the different strata of this text, the long and short versions.

A) The basic text (close to what is the short version without the Melkizedek appendix) uses the 364-day calendar and was almost certainly of Second Temple Jewish provenance, belonging to a group close to one of the groups behind Jubilees, 1 Enoch, or one of the texts discovered in Qumran and therefore diverging from what became rabbinic Judaism.

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[11] See Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch*, xiii–xv for the older stratum and on xvii–xxi.

[12] Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch*, speaks of the calendar on xvi.

B) After the translation into Slavonic[13] (a stage represented by the short versions), the text was embellished with more Jewish traditions to form the long version: calendrical calculations of the same events as in the basic text were added according to the traditional Jewish luni-solar calendar. This was done probably by a Christian redactor.
C) Finally, clearly Christian scribes reworked the text in some further respects and produced the manuscripts of the long versions extent today. They may or may not have been the same persons as those responsible for the second stage. Stage B, however, represents mostly Jewish traditions.

1. *Calendars*

The first stratum, a Second Temple Jewish composition: All date references that are extant in *both* the long version (Andersen ms J) *and* the short version (ms A) use the idealistic[14] 364-day calendar.[15] The calendaric indication in 1:2 is distinct from those extant only in the long version since it *counts* months instead of naming them. In addition, most time periods concerning the plot are given as being 30 days long, which coincides with the length of a month in the 364-day calendar. This, however, is a less indicative factor as also in the luni-solar calendar some months have 30 days.

The calendaric scheme of this basic stratum begins in 2 Enoch 1:2 on "the assigned day of the first month."[16] Following this, Enoch stays two periods of 30 days in heaven to be instructed by the angel Vereveil and to write down books (23:3.6). He descends and stays another 30 days on earth until his definite ascent (36:1f). Then, a festival is celebrated for 3 days finishing with the vision and ordination of Methuselah (68:7, 69:1).

If one reads a manuscript of the short version, the chronological aspects of the plot make complete sense by using exclusively the 364-day

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[13] Before the translation, the Melkizedek appendix was added by Christians somewhere between the first and the tenth century, but as this stage does not depend on the calendaric issues I have decided not to create a fourth stage in this scheme. On Melkizedek, see below, under "purity."

[14] The frequently used term solar calendar is misleading and should be abandoned as an appellation for the 364-day calendar. The solar year is longer. Most circles that preferred the 364-day calendar seem to have preferred its mathematical connotations and seemingly ideal shape.

[15] On the explanations for some clearly secondary *lectiones faciliores* in 2 Enoch 1:2, see Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, 832f.

[16] See for example the paper by Böttrich in the present volume.

calendar. Most modern exegetes understand "the assigned day of the first month" as a reference to Passover on Nisan 15. Accordingly, the date of Enoch's descent 60 days (two months) is the fifteenth day of the third month (Sivan), which in a 364-day calendar, as promulgated by Jubilees, coincides with Shavuot, the most important festival of that composition. The ensuing 30 day period covering another stay and ascent of Enoch would end in the middle of the fourth month (Tammuz 14—as the third month has 31 days). This day marks the beginning of or is followed by a joyous three days festival in the fourth month coinciding therefore with Tammuz 14–16 or 15–17, depending on when one starts to count the three days.

A joyous connotation of Tammuz 15–17 would stand in contrast to other forms of Judaism, where Tammuz 17 seems to be related rather to the commemoration of sad events: According to *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* 19:6 from around 100 C.E., Moses died on the 17th of the fourth month. In rabbinic sources (and maybe rabbinic times), Tammuz 17 is a fast commemorating many atrocities, among others the breaching of the walls of Jerusalem and Moses' breaking of the first tablets of the law, and the fast marks the beginning of a mourning period (Mishna Taanit 4:6; *Bamidbar Rabba* 12:3). It is difficult to ascertain whether this day was already kept as a fast day in the Second Temple period. If the fast in the fourth month mentioned in Zechariah 8:19 (where *no* specific day is given) indeed refers to Tammuz 17, the Enochic three day festival would be a counter event.[17] *Vice versa*, if Tammuz 17 was not yet a fast in Second Temple times, the *rabbinic* fast might have been a counter event to an existing joyous festival that was then replaced.[18] If, however, the festival lasted from Tammuz 14 to Tammuz 16 there was no contradiction to the Rabbinic calendar.

As a final point it should be noted that the calendar presented in chap. 13, common to both short and long versions, is a 364-day calendar according to the total number of days in a year, even if the number of months and the number of days in a month differ. And the calendar in chap. 16 is a 364-day calendar in the short version, while chap. 16 has two calendars in the long version, a 365.25-day solar calendar and a 354-day lunar calendar.[19] These are again clear indications for a revision of the short by the long version.

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[17] Cf. Böttrich on this passage.

[18] Could this festival, related to revelation be the famous Alexandrian festival of unknown date commemorating the translation of the Septuagint?

[19] See the long note 16f in Andersen "2 Enoch" (130) and the equally long note 2a to chapter 16 in Böttrich, *Das Slavische Henochbuch*, 871–872. Note in particular also the mention of 4 special days in 16:6, almost certainly the four epagomenal days.

No extant book *composed* by an ancient Christian author mentions the 364-day calendar.[20] In addition, despite its being known to Christian readers or copyists of 1 Enoch and Jubilees, to my knowledge, it is never used in Christian texts in order to interpolate or rewrite an existing Jewish text. For this first stratum, therefore, a Jewish author influenced by the calendaric schemes behind the Astronomical Book of Enoch, Jubilees, and many other texts found (also) in Qumran seems by far most probable. The affinity to these groups does not need to have surpassed calendaric issues, though the aversion from oaths (see below) is shared also with the Essenes. Vaillant was clearly wrong to assume a Christian authorship of the basic stratum.

The second stratum, a Slavonic redaction: All date references that are extant only in the surplus material of the long version give the Jewish name of the month and the number of the day instead of counting months. Vice versa, it is noteworthy that material common to both versions never uses the regular Jewish 354-day luni-solar calendar in order to indicate a date.

Of course, the month names are given in Slavonic guise which sometimes results in deformations and text critical issues: Manuscript J attests "Nitsan" (68:1, 73:8), "Iuar" (73:6), "Tsivan" (48:2, 68:1.3), "Theveda" (48:2)—clearly Nisan, Iyar, Sivan and Tevet. Manuscript R reads also Pamouvous (48:2 and 68:1.3)—almost certainly Tammuz. According to the TLG, some of the Hebrew month names appear very rarely in ancient Greek literature if at all despite the fact that they were obviously known to all those using Syriac. For example, Tammuz is attested as a month name (not as a god) in Greek sources for the first time in Joannes Laurentius Lydus from the sixth century (θαμους) followed by the *Chronicon Paschale* and John of Damascus (both θαμουζ).[21] This is another argument for regarding the Jewish month as a late addition.

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[20] A. Strobel, *Ursprung und Geschichte des frühchristlichen Osterkalenders*, Texte und Untersuchungen 121 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1977) reconstructs the use of a 364-day calendar by the Montanists but his calculations are far from convincing. Basil Lourié most kindly drew my attention to Iceland before their calendar reform in 955 C.E., but the evidence linking their idealistic 364-day calendar to Second Temple Judaism is speculative and there is no link between 2 Enoch and Iceland. For the Icelandic calendar reform, see e.g. Th. Vilhjálmsson, "Time Reckoning in Iceland before literacy," in *Archaeoastronomy in the 1990s*, ed. C. L. N. Ruggles (Loughborough, UK: Group D Publications, 1993), 69–76, online at http://www.raunvis.hi.is/~thv/time.html (accessed on 9.3.2010).

[21] The editions used by the TLG are R. Wünsch, *Ioannis Lydi liber de mensibus* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1898), here 3:22; L. Dindorf, *Chronicon paschale*, Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae 1 (Bonn: Weber, 1832), here 244; John of Damascus, *De mensibus Macedonicis* PG 95:237A. The appearance in Ez 8:14 quoted several times in Patristic literature is again

Among the absolute dates given according to this calendar, let me discuss the most important two. Firstly, the date for the birth and end of Enoch is given as Tsivan 6 in mss J and P (68:1.3).[22] Sivan 6 coincides with the date of Shavuot (again!), yet, this time according to the luni-solar calendar. To me it is unlikely to be accidental that Shavuot is alluded to twice according to two *different* calendars (luni-solar 354-day calendar and mathematical 364-day calendar) for two *closely related* events (first and second ascent of Enoch).

Secondly, in 2 Enoch 48:2 the dates of the summer and winter solstice are given as Tsivan 17 and Theveda/Thevana 17 in mss J and P while ms R reads Pamovous 17 and Thivitha 17.[23] Böttrich is right to prefer the reading of manuscript R in 48:2. The solstices in the Jewish calendar fall in Tammuz and Tevet (תקופת תמוז ותקופת טבת) and not Sivan and Tevet.[24] The inferior reading of Tsivan in J and P can be explained as being influenced by the appearance of this month name in chapter 68.[25] This can have happened only in the second stage as the first stage uses numbers and not month names to indicate months. Consequently, we end up with a second case of an event dated to the same date according to the 364-day calendar on the one hand and the 354-day luni-solar calendar on the other.[26]

Since the luni-solar calendar is attested exclusively in the long version it is almost inevitable to suspect the work of a redactor. The most

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clearly the God and not the month. The mid-fifth-century Latin *laterculus* by Polemius Silvius contains all Hebrew month names compared to Julian months and other calendars, cf. T. Mommsen, *Inscriptiones Latinae Antiquissimae* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1893), vol. 1/I pp. 254–279. For late antique and medieval Christian knowledge of Jewish month names and calendar calculations, cf. C. P. Nothaft, "Between Crucifixion and Calendar Reform: Medieval Christian Perceptions of the Jewish Lunisolar Calendar" in *Living the Lunar Calendar*, ed. J. Ben-Dov, W. Horowitz, J. Steele (forthcoming 2012 at Oxbow books); and M. Godoretsky, "Lunar Tables in Medieval Russia" in *Living the Lunar Calendar*. The latter demonstrates the interest in Jewish and Christian calendar calculations in the region where the last redactional stratum of 2 Enoch was added. I would like to express my gratitude to both authors for sending me preprint proofs of their articles and to Jonathan Ben-Dov to have drawn my attention to them.

[22] Instead of "Tsivan," manuscript R reads "Pamovousa" (68:1.3) probably meaning Tammuz, see Böttrich *Das slavische Henochbuch*, note c to 2 Enoch 48:2 on 967. Manuscript R is influenced here by its version in chapter 48.

[23] Obviously, the idea to give a fixed date to a solar event in a luni-solar calendar is quite strange. I would mention that to the twice 182 days in 2 Enoch 48:1 (long version) we have to add the short and the long day. So the calendar implicated here is not a 364-day calendar but a 366-day calendar.

[24] E.g. bEruv 56a, bHag 14b.

[25] Vice versa, the copyist of R made the mistake to use Pamovous from 48:2 also in chapter 68.

[26] See also Böttrich's paper in the present volume.

probable explanation is the assumption of a redactor correcting the first 364-day stratum of the text by adding references to the more standard Jewish luni-solar calendar. Andersen points out that a Slavonic transcription of a supposedly Greek Sivan with a sigma would not have been transcribed with Slavonic "Ts."[27] According to him "here we are close to Heb. sources."[28] As we have few texts translated directly from Hebrew to Slavonic[29] I would rather suggest we think of an oral tradition here, e.g. a Christian scholar versed in Church Slavonic listening to or collaborating with a Jewish scholar using Hebrew nomenclature, or a Jewish convert to Christianity. This redactor recontextualized the dates of the rather outlandish 364-day calendar to the standard rabbinic tradition, but in doing this he kept the content of the message conveyed by that date, namely that Shavuot is a highly important festival commemorating events linked to Enoch's esoteric revelation.

The third stratum: further Christian interpolations: At some point, maybe the same person that was responsible for the second stratum, someone more interested in practical than ideal time, interpolated several passages in the direction of the 365.25-day calendar (chapter 14 J) and added the metonic cycle of 19 years, the epact days and the 28-year cycle. Undoubtedly, a Christian hand finally reworked the calendar as the remarks to great cycle of 532 years (28*19) after which all movable ecclesiastical festivals come on the same day of the month and the same day of the week (16:5 J) indicate.[30]

In sum, in view of these observations on calendrical issues, I am quite confident in the Jewish origin of the nucleus of this text in a group related to one of the groups that used the 364-day calendar, the people behind Jubilees, (some) Qumranites, and perhaps 1 Enoch and *ALD*. It is most intriguing to see that the text was reworked into its long version by someone familiar with Jewish sources that are otherwise not attested in Greek before the sixth century. It seems not unreasonable to assume that this was the same redactor that entered the material known from the hekhalot literature.[31]

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[27] Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," note d to 48:2 on page 175.

[28] Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," note d to 48:2 on page 175.

[29] See those mentioned by Vaillant in the introduction to his edition.

[30] Most scholars would agree on classifying these traditions as late Byzantine additions, see e.g. Böttrich *Weltweisheit*, 125–130; cf. also G. Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom and Inaugurated Eschatology in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, JSJSup 115 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 196–228.

[31] I would therefore turn on its head the judgment of Christfried Böttrich that 2 Enoch was known by the Jewish mystics that composed the hekhalot literature up to the sixth

2. *Prayer*

Both long and short versions of 2 Enoch 51:4 mention thrice daily prayer (though in slightly different wording).[32] According to Lawrence Schiffman "2 Enoch seems to know the general Jewish custom of thrice daily prayer, but has incorrectly and anachronistically retrojected it onto temple practice." I agree with Schiffman that we have to distinguish thrice daily prayer service from twice daily sacrificial service in the temple. However, thrice daily prayer is attested in several sources from the Second Temple period and the first century C.E. (Daniel 6:10; Acts 2:1, 15; 3:1; 10:3, 9, 30; Didache 8; and Ps 55:17–18). In view of these texts, it is quite possible that *some* Jews did indeed pray thrice daily. The evidence of the first-century Christian Jewish texts Didache 8 and Acts shows, in my opinion, that there were other Jews praying thrice. I do not know whether the Christian Jews were the only ones to do that but Daniel and Ps 55 seem to suggest that the idea to pray thrice daily was not completely un-Jewish or post-Second Temple. A Second Temple Jew from outside Jerusalem in a village or city where some Jews prayed thrice daily could easily have made such a kind of transposition. I would therefore adopt Schiffman's phrase but change "retroject" into "projected onto," an expression more flexible with regard to the chronological relationship between the two ideas.

3. *Sacrifice*

According to traditions extant in both short and long versions (2 Enoch 59:3, 69:12, and cf. 70:20) the *four* legs of a sacrificial animal have to be bound together.[33] As the great Shlomo Pines pointed out many years ago,[34] this directly contradicts a rabbinic halakha mentioned in Mishna Tamid and discussed in the Babylonian Talmud: "One taught: The fore leg and the hind leg [tied together] like the binding of Isaac the son of Abraham. Mishna: 'They did not tie up the lamb.' Gemara: What was the reason?—R. Huna and R. Hisda gave different answers. One said it was to avoid

century: C. Böttrich, *Weltweisheit*. Traditions from Jewish mystical texts, popular among their Christian counterparts, were interpolated into 2 Enoch, probably by the late medieval Slavonic redactors of the 13th–14th centuries.

[32] Ms B^2 given in a footnote by Böttrich mentions only *two* daily prayers, early and late.

[33] Böttrich observes that for 59:13 only ms B gives this text.

[34] S. Pines, "Eschatology and the Concept of Time in the Slavonic Book of Enoch," in *Types of Redemption*, ed. R. J. Z. Werblowsky and C. J. Bleeker, Numen Supp. 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 72–87 (74–75).

showing disrespect to holy things, while the other said it was to avoid walking in the statutes of the other peoples. What practical difference is there between them?—In the case where it was tied with silk or with gold thread [there would be no disrespect to holy things]."[35] I see two possible ways to explain the apparent contradiction between 2 Enoch and the Mishna. One possibility is that we have here the text of a Second Temple Jewish author who had a different halakhic opinion that may or may not have been in use in the Jerusalem temple at some time. The author makes it very explicit that this is the only way animals should be sacrificed and all other ways do evil (59:4–5). The second option is that we have the text of a Jewish or Christian author of any period who did not know what was going on in the temple but was influenced by local Egyptian traditions. In fact, one of the reasons given by the Babylonian Talmud for not binding the animals is the resemblance to non-Jewish sacrificial cults.

4. *Oaths*

Oaths are mentioned exclusively in the long version J (chap. 49:1–2). In Andersen's translation the text reads as follows: "For I am swearing to you, my children—But look! I am not swearing by any oath at all, neither by heaven nor by earth nor by any other creature which the LORD created. For the LORD said, 'There is no oath in me, nor any unrighteousness, but only truth.' So, if there is no truth in human beings, then let them make an oath by means of the words 'Yes, Yes!' or, if it should be the other way around, 'No, No!' And I make an oath to you—'Yes, Yes!'—that even before . . ." Lawrence Schiffman regards this passage as a complete prohibition of oaths formulated under the influence of Matt 5:37 and James 5:12 on 2 Enoch, so as a Christian addition. In my opinion, 2 Enoch does not *prohibit* oaths but equates "yes, yes" and "no, no" with swearing an oath. Christfried Böttrich has likewise noticed this in his commentary on 2 Enoch. In fact, the idea behind 2 Enoch 49:1–2 is not unlike a dictum by Raba found the Babylonian Talmud: "R. Eleazar said: 'No' is an oath; 'Yes' is an oath. Granted, . . . Said Raba: But only if he said, 'No! No!' twice; or he said, 'Yes! Yes!' twice . . ."[36] Accordingly, this text could have been written by a Jew or a Christian. I do not think we have sufficient argumentative proof to clearly ascribe this passage to a Christian author on halakhic

[35] mTam 4:1/bTam 31b.
[36] bShevuot 36a.

grounds alone. Linguistic reasons make it quite probable that this passage was authored by a Christian redactor.

5. *Purity*

One issue that unequivocally contradicts Jewish purity halakha appears in the final chapters of both versions in the Melchizedek episode. In fact, the author of these chapters does not seem to have any regard for death impurity.[37] First, Methuselah dies at the altar (70:13–16, especially in the long version). And following his funeral, the same people have to bring sacrificial animals to the priests that are then sacrificed on the very same day (70:19). It is not clear to what extent the priests also participate in the funeral, but clearly the death impurity would have been conveyed to the animals.

Then, Sothonim/Sopamina, Nir's wife, dies while still pregnant with Melchizedek (71:9, both versions). While high priests are allowed to be impure for first degree relatives, a high priest born from a corpse is not the kind of pedigree a priestly author would invent for his priestly hero. In addition, the first thing Nir does is run to his brother Noe to bring him into the same room as Sothonim's corpse. Both then wrap her in garments to prepare her for the funeral and dig a grave (71:16, 22–23). While Nir is allowed to be impure for his wife, his brother Noe would not have been allowed to be impure for his sister-in-law according to biblical law. Moreover, Melchizedek wears the badge of (high) priesthood, the ephod, on his chest when he is sitting next to his dead mother (71:19). And the first thing Noe and Nir do with the child that should be impure for seven days is to wash him and dress him in the garments of priesthood and to give him the holy bread (71:21). These motifs are not easily reconcilable with the idea of a Jewish author familiar with even only biblical law. In addition, I would like to emphasize that death impurity is a very foundational concept in Jewish religious behavior. Unlike more complex halakhot, the basic rules of life-cycle rites were probably known to most people participating in the religious life of a community, even the uneducated or less erudite ones or the less halakhically interested erudites. As the death-motifs are inherently

[37] This problem jumped to my mind during the fascinating discussions in the Enoch seminar. Interestingly, it is not discussed at all by either Andersen, Böttrich, or Vaillant/Philonenko. Lawrence Schiffman could not note it in the preparations for the seminar as he used Charles' edition of 2 Enoch that does not include this appendix but promised to do so for the published version of his article.

part of the appendix and appear in both long and short versions without any allusion to the chance of transmitting impurity, it seems quite probable that the appendix as a whole was created by a Christian or by a Jewish author who disregarded death impurity completely.

Conclusions and Implications

Our observations with regard to halakhic issues, especially calendaric ones, line up neatly with the linguistic analysis of Navtanovich. The arguments based on linguistics and on halakha and calendars mutually reconfirm each other. There are enough halakhic reminiscences to firmly place the first stratum of 2 Enoch, which coincides approximately with the short version minus the Melkizedek appendix, in Second Temple Judaism. Where there are discrepancies in the earliest stratum to rabbinic halakha (joyous Tammuz 17; three prayer times in the temple; binding of sacrificial animals at its four legs) they may be rooted in a different halakhic opinion on these issues. The 364-day calendar points to a Jewish group in allegiance with one of the circles from which emerged 1 Enoch, Jubilees, and the texts with a 364-day calendar found in Qumran. To avoid future misunderstanding I would like to say clearly that I do *not* see the Qumranites or the Essenes themselves as authors of 2 Enoch. The 364-day calendar was used by many Jewish groups, one of which was the Qumranites and another that group to which the author of 2 Enoch belonged.

At some point before the translation into Slavonic the Melkizedek appendix was added by a person unfamiliar with or opposed to basic concepts of Jewish purity halakha but acquainted with Jewish traditions. It is from this point onwards in the history of redactions of 2 Enoch, where we should indeed wave the red flag of caution mentioned by Lawrence Schiffman with regard to the provenance of the text and the subsequent strata include numerous traditions frequently used as "Jewish."

After its translation into Slavonic in the 10th or 11th century, more Jewish halakhic and aggadic material (luni-solar calendar, oath, probably hekhalot) was added and represents an intermediate stratum. These additions of considerable scale may have been inserted by a Christian scholar familiar with some Jewish traditions, perhaps orally (Sivan→Tsivan). Certain confusions in the calendaric issues may be due to later Christian copyists not familiar with these Jewish traditions. Finally, as most scholars that have worked on this issue would agree, some items such as complex calendaric cycles are definitely from the Byzantine period at the earliest

and are clearly Christian. They may have been added by the same person that added the Jewish month names or by someone else. As Böttrich has observed, the added material is so diverse that many Christian hands may have been involved in the attempt to improve this fascinating Second Temple Jewish composition.

This paper only evaluates a tiny portion of the traditions of 2 Enoch that are connected to the topics of halakha and especially calendars. As Grant Macaskill has underlined like Andersen and others before,[38] we should not deduce that the text of the short version is *always* better than the long version. But all such claims should bear the burden of proof.

[38] See Macaskill's contribution to the present volume.

PART TWO

ADAM, ENOCH, AND MELCHIZEDEK: MEDIATORIAL FIGURES IN SECOND TEMPLE JUDAISM

ADAMIC TRADITIONS

ADAM AS A MEDIATORIAL FIGURE IN SECOND TEMPLE JEWISH LITERATURE

John R. Levison

Introduction

The title of this seminar, *Enoch, Adam, Melchizedek: Mediatorial Figures in 2 Enoch and Second Temple Judaism*, sets Adam in some very good company, though I am not altogether certain he belongs there. It is true enough that his origins, like Melchizedek's, are shrouded in mystery. And like Enoch, he came to be associated with several bits of ancient literature. Yet, from the perspective of Second Temple Jewish literature, there are some distinctive dimensions of this alleged mediatorial figure that distinguish him and, in the end, should give us pause about whether Adam ought to be invited into the elite coterie of luminaries that includes the likes of Enoch and Melchizedek.

First, in what sense is Adam *mediatorial*? In the literature of Second Temple Judaism (limited here to Sirach, representative Dead Sea Scrolls, Jubilees, Wisdom of Solomon, Philo Judaeus, *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, 1 Enoch, Josephus' *Antiquities*, 4 Ezra, and 2 Baruch), he only once mediates knowledge that is otherwise unknowable, apart from the aside in the *Antiquities* in which Josephus says that Adam had predicted—at what point in time Josephus does not say—a destruction of the universe by fire and flood (*Ant.* 1.70). He does not have any visions or any sort of transport to see divine realities that are otherwise unfamiliar. He does not even gather his children to his deathbed to impart final wisdom that would be otherwise unspoken. In short, Adam is not a revelator. As this paper will demonstrate, Adam mediates loss. He *loses* things, such as life, sinlessness, Eden (and most certainly his keys, had he owned a car)—which means that he may be an *un*mediator or an *anti*-mediator, but he should probably not be considered a mediator on a level with Enoch and Melchizedek.

Second, in what sense is Adam a *figure*? Certainly most Second Temple Jewish authors understand Adam to be an individual, a protoplast, the first human, the unfortunate husband of Eve. Yet unlike Enoch and Melchizedek, Adam is also *adam*—a human being, mortal. As the very

common Hebrew word suggests, he is both an individual figure and humankind itself. Several Second Temple Jewish authors play upon this; for authors in the wisdom tradition, *adam* is mortal by design, by nature. And this leads us back to the first question. To be *adam* is to be mortal. This is not something Adam mediates; it is simply the way things are, according to authors in the wisdom tradition. This is a very important point: for several Second Temple Jewish authors, Genesis 1–3 teaches that human beings—*adam*—are mortal. Mortality is not mediated. Mortality is not an outcome of sin. Mortality is not a consequence of the curse. Mortality—the fundamental quality of being *adam*—simply is; it need not be mediated by a mediator figure.

Third, in what sense is Adam a mediatorial figure in *Second Temple Judaism*? Many of the authors who write prior to the fall of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. understand *adam* as humankind, even if they occasionally identify *adam* with the figure of Adam. Ben Sira and Wisdom of Solomon, in brief, adopt elements from Genesis 1–3 as descriptors of humankind more frequently and more incisively than they understand those elements as descriptions of Adam. Those other authors who shrewdly exploit the ability of Adam, an individual figure, to mediate death, and perhaps sin with it, tend to write *after* the temple was destroyed by the Romans. This may be a small point, but it is more than a point of nomenclature or categorization. It is essential to recognize that Adam becomes a salient (un)mediatorial figure in the writings of 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch, in the post-Second Temple Period, in the wake of the devastation that erupted with the destruction of the temple.

To say what I have said is not to suggest that this paper is an exercise in futility. On the contrary, these initial observations guarantee that we will discover something fresh here, something that distinguishes Adam and *adam* from Enoch and Melchizedek, that helps us to garner further insight into the literature of Second Temple Judaism. Therefore, we will proceed by exploring three pivotal dimensions of Second Temple Jewish thought about Adam that rise from the dust and earth of Genesis 1–3:

- The mediation of the loss of Eden-as-temple;
- The mediation of mortality;
- The mediation of sin, death, and dire distress.

For each of these, in light of what I have just contended, I might have added the word, alleged, prior to the word, mediation. Yet I have made that point already; there is no need to belabor it. I might also have included

a variety of other losses that Adam's disobedience was believed to have precipitated, though I have settled on these three and simply noted the others. It is time, therefore, to put caveats aside and to enter into the textured complexities of Second Temple Judaism.

Mediating the Loss of Eden

Adam was a loser. In the writings of Second Temple Judaism, the unequivocal assumption is that he lost much more than he mediated. Perhaps he gained wisdom (1 En 32:6 and perhaps Josephus, *Ant.* 1.44). There is no "perhaps," however, concerning the consequences of Adam's disobedience. Philo attributes to the first pair losses as wide-ranging as the exchange of immortality for mortality (*Virt.* 199–205), a certain estrangement toward the world that accompanied nakedness (*QG* 1.40), and the forfeiture of simplicity and innocence, which may mean naiveté or perfect virtue (*Opif.* 153, 170; *LA* 2:64).[1] Josephus blends the curses of Genesis 3 into the fabric of his *Antiquities*. The salutary lesson this epic was to communicate, according to Josephus, is this: God had designed for all people to live the good life rather than falling into misfortune (*Ant.* 1.14). The first pair comes to exemplify the tragedy of this formula through their disobedience; they forfeit the good life, the sort of easy and untroubled life which those who had inhabited the Golden Age, according to Greek mythology, had lived (*Ant.* 1.46–47).[2] Adam did not so much introduce death to the human race as he did toil and trouble. In *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, a mishmash of consequences follows from the primeval transgression: a loss of dominion over all things, a loss of the ways of paradise (13:8–9), a loss of "everything" that would have been shown to him but was instead refused when Adam sinned—things that, if shown to the human race, would have given them mastery over such things (26:6)—and a loss of the spark and spring, both of which were stopped, it seems, when Adam sinned (28:9).[3] Adam, then, proved to be the mediator of all sorts of loss.[4]

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[1] See the discussion in D. T. Runia, *Philo of Alexandria, On the Creation of the Cosmos according to Moses: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 370.

[2] See J. R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism: From Sirach to 2 Baruch*, JSPSup 1 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1988), 107.

[3] In the *Similitudes of Enoch*, Adam brought death to all (1 En 69:9–11).

[4] In this study, translations of the Bible, including the Apocrypha (Sirach and Wisdom of Solomon), unless otherwise specified, are from the New Revised Standard Version. Translations of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the Hebrew underlying them, are from F. García

Israel's story-telling begins in Eden—and shortly thereafter with the loss of Eden—so it is appropriate perhaps to pause at length to consider this particular loss. In Genesis, the primeval pair is expelled, destined to live in relative squalor east of Eden, barred, at least, from the tree of life. From what *exactly* Adam and Eve were expelled was left to subsequent interpreters to imagine, and such imaginings range widely. In the hands of an interpreter such as Josephus, Eden is a terrestrial garden, not unlike the various paradises or gardens that are located in specific geographical settings (*Ant.* 1.37–39, 51). In the hands of an interpreter such as Philo Judaeus, the garden is a symbol of the ruling part of the soul, with the highest virtue, reverence for God, symbolized by the tree of life (*Opif.* 153–54).

Most interpretations of Eden in the literature of Second Temple Judaism fall somewhere between those of Philo and Josephus. The richest repository of these interpretations of the belief that Adam lost Eden lie in the Scrolls, not however at those places where Adam's loss is stated overtly, but at those places where the people of the Scrolls claim that they live in Eden. In brief, Adam's loss must be inferred from descriptions of what this community has regained.

One of the hymns imagines the transformation of individual believers by the spirit as transport to life in Eden: "You embellish him with your splendour, you install [him over an abun]dance of pleasures, with everlasting peace and length of days. For [you are the truth, and] your word does not depart. . . . And I, your servant, have known thanks to the spirit you have placed in me [. . .] and all your deeds are just . . ." (1QH 5.23–25). This is a description of Edenic restoration, of long days rather than premature death,[5] of splendor rather than ashes and dust (Gen 3:17–19). The devotees at Qumran possess the original life-span of Adam, and they rule over the pleasures of Eden rather than over the thorns and thistles to their west.[6]

Martinez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition*. 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill and Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997, 1998). For ease of access, translations of pseudepigraphical texts are from J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. 2 vols. (Garden City: Doubleday, 1983, 1985). Translations of the works of Philo are from the Loeb Classical Library, with the exception of Philo's *On the Creation*, translations of which are from D. T. Runia, *On the Creation*.

[5] See also 1 En 25:6.

[6] They are "those who have returned from the wilderness, who will live for a thousand generations, in salva[tio]n; for them there is all the inheritance of *adam*, and for their descendants for ever" (4Q171 III 1–2). Their little desert community is nothing less than Eden restored. See also 1QS 4.23; CD 3.20. For a full treatment, see C. Fletcher-Louis, *All*

These images of purification and inclusion suit the corporate consciousness of the Qumran community. Notwithstanding the self-imposed desolation of a locale alongside the Dead Sea, the devotees who relocated to Qumran envisaged themselves as the inhabitants of Eden. Never mind that the mineral-rich lake offered no fish, that the soft limestone desert surrounding them held no water, that their sole refuge from their enemies lay in caves that dotted the recesses of nearby cliffs. Despite an inescapable disparity between topographical reality and communal ideology, the devotees at Qumran managed to claim that they, and they alone, inhabited Eden. These are the holy ones whose root "will sprout like a flo[wer of the field f]or ever, to make a shoot grow in branches of the everlasting plantation so that it covers all the wo[rld] with its shade, [and] its [crown] (reaches) up to the skie[s, and] its roots down to the abyss. All the streams of Eden [will water] its [bra]n[ch]es and they will be [seas without] limits; and its forest will be over the whole world, endless, and as deep as to Sheol [its root.]" (1QH 14.15–17). The author of one of the hymns unreservedly thanks God, "Because you have set me at the source of streams in a dry land, at the spring of water in a parched land, in a garden watered by channels [...] ... a plantation of cypresses and elms, together with cedars, for your glory. Trees of life in the secret source, hidden among all the trees at the water, which shall make a shoot grow in the everlasting plantation ... But the plantation of fruit [...] eternal, for the glorious garden [literally, *Eden of glory*] and will bear [fruit always]" (1QH 16.4–6, 20).[7] Though in reality they live in an area of unimaginable

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the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls, STDJ 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 108.

[7] This hymn appears to have been inspired by Ezekiel 31, an indictment of Egypt, which Ezekiel compares with another great empire, probably Assyria. Egypt is depicted as a magnificent, mythical tree set at the source of a world river, home to birds of the air, and surrounded by other trees, including trees of life. God revels in this tree: "I made it beautiful with its mass of branches, the envy of all the trees of Eden that were in the garden of God" (Ezek 31:9). The tree, this empire, is too proud, and God consigns it, and the other trees with it, to Sheol, though "all the trees of Eden, the choice and best of Lebanon, all that were well watered, were consoled in the world below" (31:16). Ezekiel concludes with a question aimed at Pharaoh of Egypt, "Which among the trees of Eden was like you in glory and in greatness? Now you shall be brought down with the trees of Eden to the world below" (31:18). What Pharaoh failed to embrace now belongs to the Qumran hymn writer and his community. For an excellent analysis of this and other texts that interpret Eden, see T. Stordalen, *Echoes of Eden: Genesis 2–3 and Symbolism of the Eden Garden in Biblical Hebrew Literature*, Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 25 (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 431–33; Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 107.

desolation, he and his people are, to their own minds at least, trees of life set at the very source of water in a glorious Eden.

While the devotees by the Dead Sea regard themselves as the inhabitants of Eden, there is no talk of actually tilling the garden, as there is in Ezekiel's vision of Israel, in which Israel will till the land until it becomes like the garden of Eden (Ezek 36:34–35). Eden at Qumran is not a reality to be effected by the sweat of the brow, by planting and harvesting; Eden is rather a reality that God grants, an ideology that this small band embraces. If Eden lies at Qumran, it is a spiritual Eden, in which the spirit does not so much impart life itself as it does knowledge.[8]

There remains one further observation to make before passing on to other literary texts from Second Temple Judaism. The Community Rule expresses the conviction that these isolated Palestinian Jews of the Roman era considered themselves to be both the inhabitants of Eden, a grand planting, and a living temple whose spiritual worship and holy life supplant the Jerusalem temple. The community is to "make atonement for all who freely volunteer for holiness in Aaron and for the house of truth in Israel." They are, then, a living temple, the "house of Israel," which exercises the priestly vocation of "atonement" (1QS 5.5–6). The community council, the circle of longstanding members and communal leaders, is characterized as "an everlasting plantation, a holy house for Israel and the foundation of the holy of holies for Aaron, true witnesses for the judgment and chosen by the will (of God) to atone for the land . . ." (1QS 8.5–6). Here we discover a vein of Jewish thought that leads us back to a trove in which the plantation of Eden is tied at the hip to the temple.

Despite a measure of diversity, in fact, there remains a core conviction, rooted in Genesis and spun out in the oracles of Ezekiel, that Eden was also Jerusalem—or even the temple. Consequently, interpreters of Torah's first story believed that Adam lost access to a templesque Eden or an edenic temple.

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[8] This community is a "precious cornerstone," "the most holy dwelling of Aaron . . . a house of perfection and truth in Israel" (1QS 8.7, 9). On the likelihood that this passage characterizes the council at one and the same time as both paradise and temple, as both a planting and a building, see B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament*, SNTSMS 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1965), 27–30. See also 1QS 9.3–6. On a similar combination of conceptions in *4QFlorilegium*, see Gärtner, *Temple*, 30–42.

The original tale that is located in Eden, in the book of Genesis, is imbued with the hues of the temple. Standard features of the temple, the cherubim that guard the temple sanctuary, appear as well in the story of Adam and Eve as guardians of the sanctuary of paradise. Eden is portrayed in Genesis 2:10–14 as a mountain from which flow downward the great rivers of the earth, including the Gihon, where, in the environs of Jerusalem, the coronation of Solomon took place (1 Kings 1). This contiguity of Eden and temple rises to the surface of several psalms, where the temple mount is described as a cosmic center, with the characteristics of paradise (e.g., Pss 46:4–5; 48:3). Psalm 36 extols the Israelites, who feast from the abundance of God's "house" and who "drink from the river of your delights." God's "house," of course, is the temple, "delights" is the plural, "edens," and the description of God as the "fountain of life" evokes the image of the Gihon spring, which flows, in mythological terms, through Jerusalem from Eden. The renewed temple, in brief, has the architecture of Eden, while Eden shares its topography with the temple mount.[9]

There are in addition those similes that compare the restoration of Jerusalem to an edenic existence. The exilic author who writes in the Isaianic strain claims that God "will comfort Zion; he will comfort all her waste places, and will make her wilderness like Eden, her desert like the garden of the LORD . . ." (Isa 51:3). Ezekiel's oracles, such as his indictment of the king of Tyre, offer some of the most transparent identifications of Eden and temple.[10] Many of the stones worn by the king of Tyre match the priestly breastplate (Exod 28:15–20): "You were in Eden, the garden of God; every precious stone was your covering, carnelian, chrysolite, and moonstone, beryl, onyx, and jasper, sapphire, turquoise, and emerald; and worked in gold were your settings and your engravings. On the day that you were created they were prepared. With an anointed cherub as guardian I placed you; you were on the holy mountain of God; you walked among the stones of fire" (Ezek 28:13–14).[11] Ezekiel even envisions

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[9] See J. D. Levenson, *Sinai and Zion: an entry into the Jewish Bible* (Minneapolis: Winston, 1985), 131–33; Stordalen, *Echoes of Eden*, 307–310, for a superb analysis and *Forschungsbericht*.

[10] Ezekiel also makes rich play of the story of Adam and Eve in his mock lamentation for the king of Tyre, whom Ezekiel describes as if he were Adam in the garden of Eden prior to a plummet into arrogance and violence: "You were in Eden, the garden of God; every precious stone was your covering . . . You were blameless in your ways from the day that you were created . . . I cast you as a profane thing from the mountain of God, and the guardian cherub drove you out . . ." (Ezek 28:13–16).

[11] See Levenson, *Sinai and Zion*, 128–29; for a characteristically insightful analysis, see Stordalen, *Echoes of Eden*, 332–56.

a time when the nations will say, "This land that was desolate has become like the garden of Eden; and the waste and desolate and ruined towns are now inhabited and fortified" (36:35).[12] Finally, in Ezekiel's vision of the restored temple, what appears to be the River Gihon begins in the temple sanctuary, circles the altar, and passes through the outer courtyard (Ezek 47:1–12).[13]

This mutual attraction of temple and Eden persisted over the centuries. In Jubilees, the expulsion is tersely summarized: "And he [God] made for them garments of skin and he dressed them and sent them from the garden of Eden." The action Adam performs is especially instructive: "On that day when Adam went out from the garden of Eden, he offered a sweet-smelling sacrifice—frankincense, galbanum, stacte, and spices—in the morning with the rising of the sun from the day he covered his shame" (Jub 3:26–27). Adam is able to play the part of a priest here because temple and Eden are one. Later, the narrator explains that Noah knew "that the garden of Eden was the holy of holies and the dwelling of the LORD" (8:19).[14] This is why, of course, in Jub 3:8–14 and 4Q265 7 II 11–17, Adam and Eve are brought into Eden forty and eighty days after their creation; these are the days required after birth before the presentation of children in the temple (Lev 12:1–5).

This association, tempered by harsh reality and consequently transformed into something more splendid, may arise subtly in 2 Bar 4:1–7. The Lord tells Baruch not to fret because the Jerusalem that will be "delivered up for a time" is not the city of which God said, "on the palms of my hands I have carved you" (Isa 49:16). "It is not this building that is in your midst now; it is that which will be revealed, with me, that was already prepared from the moment that I decided to create Paradise. And I showed it to Adam before he sinned. But when he transgressed the commandment, it was taken away from him—as also Paradise. . . . Behold, now it is preserved

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[12] See Stordalen, *Echoes of Eden*, 321–31. The prophet Joel envisages the opposite shift from Eden to wasteland: "Fire devours in front of them, and behind them a flame burns. Before them the land is like the garden of Eden, but after them a desolate wilderness, and nothing escapes them" (2:3).

[13] See Stordalen, *Echoes of Eden*, 357–72, on the River Gihon.

[14] In a description of the temple altar, the Letter of Aristeas 89 describes "an uninterrupted supply not only of water, just as if there were a plentiful spring rising naturally from within, but also of indescribably wonderful underground reservoirs, which within a radius of five stades from the foundation of the Temple revealed innumerable channels for each of them, the streams joining together on each side." See also 3 En 5:1–5; Odes of Solomon 20:7.

with me—as also Paradise." The heavenly Jerusalem, and not the earthly one, was prepared from the moment God decided to create paradise. The heavenly Jerusalem, and not the earthly one, was taken away from Adam along with paradise. The heavenly Jerusalem, and not the earthly one, is preserved with God, along with paradise.

It is not altogether clear in 2 Baruch of what paradise, the consort of the new Jerusalem, consists. Is it an earthly garden? A supra-mundane paradise? There may be a distant clue to the answer in 4 Ezra 3:6, according to which God led Adam "into the garden which your right hand had planted before the earth appeared." This garden is obviously not located on the earth, which has not yet been created. Is it possibly a supra-mundane garden? It is not feasible to do more than to raise this question, since 4 Ezra, though a close literary counterpart, is not 2 Baruch. Further, even 4 Ezra offers less than a definite reference to a supra-mundane paradise, and it contains no reference, in this context, to a heavenly temple.

In other literary works, Adam's loss is apparent, not in a description of what Adam is reputed to have lost, but in a depiction of what would be regained following judgment. Uriel responds with clear allusions to the calamities effected by Adam when he promises Ezra: "But think of your own case, and inquire concerning the glory of those who are like yourself, because it is for you that Paradise is opened, the tree of life is planted, the age to come is prepared, plenty is provided, a city is built, rest is appointed, goodness is established and wisdom perfected beforehand. The root of evil is sealed up from you, illness is banished from you, and death is hidden; hell has fled and corruption has been forgotten; sorrows have passed away, and in the end the treasure of immortality is made manifest" (4 Ezra 8:51–54).

With respect to the combination of Eden and temple, in the Book of the Watchers Enoch is transported to a region with seven mountains, where he is utterly taken with the fragrances of the trees, especially the fragrance and the beauty of the tree of life (1 Enoch 24).[15] This mountain represents the temple, where God's throne is; it is here, at the holy summit, where the tree of life is held. Michael explains that this tree is presently inaccessible but that its fruit will be given to the righteous following judgment.[16]

[15] Compare Gen 3:6, where the other tree, the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, is a delight to the eyes.

[16] See TLevi 18:10–11; Rev 2:7.

At that time, the tree will be transported to "the holy place . . . "the house of the Lord" (25:5). What ensues will be magnificent. The fragrance of the tree of life will enter the bones of the righteous—a vision that is reminiscent of the resurrection of Israel's very many, very dry bones in Ezekiel's grand vision (Ezekiel 37)—and the righteous will live, once again, the length of life of the ancestors who preceded Enoch in the opening epics of Torah.[17]

There is no explicit reference to Adam's transgression in 1 Enoch 24–25, yet the centrality of the tree of life, coupled with the restoration of primeval lengths of life, permits an unobstructed view of Eden, which will, in God's future, be transported to the temple sanctuary. A similar expectation is characteristic of the vision of the new Jerusalem in the book of Revelation, where the tree of life is transported to the new Jerusalem, which is home to the great river of Ezekiel 47 and the throne of God (Rev 22:1–4).[18] The bucolic image of the tree of life may not be entirely suitable to a symmetrical urban cube; their uneasy amalgamation may suggest just how entrenched the belief that Eden would be centered in Jerusalem may have been.[19]

What loss, then, does Adam mediate? At times, writers of Second Temple Judaism tell us directly what Adam lost. According to Josephus, Jubilees, and 2 Baruch, Adam *as an actual character* lost the garden of Eden, though the interpretation of the garden—is it earthly or supra-mundane?—is not a matter of consensus. It is significant that this loss is associated with Adam's last sacrifice in Jubilees and the loss of the new Jerusalem in 2 Baruch.

More typically, we learn what was lost by drawing inferences from descriptions of what is regained. The community of the Scrolls describes itself as a purified community, the true Eden, and the holy temple—not in actuality, with real tilling and animal sacrifices, but in terms of their vocation as a faithful remnant. These people believed themselves to be the latter-day inhabitants of a spiritual Eden, the spiritual embodiment of the

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[17] On expanded lengths of life, see 1QH 5.23–25. On 1 Enoch 24–25, see the outstanding commentary of G. Nickelsburg, *A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36, 81–108*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2001), 312–16.

[18] The conception that the tree will be for healing probably derives from Ezek 47:12, though the addition of the words, "of the nations," occurs exclusively in Revelation.

[19] For detailed analysis, see D. Aune, *Revelation*, 3 vols., WBC 52A-C (Waco, TX: Word, 1997), 3[52C].1175–78.

temple. In 1 En 24–25 and Revelation, Adam's loss can be inferred from what will be restored to the righteous in the distant future, and in both texts that loss circulates around the tree of life, which lands, ultimately, in an idealized Jerusalem. In such texts as these, the role of Adam, understood as an individual figure, is left unexpressed. These authors pick up the elements of Eden that have been lost—but not necessarily the figure of Adam. A similar phenomenon characterizes the impress of mortality upon Second Temple Jewish literature, though here the story begins, not with the transgression of Adam, but with the creation of humankind.

Mediating Mortality

The opening command in the opening narrative of Torah is this: "You may eat freely of every tree of the garden; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for in the day that you eat of it you shall die" (Gen 2:16–17). Having eaten of the tree, the first man reaps the consequences and is told, "By the sweat of your face you shall eat bread until you return to the ground, for out of it you were taken; you are dust, and to dust you shall return" (3:19). During his lifetime, Adam fathered multiple sons and daughters, and "all the days that Adam lived were nine hundred thirty years; and he died" (5:6). Though the extended reach of Adam's years suggests otherwise, his death was, presumably, a consequence of his disobedience.

Not so in the literary legacy of authors of the Second Temple period who drank deeply of the wisdom tradition, including Ben Sira, the author of the Wisdom of Solomon, Philo Judaeus, and the composer(s) of the Hymn Scroll. For such authors as these, the advent of mortality was not exclusively a consequence of sin or disobedience, as in Torah.[20] According to these authors, creation, not sin, mediates mortality. The inbreathing into earth provides the basis for mortality; it is not a loss mediated by Adam, as in the writings of the apostle Paul or the apocalyptic authors of 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch, who attribute death to the sin of Adam (and Eve).

Mortality is not mediated, therefore, by the errant act of a single figure or character, such as Adam or Enoch or Abraham or Moses. Mortality is a

[20] It is possible, though I disagree, that Ben Sira blames Eve for the entry of death. See J. R. Levison, "Is Eve to Blame? A Contextual Analysis of Sirach 25:24," *CBQ* 47 (1985): 617–23.

human quality and not a quality mediated by *Adam*. One of the distinctive characteristics of the wisdom tradition is its tendency to incorporate elements of Genesis 1–5 to describe human beings. This is not to say that they neglect the figure of Adam as an individual. For example, both Ben Sira and the Wisdom of Solomon, arising from their interest in the need for wisdom, underscore that the first man needed wisdom (Sir 24:28; Wisd 10:1–2). Further, in his litany of praise for Israel's ancestors, Ben Sira elevates Israel's first ancestor, Adam: "but above every other created living being was Adam" (Sir 49:16).[21] Philo, whose commentary runs seriatim, also recognizes, on the literal level of interpretation, that Adam was an extraordinary human being, more so than his descendants because he was created directly by God (*Opif.* 140–41). Nevertheless, the preponderance of their attention is directed to the human race, or to Israel, and the elements of Genesis 1–5 are drawn into the scope of that interest, with the result that elements associated with Adam, the individual figure of Genesis 1–5, are understood with respect to human beings—to *adam*, the human race.

This is characteristic of Ben Sira, who takes this heuristic tack on several occasions in his collection of scribal advice. In perhaps the most extraordinary instance of this tack, Ben Sira offers an extended reflection on creation. He begins with a reflection upon the orderliness that is on exhibit in Gen 1:1–2:4: "When the Lord created his works from the beginning, and, in making them, determined their boundaries, he arranged his works in an eternal order, and their dominion for all generations" (Sir 16:26–27). He continues, slightly later, with an extended reflection upon the creation of human beings:

> The Lord created human beings (*anthropon*) out of earth,
> and makes them (*auton*) return to it again.
> He gave them (*autois*) a fixed number of days,
> but granted them authority over everything on the earth.
> He endowed them with strength like his own,
> and made them in his own image.
> He put the fear of them in all living beings,
> and gave them dominion over beasts and birds.
> Discretion and tongue and eyes,
> ears and a mind for thinking he gave them.
> He filled them with knowledge and understanding,
> and showed them good and evil. (Sir 17:1–7)

[21] On the difficulties that attend a reliable interpretation of this text, see *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism*, 44–45.

Like the strophes that precede, these reflections are rooted in Genesis 1. The elements of God's image and dominion over all beasts and birds lead to the heart of Gen 1:26–28. Other elements, including creation from the earth, return to the earth, and knowledge of good and evil, point unmistakably to Genesis 2–3 as well (2:7, 3:19, and 2:16–17, respectively).

These reflections depart from Genesis 1–3 in ways that are both thoughtful and significant. It should be apparent, first, that Ben Sira understands Genesis 1–3 as describing human beings, as *adam*, rather than as an individual figure. *Adam* is understood as *them*—as humankind. Second, *adam*, humankind, is mortal, in contrast to the celestial creatures. They are given a fixed number of days rather than a span of life extending endlessly before them. Third, this mortality is the way things are, part and parcel of creation, rather than a product of disobedience, as in Genesis 3. The reality that human beings "return to it again" is due to their created constitution: "The Lord created human beings out of the earth." The story of creation, sin, and expulsion plays no part in these reflections upon Genesis 1–3. Fourth, the absence of disobedience is particularly evident in the positive spin Ben Sira places upon the impartation of knowledge; God "filled them with knowledge and understanding, and showed them good and evil." There is no illicit tree of the knowledge of good and evil (Gen 2:15–16; 3:5); these are the gift of a good God—as good a gift as dominion (Gen 1:27–28).

Ben Sira will return to the theme of human mortality several times in the course of his instructions. He returns in Sir 17:29–32 when he proposes that human mortality is more than a fundamental reality of existence; mortality is the basis for God's mercy:

> How great is the mercy of the Lord,
> and his forgiveness for those who return to him.
> For not everything is within human capability,
> since human beings are not immortal.
> What is brighter than the sun? Yet it can be eclipsed.
> So flesh and blood devise evil.
> He marshals the host of the height of heaven;
> but all human beings are dust and ashes.

Ben Sira returns later still in Sir 33:7–13, where he unites all of humankind under the umbrella of mortality, just as all days, exalted and mundane, share the sun's light. He notes: "All human beings [*anthropoi pantes*] come from the ground, and humankind [Greek, *adam*] was created out of the dust" (33:10). The allusion to Gen 2:7 is so intense here that the Greek translator of Ben Sira's sayings opted for "Adam," though the context has

to do with human beings. This translational choice, of course, substantiates the case that what may be construed as the figure of Adam is also a description of human beings.

Ben Sira revisits this theme still later in his collection, when he advises: "Do not fear the sentence of death; remember your former days and the end of life; this is the decree from the Lord for all flesh, and how can you reject the good pleasure of the Most High?" (Sir 41:3–4a). Once again, Ben Sira has taken the teeth out of the divine decree that Adam will now sweat in labor then die, since he listened to the voice of the woman. Death is not an aberration, a consequence of sin, but part of the pattern of life which provides an end of life to the wicked (40:8–10) and a pleasurable divine decree.

Ben Sira does not deny that Adam was a figure. He was glorious (Sir 49:16), and he lacked wisdom (24:28). Yet more often Ben Sira culls together elements of Genesis 1–3 in order to depict the mortal nature of humankind. Death is a part of life that expresses divine pleasure; it arises from how human beings are made and not from disobedience. Adam, therefore, is not the mediator of mortality, especially not because of his disobedience. Mortality is mediated by the earth out of which human beings—all human beings—are created, and it is to be welcomed rather than feared.

The author of the Wisdom of Solomon lays no less emphasis upon human mortality and the need for wisdom. He does this with reference to the figure of Adam as an individual when he adopts the epithet, "earth-born protoplast," to underscore the mortal nature that unites all people (Wisd 7:1: Gen 2:7), and when he refers to the way in which wisdom rescued the first man by helping him to rule (Wisd 10:1–2: Gen 1:26–28). Yet allusions to Gen 1:26–28 and 2:7 provide as well the basis for the author's conviction that human beings *in general* need wisdom. Gen 1:26–28 is adopted both to refer to the image as the immortal aspect of mortal human beings (Wisd 2:23) and to underscore that human beings need wisdom to exercise dominion over the world (Wisd 9:1–3: Gen 1:26–28) because they cannot, ultimately, understand the cosmos (Wisd 9:13–16). In brief, the Wisdom of Solomon picks up both Gen 1:26–28 and Gen 2:7 to press the point that the first man was mortal, in need of wisdom, *even as all human beings are mortal*, in need of wisdom.

This author also alludes to Gen 3:19 (LXX) when he describes idol-makers: "these mortals who were made of earth a short time before, and after a little while go to the earth from which all mortals are taken, when

the time comes to return the souls that were borrowed" (Wisd 15:8). This is more than a matter-of-fact statement of human mortality, though it is a statement of human mortality that dissolves the original context of curse in Gen 3:19. He continues with an allusion to Gen 2:7: "Their heart is ashes, their hope is cheaper than dirt, their lives are of less worth than clay, because they failed to know the one who formed them and inspired them with active souls and breathed a living spirit into them" (Wisd 15:10–11). This statement of mortality actually provides the basis for understanding sinners, who live according to their constituency of earth rather than according to the breath within. The use of Genesis 2–3 to depict all people, and not just Adam, as well as the belief that sinners live according to the earth of which they are made rather than the breath within, corresponds to Philo's theory of virtue, which, like the author of the Wisdom of Solomon, is rooted in the earliest poems and stories of Torah.

For Philo Judaeus, Torah is a repository for his conviction that human beings are borderland people, inhabiting to various degrees the immortal world and the mortal world. He concludes his paraphrase of Gen 1:26–27, for example, in this way: "This is most excellently said, for nothing earth-born bears a closer resemblance to God than the human being" (*Opif.* 69). The composite nature of human beings is no less evident in *Opif.* 72–75, where Philo attempts to explain why God needed helpers—let *us* make—to create humankind. Rooting his solution in Plato's *Timaeus* 41–42, according to which the demiurge creates humankind's immortal part while subordinates create the mortal portion, Philo explains that God created the part of human beings which produces virtue, while God's helpers created the portion which produces vice.

In the commentary that ensues, Philo does yield a unique place to Adam as an individual. While he elsewhere devotes an entire treatise, *On the Eternity of the World*, to a rebuttal of the theory of cosmic degeneration, in *Opif.* he adopts it to glorify the first human being, Adam. Even here he keeps an eye on the composite nature of the first human. "Such was the nature," he concludes his commentary on Gen 2:7, "of the first human being in body and soul, surpassing all those living now and all our predecessors as well, for our origin is from other human beings, whereas he was created by God. The greater the superiority of the maker, the greater is the excellence of what comes into being" (*Opif.* 140). When he turns his attention to Adam's naming of the animals, he describes Adam, in Stoic terms, as an ideal figure who lives, as a citizen of the world, entirely in accordance with nature (*Opif.* 142–47), and as "wise with a self-taught and

self-instructed wisdom" (148). Adam was a king because "God had moulded him with care and considered him worthy of the second rank" (148).

However, Philo's commentary upon Adam as a unique progenitor never strays far from the nature of humankind in general. Ultimately what characterizes Adam is what characterizes all human beings: he is a composite figure, hovering between immortality and mortality; Moses

> says that the sense-perceptible and individual human being has a structure which is composed of earthly substance and divine spirit, for the body came into being when the Craftsman took clay and moulded a human shape out of it, whereas the soul obtained its origin from nothing which has come into existence at all, but from the Father and director of all things. What he breathed in was nothing else than the divine spirit . . . For this reason it would be correct to say that the human being stands on the borderline between mortal and immortal nature . . . mortal in respect of the body, immortal in respect of the mind. (*Opif.* 135)

When he comes to conclude his discussion of Gen 2:7, Philo cannot resist one more time pressing his conviction that human beings—and not just Adam—are composite beings:

> Our description of the beauty, both in soul and in body, of the first-born human being has been given to the best of our ability, even if it falls far short of the truth. His descendants, who partake of his form, necessarily still manage to preserve the marks of the family relationship with their ancestor, even if these have become rather faint. What does this family relationship consist of? Every human being, as far as his mind is concerned, is akin to the divine Logos [the *imago* of Gen 1:26–27] and has come into being as a casting or fragment or effulgence of the blessed nature [the inbreathing of Gen 2:7], but in structure of his body he is related to the entire cosmos [the earth of Gen 2:7]. (145–46)

That Philo's interest lies farther afield than with the uniqueness of the first human becomes apparent in his allegorical interpretations, where the inbreathing of Gen 2:7 is the infusion of the mind (*Heres* 55–57) and the impartation of the capacity of virtue, which is necessary to prevent human beings—not Adam at this point—from blaming God when they sin. In fact, there are two races of people: those who live according to virtue, following the lead of their minds, and those who live according to vice, following the lead of their bodies (*LA* 1:31–32). Ultimately, therefore, the meaning of the creation of Adam is discernible on three levels: the anthropological level, on which he, like his descendants, is a composite creature; the allegorical level, on which human beings are composite beings capable of virtue and vice; and the ethical level, on which there are

two races of *adam*, two sorts of human beings, those who practice virtue and those who are mired in vice.

It should be evident by now that what rivets the attention of wisdom authors—Ben Sira, the author of the Wisdom of Solomon, and Philo—is the composite character of human beings. Divine inbreathing reaches far beyond the confines of bringing earth to life, as in Genesis, and extends to encompass the human predicament of mortality, the human quest for wisdom, and the human potential to live virtuously or to succumb to a life of vice. It is with respect to this conviction that the authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls, by grappling with Genesis 1–3, *but not necessarily the unique figure of Adam*, offer so much insight.

Although the people of the Scrolls rejected many other Jewish communities—they most certainly would have the Hellenized Alexandrian Jews—ironically they too interpret Genesis 2–3 in terms that accentuate human mortality and, with mortality, the human penchant for sin that is rooted in being created from earth. Often—nearly without exception, in fact—the author of many of the hymns that were preserved in Judean caves takes the language of creation in Gen 2:7 as more than a muted harbinger of physical death; inbreathing, dust, and earth become instead the ingredients of despair.[22] The hymn writer asks, for instance, "But I, a creature of clay, what am I? Mixed with water, as whom shall I be considered? What is my strength? For I find myself at the boundary of wickedness and share the lot of the scoundrels" (1QH 11.23–25). The hymns are peppered with this appraisal of human beings, with an altogether pessimistic take on Gen 2:7.

This is essential to the theological chiaroscuro that features so prominently in the hymns, where nearly unsalvageable flaws are merely the backdrop for God's ability to purify human beings. In gratitude for just such a contrast, the hymn writer acknowledges, "I thank you, Lord, because you saved my life from the pit, and from the Sheol of Abaddon have lifted me up to an everlasting height, so that I can walk on a boundless

[22] There are occasional moments of optimism about the constituency of human beings, such as in the prayer prescribed for the first day of the week, according to which God fashioned Adam in the image of God's glory and blew "into his nostril, and intelligence and knowledge" (4Q504 8.4–5 recto). This burst of confidence in knowledge, at least the intelligence the first human possessed prior to turning away, goes well beyond the simple inbreathing of Gen 2:7.

plain. And I know that there is hope for someone you fashioned out of dust for an everlasting community. The depraved spirit you have purified from great offence so that he can take a place with the host of the holy ones, and can enter communion with the congregation of the sons of heaven" (1QH 11.19–22). As he is so often in these hymns, the writer is drawn to the image of creation. He is, quite benignly, "fashioned out of dust," a limited, mortal being, but not with a penchant for evil. Yet the simple act of inbreathing, which is hopeful and invigorating in the tale of Eden, has become now ugly, transformed into "the depraved spirit." The hymn writer, fashioned out of dust, is in his totality a depraved spirit.

This pessimistic grasp of Gen 2:7 is the stepping-off point for an unfathomable act of divine grace. The hymn writer has been transferred from the pit to the everlasting height, from the confines of Sheol to a boundless plain, from depravity to an everlasting community, from impurity to a place with the host of the holy ones, with the congregation of the sons of heaven. All have indeed sinned and fallen short of God's glory—to adopt the language of Paul the apostle—and all are saved by grace, transferred to the community of the faithful and the company of angels.

Acceptance into this little community culminated in more than the erasure of sin. Those who were received into this remnant of the faithful themselves received revealed knowledge. Yet not as a matter of course, not in their natural state, for they too were people whose nature is framed by the dust and breath of creation. The hymn writer, to reinforce this, begins one hymn by compounding the language of Psalm 8:4 with allusions to Gen 2:7 and 3:19, as well as the sobriquet, "dust and ashes," with which mere mortality becomes a clear signal of repentance.[23] "What, then, is man? He is nothing but earth. *Blank.* [From clay] he is fashioned and to dust he will return. But you teach him about wonders like these and the foundations of [your] truth you show to him. *Blank.* I am dust and ashes, what can I plan if you do not wish it? What can I devise without your will? How can I be strong if you do not make me stand? How can I be learned if you do not mould me? What can I say if you do not open my mouth? And how can I answer if you do not give me insight?" (1QH 18.3–7). Question after question tumbles from the pen of the hymn writer, with the implied answers, God makes plans, God makes strong, God imparts knowledge, God gives words, God grants insight. Humans cannot know, plan, speak; they are earth, dust, and ashes, destined to return to dust.

[23] E.g., Gen 18:27; Job 30:19, 42:6; Ezek 27:30.

Elsewhere in the hymns, creation is not neutral territory but, in more desperate terms, the source of a profoundly negative view of people: "These things I know through your knowledge, for you opened my ears to wondrous mysteries although I am a creature of clay, fashioned with water, a foundation of shame and a source of impurity, an oven of iniquity and a building of sin, a spirit of error and depravity without knowledge, terrified by your just judgments" (1QH 9.21–23). If question after question flows from the hymn writer's pen in the eighteenth column, here in the ninth image after image of depravity rises from the dust of Gen 2:7: creature of clay, foundation of shame, source of impurity, oven of iniquity, and building of sin.[24] Even inbreathing no longer offers a glimmer of life; the spirit of life, the source of vitality, has been metamorphosed into "a spirit of error and depravity without knowledge." Still, this sober judgment is merely the backdrop for the light of God's goodness, the impartation of God's knowledge: "These things I know through your knowledge, for you opened my ears to wondrous mysteries."

Throughout these hymns, then, above the din of human depravity and ignorance rises the melody of divine graciousness. Though human beings are creatures of clay, spirits that are nothing more than depravity and error, God gives to them—those who join the community—purity and knowledge. The dramatic contrast between creatures of mud and the wonderful works of God provides a toehold of hope: "I give you thanks, my God, because you have done wonders with dust; with the creature of mud you have acted in a very, /very/ powerful way. And I, what am I that you have [ta]ught me the basis of your truth, and have instructed me in your wonderful works?" (1QH 19.3–4).

There is a resounding interpretative tack in the few but poignant texts we have been privileged to cite here. Central to the belief that all human beings are mortal lies Genesis 2–3, which has less to do with Adam as an individual figure and more to do with *adam* understood as all human beings. Further, mortality is not necessarily a consequence of disobedience; it is determined by the earth out of which human beings are created. Finally, frequently this earthy substance of human beings is more than the stuff of mortality; it is as well the sinful muck in which human beings are mired.

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[24] The expression, "building of sin," may comprise an allusion to the creation—building—of woman in Genesis 2:22.

This, of course, is not the only way in which mortality is associated with Genesis 1–3. When we leave the wisdom tradition and transfer our attention to the apocalyptic tradition, Adam as an individual takes front and center stage in the drama of human sinfulness.

Mediating Sin, Death, and Dire Distress

One of the most bewildering statements about Adam to emerge from Second Temple Judaism occurs toward the middle of Paul's letter to a church in Rome: "Therefore, just as sin came into the world through one man, and death came through sin, and so death spread to all because/ in whom all have sinned—sin was indeed in the world before the law, but sin is not reckoned when there is no law. Yet death exercised dominion from Adam to Moses, even over those whose sins were not like the transgression of Adam, who is a type of the one who was to come" (Rom 5:12–14). This statement is fraught with ambiguity, as commentators amply document.[25] In particular, we are left to ask, Is Adam responsible for the sin of his descendants, or are they responsible for their own sin? In other words, did Adam introduce physical death—and only death—into the world because he sinned, or did he introduce the inevitability of sin, so that his descendants could not help but sin? What follows does little to clarify what Paul regards as Adam's legacy:

> For if the many died through the one man's trespass . . . (5:15)
> For the judgment following one trespass brought condemnation . . . (5:16)
> If, because of the one man's trespass, death exercised dominion through that one . . . (5:17)
> Therefore just as one man's trespass led to condemnation for all (5:18)
> For just as by the one man's disobedience the many were made sinners (5:19)

The first three of these statements (5:15, 16, 17) lead us to the conclusion that Adam, by transgressing, introduced physical death into the world; the last two lead us to conclude that Adam, by his transgression, introduced the inevitability of sin—and its consequence, death—into the world.

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[25] See, for example, C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1979), 1:271–81; J. A. Fitzmyer, *Romans: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 33 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1993), 408–17.

However we may choose to interpret these sayings, they compel us to acknowledge that they are liable to more than one interpretation. The history of interpretation of Rom 5:12 is itself testimony to its ambiguity. What can be said unambiguously is that there is a causal relationship between sin and death, according to Paul, though it is not clear whether Adam is responsible for human sin and, ultimately, death, or whether humans are responsible for their own sin and, ultimately, their own death.

This question—Adam's role in introducing sin or death or both—to the human race preoccupied apocalyptic authors following the destruction of Jerusalem. Like the apostle Paul, the authors of 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch accentuate the effects of Adam's sin by identifying Adam as the inaugurator of the present evil age.

The earliest episode in 4 Ezra begins with a prayer that recalls, "And you laid upon him [Adam] one commandment of yours; but he transgressed it, and immediately you appointed death for him and for his descendants" (3:7). Clearly, one figure, and one figure alone—Adam—was responsible for the pervasive presence of death. Yet it is not as clear whether Adam is responsible for human sin. The flood apparently came upon the nations because "every nation walked after its own will and did ungodly things before you and scorned you" (3:8). While Adam introduced death, it is not at all clear whether death was a necessity; the nations, it seems, could have avoided death by avoiding sin.

As in Romans 5, there remains, at this early point in 4 Ezra, a level of ambiguity about the relationship between sin and death. At the heart of Adam's sin lay the evil seed, which all nations have, Israel included, notwithstanding the gift of Torah Israel received. Neither Ezra, nor his angelic interpreter, Uriel, is willing to admit that Adam generated that seed and passed it along. In brief, neither goes so far as to identify Adam as the cause of subsequent sin.

Following a seven day fast, however, this question bubbles to the surface of Ezra's thoughts. Irked and upset by the dominance of other nations (i.e., Rome) over Israel, he presses Uriel about why Israel must experience such duress and distress. Uriel responds that Adam's transgression altered the status of Israel: "For I made the world for their [Israel's] sake, and when Adam transgressed my statutes, what had been made was judged. And so the entrances of this world were made narrow and sorrowful and toilsome; they are few and evil, full of dangers and involved in great hardships" (7:11–12). The words, sorrowful (*dolentes*) and toilsome (*laboriosi*), recall the curses of Gen 3:14–19, particularly the words, "in pain" in

Gen 3:16 and "in toils" in 3:17. In short, the curses of Genesis have become epic in proportion. The reverberations of Adam's transgression are universal and relentless.

Eventually the volcano of Ezra's perplexity erupts, so that he can no longer manage to hold in tension the possibility of hereditary sinfulness with the necessity of human responsibility. He explodes, "O Adam what have you done? For though it was you who sinned, the fall was not yours alone, but ours also who are your descendants" (4 Ezra 7:118). Though at first blush this appears to be a classic statement of hereditary sin, it is not, as the word "fall (*casus*)" can but need not denote moral calamity. It may have to do with no more than a world full of physical difficulties, especially death. Two other dimensions of the context, however, suggest that Ezra does envisage Adam to be the mediator, not only of death and difficulties, but also of moral failure.

First, the effects of Adam's sin are more than physical ills. Ezra's anxiety has to do with more than those physical troubles that occupied Uriel in 4 Ezra 7:11–14. Ezra is dizzy with fear that some will be damned in the future, that sinners will fall prey to eternal damnation. Second, Uriel replies to the question of human responsibility (7:121–31) by unequivocally affirming individual responsibility. "This is the meaning of the contest which everyone who is born on earth shall wage," he retorts, "that if he is defeated he shall suffer what you have said, but if he is victorious he shall receive what I have said" (7:128).

There is a disturbing ambiguity in these dialogues between Ezra and Uriel, and, in the end, both positions are left to stand. They reflect, in a form that is less laconic and more wrenching than Paul's, the ambiguity concerning the relationship between Adam's sin, death, and human sin that characterizes Rom 5:12–21. In 4 Ezra, Uriel, who dispassionately espouses individual responsibility, regards Adam as the first sinner (4:26–32), whose transgression brought about a world full of physical evils (7:11–14). This world, Uriel contends, does not make sin inevitable; on the contrary, it is a testing ground for the righteous (7:127–31). Ezra's solution is more tortured; he passionately indicts Adam for the eschatological damnation that awaits humanity (7:118). It is this tension between the positions of Uriel and Ezra that gives 4 Ezra its tortured tenor vis-à-vis Adam. Is he the author of the evils of the present age that provide an arena for testing the righteous, or is he the inaugurator of the evil of the present age that leads the unrighteous, however many in number, to damnation in the age to come?

As tortured as this question of the relationship between Adam's sin, human sin, and death may be, the answer to it in 2 Baruch is terse and taut and relatively void of tension. First, throughout this apocalypse, the effects of the first transgression are decidedly physical. When Baruch asks how people can be sufficiently righteous in so few years of life, the Lord answers that time makes no difference in the arena of righteousness: "For what did it profit Adam that he lived nine hundred and thirty years and transgressed that which he was commanded? Therefore, the multitude of time that he lived did not profit him, but it brought death and cut off the years of those who were born from him" (2 Bar 17:2–3). Moses, in contrast, who lived only one hundred and twenty years, brought Torah to Israel. When Baruch responds that most people followed Adam rather than Moses (18:1–2), the Lord responds by affirming that God appointed a covenant of death and life, two ways, and that people can choose.[26]

Baruch is not yet silenced, still not satisfied by the Lord's responses to his questions. He now requests that the misery of this age be foreshortened. The Lord responds by telling Baruch that the age, and the number of people in it, was determined long ago: "For when Adam sinned and death was decreed against those who were to be born, the multitude of those who would be born was numbered. And for that number a place was prepared where the living ones might live and where the dead might be preserved" (23:4). Once again, the effects of Adam's (not Eve's, in this context) transgression can be summed up in one word: death.

Following a hiatus in references to Adam, three significant references occur in relatively close succession. The first mirrors Ezra's angst, as Baruch, in a wrenching personal address, asks: "O Adam, what did you do to all who were born after you? And what will be said of the first Eve who obeyed the serpent, so that this whole multitude is going to corruption? And countless are those whom the fire devours" (2 Bar 48:42–43). With this pained profession, Baruch, like Ezra, skirts the precarious edge of a belief that Adam—and Eve with him—brought about more than physical death. What Adam and Eve seem to have brought about is a world that

[26] In this context, there occurs a passing reference to "the day death was decreed against those who trespassed" (19:8). What is important about this statement is not its theological perspicacity but its inclusion of more than one person—Adam *and Eve*—in the primal transgression that brought death in its train. In this respect, the epic interpretation of Adam and Eve in 2 Baruch is to be distinguished from the cosmic character of Adam in Paul's letter to the Romans and 4 Ezra.

leads to eternal corruption. Yet as soon as he says this, Baruch withdraws slightly. He tells the Lord, "you knew the number of those who are born from him and how they sinned before you, those who existed and who did not recognize you as their Creator. And concerning all of those, their end will put them to shame, and your Law which they transgressed will repay them on your day" (48:46–47). Baruch does not offer in this prayer the slightest inkling that people sin because they are the actual heirs, physically or morally, of Adam and Eve; they sin because they imitate Adam and Eve by failing to recognize their creator and because they transgress Torah.[27] This is not Adam and Eve's doing.

Baruch utters the final word on the issue a bit later: "And the torment of judgment will fall upon those who have not subjected themselves to your power. For, although Adam sinned first and has brought death upon all who were not in his own time, yet each of them who has been born from him has prepared for himself the coming torment. And further, each of them has chosen for himself the coming glory. For truly, the one who believes will receive reward" (54:14–16). With this the case is closed: people sin because they act like Adam. They do not act like Adam because he sinned. In short, "Adam is, therefore, not the cause, except only for himself, but each of us has become our own Adam" (54:19).

Therefore, when the apocalypse returns to the matter of Adam's effects, moral influence is not in the list. This is not what Adam has mediated. Yet the list of what he has mediated is long, long and tragic, rife with those experiences that bring us to the brink of despair. When Adam transgressed, the revealing angel tells Baruch, untimely death, ritual mourning for the dead, affliction, illness (perhaps pain in childbirth), and labor came into being. The effects of Adam's transgression include as well the effects of war: the boastful pride of conquering nations (and the oppression of those conquered), death's blood-thirst, the snatching of children, and a thirst for more children. Finally, human loftiness was humiliated—perhaps Adam and Eve's loss of primeval qualities. Salient in this list is that all of these sad elements reflect life's hardships; none has to do directly with the inheritance of Adam and Eve's penchant for sin.

This apocalypse, then, dissolves the ambiguity of Paul's letter to the Romans and tidies up the ambiguity that plagues Ezra's tortured attempt to ascertain whether Adam's sin causes human beings to sin. Adam and Eve are the ancestors of sinners, in 2 Baruch, not because they pass on

[27] The similarities to Rom 1:18–23 should be noted.

the penchant for sin, but because their heirs imitate their sin. People are not inevitably the heirs of Adam, with respect to sin; people become their descendants by sinning.

In what way, then, does Adam (and Eve) function as a mediator? For all three of the authors who hold to a dreary view of the present age, Adam (and Eve in 2 Baruch) inaugurated the evils of the present age—not least physical death. For all three, the question of whether Adam caused his descendants to sin lies under or upon the surface of the text. What remains ambiguous in Rom 5:12–21 is resolved slightly in 4 Ezra, where the angel, Uriel, champions individual responsibility, notwithstanding Ezra's reservations. In 2 Baruch, where both the angel and Baruch agree that Adam (and Eve) inaugurated horrific ills, such as untimely death, neither professes a belief in hereditary sinfulness. People may imitate Adam, but they are not compelled to sin because of Adam. For all three authors, Adam is a real figure, though perhaps not in the sense of a highly-valued narrative figure. Quite unlike the authors of the wisdom tradition, these writings, for all of their preoccupation with Adam, incorporate precious few details of Genesis 1–5. It is not the details of the narrative that grip them but the appearance of the first man (and woman) as a cipher or a paradigm at the fountainhead of the present, evil age. This is particularly explicit in 2 Baruch, where the last word on whether Adam caused his ancestors to sin is this: "Adam is therefore, not the cause, except only for himself, but each of us has become our own Adam."

Conclusion

Should Adam be admitted to the elite club of mediatorial figures in Second Temple Jewish literature? Yes. And no. He is, we have seen, the recipient of a great many privileges: a glorious figure who receives the divine breath directly from God, and the first human, whose birth is unmediated by human beings. He is an inhabitant of Eden-as-temple, perhaps a supra-mundane paradise, who experiences life in the Golden Age. He is composed of pristine clay and pure breath. Perhaps Ben Sira is right after all: "above every other created living being was Adam."

Yet Adam mediates none of these grand realities to his descendants. He bequeaths to them birth marred by pain and toil rather than creation directly from God. He is expelled from Eden, from the holy of holies—whether a sanctuary on earth or a garden planted beyond earth's wide

bounds, or both. He forfeits immortality or, if not immortality, at least the good life, a life of agricultural ease. Adam loses, in short, much more than he mediates.

Perhaps the most salient legacy, in fact, is discovered when Second Temple Jewish thinkers look past the figure of Adam to the elements of Genesis 1–3 that portend mortality for the entire human race. Authors who write from the perspective of the wisdom tradition, in particular, underscore human mortality without consideration for those narrative elements that make Adam a robust or round character. Mortality is not even rooted in disobedience, as in Genesis 3. Mortality is an inevitable consequence, not of sin, but of creation, of being formed from earth. Human mortality, further, is shaped into perspectives on virtue, particularly, though not exclusively, by Philo: those who live according to their earthy substance are people of vice, while those who live by the divine breath are people of virtue. This is not always the case; occasionally in the hymns of the Dead Sea Scrolls, even the divine breath is a source of depravity. In general, Adam, understood as an individual figure, does not occupy center stage in reflections upon mortality in Second Temple Jewish literature; it is the constitution of human beings that results in the inevitability of mortality. This is the legacy inherent in the creation of *adam*—not the legacy of Adam.

Adam as an individual figure is remembered principally by Jewish authors, especially by those who agonize with Israel's plight *after the destruction of the Second Temple*, as the harbinger of loss: ashes to ashes, dust to dust. He brings death to his descendants, to be sure. And, though they come down on the side of individual responsibility, Paul and the authors of 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch never finally dispel the notion that Adam (and Eve) forces his descendants to sin. As the curtain closes on the Second Temple period—in Paul's letter to the Romans, 4 Ezra, and 2 Baruch—Adam comes to be known for his negative bequest. If he mediates anything, it is death and perhaps hereditary sinfulness. This is hardly an auspicious legacy.

"BETTER WATCH YOUR BACK, ADAM": ANOTHER ADAM AND EVE TRADITION IN SECOND TEMPLE JUDAISM

Lester L. Grabbe

Aficionados of the TV series, *The Wire*, will be familiar with the introductory track,[1] which begins, "When you walk through the garden, better watch your back," and later on speaks of keeping the devil "way down in the hole." John R. Levison has discussed one Adam tradition in an earlier monograph and in a paper in the present collection.[2] In the conference presentation Levison made the statement, "Adam was a loser," even suggesting that Adam would have lost his car keys. But of course Adam would lose his car keys—where can you keep your keys when you do not have a stitch on? (That was a rhetorical question, not an invitation for suggestions.) I shall argue, however, that there is another Adam tradition that Levison ignored in his monograph and in the initial version of his Naples paper.[3]

Ezekiel 28

Most accounts of Adam and Eve focus on the Adamic tradition in Genesis 1–3. Yet there is another tradition, often overlooked, which is the one in Ezekiel 28 (NRSV):

> [2] Mortal, say to the prince of Tyre, Thus says the Lord God:
> Because your heart is proud
> and you have said, "I am a god;
> I sit in the seat of the gods,
> in the heart of the seas,"

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[1] "Way Down in the Hole," by Tom Waits from his album, "Franks Wild Years."

[2] See J. R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism, from Sirach to 2 Baruch*, JSPSup 1 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988) and his article in the present volume. My paper here was originally read as a response to Levison's paper.

[3] I once had to teach a class on the history of Christian thought many years ago. At the time I was struck by how many early Christian doctrines had Jewish roots. But one that I was not able to investigate but hoped to do so in the future was the Christian doctrine of "the fall of man." So, three decades later, I have finally had a chance to do this.

yet you are but a mortal, and no god,
though you compare your mind with the mind of the god. . . .
[12] . . . You were the signet of perfection,
full of wisdom and perfect in beauty.
[13] You were in Eden, the garden of God;
every precious stone was your covering. . . .
On the day that you were created
they were prepared.
[14] With an anointed cherub as
guardian I placed you;
you were on the holy mountain of God;
you walked among the stones of fire.
[15] You were blameless in your ways
from the day that you were created,
until iniquity was found in you.
[16] In the abundance of your trade
you were filled with violence, and you sinned;
so I cast you as a profane thing
from the mountain of God.
and the guardian cherub drove you out
from among the stones of fire.

Here we have a figure in Eden, but it is a different sort of Eden, with precious jewels and set on a mountain, and a different sort of primal man. This figure is referred to as the "king of Tyre" (28:11). Is he the same as the "prince of Tyre" in 28:1–10? Although the two sections potentially had separate origins, the present text seems to identify the two:[4] Most readers would not have noticed the change from "prince" to "king" or would have seen it as insignificant.

Levison does not even mention Ezekiel 28 in his monograph, and only briefly refers to it in his article, but it seems to me that we have in Ezekiel 28 an alternate Adam tradition. Or at least we have a text that could be taken to be another Eden story. It partly depends on how one reads the text. If we follow the Masoretic text, the *Urmensch* in this story is called a *keruv* (v. 14). Granted, the LXX reads "with the *keruv* I have placed you on the holy mountain of God" (μετὰ τοῦ χερουβ ἔθηκά σε ἐν ὄρει ἁγίῳ θεοῦ). Following the LXX and other versions, Ezekiel 28:14 is often emended to "with a *keruv*" (as if *'et-kᵉrûv*). It appears that the original reading is "you

[4] So also P. M. Joyce, *Ezekiel: A Commentary*, LHBOTS 482 (London: T & T Clark, 2007), 178.

(were) a *keruv*" (*'att-k^{e}rûv*) since, as already argued by Barr,[5] the LXX can best be explained as an attempt to read the MT rather than as an alternate textual tradition. There are some textual problems here, such as the apparently feminine form of the pronoun, and these need an explanation. But there does seem to be an explanation,[6] and I am not convinced that the text is in such a bad state as assumed by Zimmerli.[7]

The question is: Is this a heavenly figure alongside the man or is it the first man himself? The LXX might seem to favor the former and the MT the latter. Yet one could also assume that the original man in Eden was already an angelic or semi-divine figure, yet not an immortal nor yet a fully divine figure. The wording of the passage could certainly be taken that way: The individual claimed to be a god (28:2, 9), who is in the "mountain of God" (28:16), but although a *keruv*, he was also only a man (אדם: 28:9). Verse 15 reads, "You were impeccable in your ways from the day of your creation until iniquity was found in you."

The figure in this passage looks like more than an ordinary man but is a mortal capable of sin nevertheless.

The question is: Does this tradition of a semi-divine man surface in later Jewish tradition? It seems that it does, as we shall see.

Second Temple Sources[8]

Levison investigates a number of Second Temple texts, and I do not propose to go over the same ground. Yet there are other texts that he strangely omits, texts that give another picture of Adam. Levison correctly notes that some of these texts are problematic to date, but no more problematic than 2 Baruch, which he does use.

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[5] J. Barr, "'Thou art the Cherub': Ezekiel 28.14 and the Post-Ezekiel Understanding of Genesis 2–3," in *Priests, Prophets and Scribes: Essays on the Formation and Heritage of Second Temple Judaism in Honour of Joseph Blenkinsopp*, ed. E. Ulrich, J. W. Wright, R. P. Carroll and P. R. Davies, JSOTSup 149 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 213–23 (214–17).

[6] Barr, "Thou are the Cherub," 215–20.

[7] W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1; 2*, 2 vols., Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979–83), 2:81–86.

[8] In this section, translations of texts are taken from *OTP*, unless otherwise indicated.

Testament of Abraham[9]

Recension A

11:4. Outside of the two gates there, they saw a man sitting on a throne made of gold; and the appearance of that man was terrifying, like that of the Master. 11:5. And they saw many souls being driven by angels, being led through the broad way; and they saw a few other souls being carried by angels through the narrow gate. 11:6. And when the marvelous man sitting on the golden throne saw a few souls going through the narrow gate, and an immeasurable crowd being led away through the broad gate, immediately that holy, marvelous man tore out the hair of his head and the beard of his cheeks; and he threw himself from his throne to the ground, weeping and wailing. 11:7. And when he saw many souls entering through the narrow gate, then he rose from the earth and sat on his throne, rejoicing and exulting in much joy. 11:8. Abraham asked the Commander in chief, "My lord, Commander-in-chief, who is this most marvelous man who is appareled in such glory, who sometimes weeps and wails, but other times rejoices and exults with joy?" 11:9. The incorporeal one said, "This is the first-formed Adam, and he sits here in his glory, and he sees the world, as all have come from him. 11:10. And when he sees many souls entering through the narrow gate, then he rises up and sits on his throne, rejoicing and exulting in joy, for this is the narrow gate of the just that leads to life, and those who enter through it go away to paradise. And because of this the

Recension B

8:6. And he wept and laughed, and his weeping surpassed his laughter. 8:7. And Abraham said to Michael, "Who, lord, is this one who sits on the throne between these two gates in great glory, and around whom a host of angels stands, who weeps and laughs so that his weeping surpasses his laughter sevenfold?" 8:8. And Michael said to Abraham, "Do you not know him?" 8:9. And Abraham said, "No, lord." 8:10. And Michael said, "Do you see these two gates, the small and the great? 8:11. These are the two gates that lead unto glory and unto death. This first gate is the one that leads until life, and the other gate, which stands open, is the one that leads unto destruction. 8:12. This man who sits in between them, he is Adam, the first man whom God formed. 8:13. And he brought him to this place, so that he might behold every soul that comes forth from the body, because all are from him. 8:14. If you see him weeping, know that he sees souls being led unto destruction. 8:15 And if you see him laughing, he sees a few souls being led until life. 8:16. See him, then, how the weeping surpasses the laughter since he sees most of the world being led through the gate of destruction. Therefore the weeping surpasses his laughter sevenfold."

[9] The translation of the two versions of Testament of Abraham here are taken from M. E. Stone, *The Testament of Abraham: The Greek Recensions*, SBLTT (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1972).

(*cont.*)
first-formed Adam rejoices, because he sees souls being saved. 11:11. But when he sees many souls entering through the broad gate, then he tears out the hair of his head and throws himself on the ground, weeping and wailing bitterly, for the broad gate is (the gate) of sinners, which leads to destruction and the chastisement of eternity. And because of this the first-formed Adam rises from his throne, weeping and mourning over the destruction of sinners, because those perishing are many, those being saved few.

Here in a text difficult to date (most put it in the 1st century B.C.E. or C.E.)[10] we have Adam sitting on a throne in a glorified body. Has he been restored to a body and state that he had once possessed before his sin? The text does not say so, but other texts suggest that this is the case, as we shall see.

Philo of Alexandria

Philo discusses Adam in several places. The problem with Philo is that, although he distinguishes between the literal and the allegorical, he is mainly interested in the allegorical and symbolic. It is often difficult to compare his account with other Second Temple sources because his approach is quite different. His literal understanding of the Eden story is often omitted or ignored. Yet here and there he makes statements that suggest how he understood the "real" Adam and Eden. In his *Quaestiones in Genesis* 1.32 Philo states: "... but the souls of the first creatures [= first humans], as being pure of evil and unmixed, were particularly keen in becoming familiar with every sound. And since they were not provided only with defective senses, such as belong to a miserable bodily frame, but were provided with a very great body and the magnitude of a giant, it was necessary that they should also have more accurate senses, and what is

[10] Cf. E. P. Sanders, "Testament of Abraham," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth, 2 Vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1983, 1985), 1:871–902 (1:874–75).

more, philosophical sight and hearing."[11] Philo seems to see Adam and Eve as having bodies in size and other physical characteristics much superior to those of present-day humans. In this his view coincides overall with some other sources; however, rather than a sudden "fall" that changed them physically all at once, he seems to be thinking of a gradual degeneration or physical deterioration over many generations.[12]

Ben Sira

Even Ben Sira may have an Adam tradition that is different from that found by Levison. It was suggested some time ago that a type of "Adamic messianism" is to be found in Ben Sira, particularly 49:16 and 45:25. Already R. Smend[13] had seen the exaltation of Adam, rooted in a messianic hope, in 49:16. Similarly, Jacob argued that 49:16 and other passages (e.g., 17:1–2; cf. Job 15:7) showed an original Adam glorified and perfected as wisdom itself;[14] Ben Sira was seen as having abandoned a national eschatology for an "Adamic" one in a sapiential context. Another verse (Sir 45:25) refers to the covenant with David, but then it states, "the inheritance of *'š* (**אש**) is to his son alone." The word can be read as *'ēš*, the normal Hebrew word for "fire," and has been taken to refer to the priestly inheritance of service at the altar; however, some scholars take the word as a defective spelling of *'yš*, to be read as *'îš* (**איש**: "man"), perhaps even equivalent to king.[15] Martin compares the Animal Apocalypse (1 En 89–90) in which the white bull imagery applied to Adam ceases with Isaac but is then resumed at

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[11] Translation from R. Marcus, ed., *Philo: Supplement I Questions and Answers on Genesis*, LCL (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953), 19.

[12] A similar idea is found in *Opif.* 136–41. On the question of degeneration, cf. Josephus who states: "Nor let the reader, comparing the life of the ancients with our own and the brevity of its years, imagine that what is recorded of them is false; let him not infer that, because no life is so prolonged to-day, they too never reached such a span of existence. For, in the first place, they were beloved of God and the creatures of God Himself; their diet too was more conducive to longevity: it was natural that they should live so long" (*Ant.* 1.3.9 §§105–6; quoted from H. S. J. Thackery, ed., *Josephus: IV* Jewish Antiquities, *Books I–IV*, LCL [London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1930], 51).

[13] R. Smend, *Weisheit des Jesus Sirach*, 3 vols (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1906–07), 476.

[14] E. Jacob, "L'histoire d'Israël vue par Ben Sira," in *Melanges bibliques rédigés en l'honneur de André Robert*, Travaux de l'Institut Catholique de Paris 4 (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1958), 288–94.

[15] J. D. Martin, "Ben Sira's Hymn to the Fathers: a Messianic Perspective," in *Crises and Perspectives*, ed. A. S. van der Woude, OTS 24 (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 107–23 (112–16).

the end of the apocalypse, apparently in a reference to the messiah. This might suggest that the Adamic imagery is messianic.[16]

Life of Adam and Eve

There are a number of books that cover the lives of Adam and Eve. The two earliest, probably dating from the 1st century C.E., are the Greek Apocalypse of Moses (or Assumption of Moses) and the Latin *Vitae Adae et Euae*. Later parallel versions are the Armenian, Georgian, and Slavonic lives of Adam and Eve.[17] Only a few passages are immediately relevant. Although Adam and Eve are not explicitly depicted as angelic, there are hints that their pre-expulsion state was exalted as in other Jewish sources. For example, Adam was originally clothed in glory (GLAE 20:1–2). In Eden, according to the LLAE (4:2), Adam and Eve enjoyed the food of angels. Once they had sinned, they were afflicted with "seventy plagues" (LLAE 34:1). Their "fallen" state was evidently much different from the pre-fallen one.

Apocalypse of Baruch

Second Baruch is not easy to date, though it seems to be related to 4 Ezra which is about 100 C.E. Most would probably date it about the same time, though it may make use of pre-70 sources in some cases.[18] It has a number of statements about Adam, the following being the most revealing:

> And as you first saw the black waters on the top of the cloud which first came down upon the earth; this is the transgression which Adam, the first man, committed. For when he transgressed, untimely death[19] came into being, mourning was mentioned, affliction was prepared, illness was created, labor accomplished, pride began to come into existence, the realm of death began to ask to be renewed with blood, the conception of children came about, the passion of the parents was produced, the loftiness of men was humiliated, and goodness vanished. (2 Baruch 56:5–6)

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[16] Martin, "Ben Sira's Hymn to the Fathers," 118–19.

[17] These are all conveniently available in the original text and English translations in the synoptic edition edited by Gary Anderson and Michael Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 2nd rev. ed., SBL.EJL 5 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999).

[18] Cf. A. F. J. Klijn, "2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch," *OTP*, 1:615–652 (1:616–17); P. Bogaert, *L'Apocalypse syriaque de Baruch*, 2 vols., SC 144 (Paris: Cerf, 1969), 1:80–88.

[19] The Syriac text for "untimely death" reads *mwt' dl' bzbnh hw'* (S. Dedering [ed.], *Apocalypse of Baruch*, Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshiṭta Version, Part IV, Fasc. 3 [Leiden: Brill, 1973], 32). A similar wording is found in 54:15.

This passage and others affirm that death came on mankind because of the sin of Adam (cf. also 17:3; 23:4; 54:15). It was not just a case that the descendents of a mortal were themselves mortal. On the contrary, mortality goes back to Adam's sin. Something changed, and this was manifested in new situations in human psychology and society. Granted, each is responsible for his own death because of his own sin (54:19), but Adam's sin caused something different and unprecedented.

2 Enoch

The dating of 2 Enoch is very difficult, but several scholars have recently argued for a date before 70 C.E.[20] This text also has a tradition of an Adam who had angelic characteristics when first created. Notice especially 30:11–12 (ms J): "And on the earth I assigned him to be a second angel, honored and great and glorious. And I assigned him to be a king, to reign [on] the earth, [and] to have my wisdom. And there was nothing comparable to him on the earth, even among my creatures that exist."

Adam was also a kingly figure when in Eden. This reminds one of the glorified Adam pictured on a throne in the Testament of Abraham. It is this and other literature that suggest that the position and bodily appearance of Adam in this text were those that he originally possessed before being cast out of Paradise. In other words, the glorified Adam of Testament of Abraham was not just a post-mortem transformation but his original state in Eden.

Apocalypse of Abraham

The dating of this writing is perhaps the most controversial. Nevertheless, there is evidence that it is about the same time as 4 Ezra and the Revelation of John.[21] Apocalypse of Abraham 23:4–8 reads:

> And I looked at the picture, and my eyes ran to the side of the garden of Eden. And I saw there a man very great in height and terrible in breadth, incomparable in aspect, entwined with a woman who was also equal to the man in aspect and size. And they were standing under a tree of Eden, and the fruit of the tree was like the appearance of a bunch of grapes of the vine. And behind the tree was standing (something) like a dragon in form, but

[20] See the article by Andrei Orlov, "The Sacerdotal Traditions of 2 Enoch and the Date of the Text" in the present volume, for a survey of views, as well as arguments for his own position.

[21] Cf. R. Rubinkiewicz, "Apocalypse of Abraham," *OTP*, 1:681–705 (1:683).

> having hands and feet like a man's, on his back six wings on the right and six on the left. And he was holding the grapes of the tree and feeding them to the two I saw entwined with each other.

Conclusions

We come back to the question of the Adam tradition. Levison delineated one tradition about Adam, that he was created a mortal who sinned and was driven from Eden.[22] But even that tradition admits that Adam's position in Paradise was different from that pertaining later. In this tradition, however, there is no clear "fall of man," only a sin that is inherited because Adam's descendents also sin. Levison also argues that there is a distinction between the apocalyptic tradition (which attributes "death and the physical pain of the present, evil age to the transgression of Adam")[23] and the wisdom tradition ("wisdom writers regard mortality as a natural feature of human existence").[24] Whether we can group the sources so neatly remains a question for me, but I accept the basic point.

Yet there is another tradition, clearly evident in a number of sources, that is not discussed by Levison. Indeed, I find it strange that he has excluded precisely those sources that give this other tradition, the tradition of a "fall of man." This tradition may have been inspired or at least influenced by Ezekiel 28. In this the state of Adam and Eve in Eden is not just that of ordinary mortals. It is true that they are not said to be immortal, but their bodies are huge and glorified, angelic in certain ways, even semi-divine. It seems clear that immortality awaited them if they had been obedient. When they sinned, they lost something. They "fell" and became ordinary mortals with ordinary human bodies. The magnificent physical attributes they possessed in Eden were lost (cf. Testament of Abraham; Life of Adam and Eve; 2 Enoch; Apocalypse of Abraham; perhaps even Ben Sira). Not all writers fall neatly into one or the other tradition. Philo recognizes the physical differences of the original couple from their descendents but does not clearly depict a fall. Second Baruch does

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[22] Levison points out, "Since diversity rather than unity characterizes early Jewish interpretations of Adam, we cannot speak of an Adam mythology or broad motifs, such as 'The Exalted Adam'" (*Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism*, 160). Yet, although there is diversity, there is also a clustering of motifs. I think it is perfectly legitimate to refer to such a clustering as "a tradition," while recognizing that there is not necessarily complete unity. I do not believe a thorough-going nomism is justified.

[23] Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism*, 158.

[24] Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism*, 158.

not have an explicit fall, but he does indicate that Adam's deed brought death into the world.

One final question: is Adam a mediator figure? In many ways, Adam is the *ultimate* mediator figure. He had the *potential* of bringing immense good to the human race: paradisial living, a life of health and strength without pain, great knowledge and wisdom, and finally immortality. In reality (mythical reality) he was the mediator of mortality and death to all his descendents. He descended from the sublime to the debased, which is exactly what happened to the figure among the stones of fire in Ezekiel 28. Instead of a god, he was a human. Instead of gaining immortality, Adam became an enfeebled mortal, and he mediated that to all who sprang from his loins. Adam was definitely a mediator figure in some Second Temple sources.

ADAMIC TRADITIONS IN 2 ENOCH AND IN THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

Johannes Magliano-Tromp

In this contribution I should like to compare a number of traditions on Adam as contained in 2 Enoch with those known from the books of Adam and Eve, with particular attention to the various versions of the Life of Adam and Eve. These writings were written independently of each other, but have in common a number of traditions that are obviously related to each other. Do those traditions have a fixed and intrinsic meaning that stays intact, no matter in which written context they are adopted, or are they flexible, and is their meaning entirely determined by the written context? It will appear that, although the latter alternative is *a priori* much more likely, some Adamic traditions seem nonetheless remarkably stable in the meaning they convey, so that it can be concluded that some stories about Adam and Eve are not just vehicles of whatever meaning, but are chosen by authors and editors of texts because of the meaning they intrinsically convey or evoke.

In the first section, I shall discuss the *Sitz im Leben* of 2 Enoch's and the Life of Adam and Eve's transmission, which I believe to be similar in both cases. Then, selected Adamic traditions in 2 Enoch will be surveyed and interpreted within the context of its transmission; the same will then be done for these traditions in the Life of Adam and Eve.

1. *The Transmission of 2 Enoch and Related Literature in the Context of Monastical and Popular Christianity*

It is a well-established fact that the Old Testament pseudepigrapha have been transmitted almost exclusively by the Christian Church.[1] Apart from

[1] See, e.g., R. A. Kraft, "Setting the Stage and Framing Some Central Questions," *JSJ* 32 (2001): 371–395; repr. in Kraft, *Exploring the Scripturesque. Jewish Texts and their Christian Contexts*, JSJSup 137 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 35–60; M. de Jonge, *Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament as Part of Christian Literature. The Case of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Greek* Life of Adam and Eve, SVTP 18, (Leiden: Brill, 2003); J. R. Davila, *The*

chance findings of fragments of Jubilees and 1 Enoch among the Dead Sea scrolls, there are no traces of the transmission of these writings by Jewish communities. However, the realization that this is so, is still of a somewhat general nature.

Students of the pseudepigrapha have often noted that these writings are often found among hagiographical literature of a much more pronounced Christian nature.[2] Apparently, to the copyists of these writings, the lives of the pre-Christian saints such as Adam, Enoch, Abraham and the Twelve Patriarchs were of no less value than those of the martyrs of the Church, albeit perhaps for different reasons. However, which meaning they had for them, and for which reasons, is rarely investigated.

In what follows, I shall attempt to understand 2 Enoch and the Life of Adam and Eve as writings in which Christian copyists and audiences vested a certain interest. There is reason to believe that a similar value was not attached to these writings by all Christians. In his study on the legend of the cheirograph of Adam, Michael Stone traced this story in various parts of the Christian tradition—including Armenia, the Balkans, and Ethiopia. As a final remark, he notes, that whereas the exegetical tradition underlying this legend is paramount in the hagiographical and iconographical modes of expression in the Eastern churches, it rarely or never occurs in patristic literature: "One is led to speculate about the genres being determinative of this separation."[3] Slightly modified, one might suspect that the gap between patristic and hagiographic literature reflects a sociological divide between urban theologians and less sophisticated forms of Christian thought and belief.

In the case of 2 Enoch, Christfried Böttrich has explicitly designated monastic circles as responsible for this writing's transmission. Böttrich speculates that the translation of this writing from Greek into Slavonic was made as part of a corpus of ascetic and hagiographical writings. From

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Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha. Jewish, Christian, or Other?, JSJSup 105 (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

[2] E.g., C. Böttrich, *Weltweisheit, Menschheitsethik, Urkult. Studien zum slavischen Henochbuch*, WUNT 2/50 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 103–105; cf. A. A. Orlov, *Selected Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, SVTP 23 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 3–7.

[3] "The Legend of the Cheirograph of Adam," in: *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays*, ed. M. E. Stone, *et al.*, SVTP 15 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 149–166 (esp. 166). Similar conclusions were drawn by myself concerning the reception of the Apocalypse of Moses and the Assumption of Moses, respectively; see J. Tromp, "Origen on the *Assumption of Moses*," in *Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome. Studies in Ancient Cultural Interaction in Honour of A. Hilhorst*, ed. F. García Martínez and G. P. Luttikhuizen, JSJSup 82 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 323–340.

there, it was adopted by circles interested in chronography, and hence came to function as a compendium of ethics and morals, initially for bishops and eventually also for the common people.[4]

Simpler reconstructions are conceivable (although not necessarily more likely on that account). One such reconstruction would be that 2 Enoch had from the beginning circulated in and around monasteries, and that those monasteries have always been the locus of both the adoption and the dissemination of popular lore about this patriarch, and of the moral teachings ascribed to him. 2 Enoch, as well as numerous other Old Testament pseudepigrapha, was included in collections of holy lives. Such collections in general seem to have been intended for moral edification, rather than for theological or historiographical purposes. They contain the stories that people in general knew and through which people could be reminded of the proper way to live on God's earth.[5] Christians with a more urban background, aware of the humble places where the pseudepigrapha were at home, may have deemed it below their standing to refer to these legends and the writings containing them, even if they knew their contents.

I should like to suggest that writings such as 2 Enoch and the Life of Adam and Eve contain traditions that were first of all passed down orally, and were then also recorded in monasteries, perhaps in an effort to contain the development of this folklore within certain limits, or simply because of their usefulness from a homiletical point of view. From this perspective, it is plausible that the oral and the literary transmission were in interaction, an assumption that to a large extent explains the constant process of revision to which these writings were subject.[6]

It is necessary, then, to distinguish between the "official" Christianity of the bishops, patristic authors, and ecumenical councils on the one hand, and what went on in the countryside, on the other.[7] This should make us

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[4] Böttrich, *Weltweisheit*, 95–107 (esp. 105); cf. the remarks by G. Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom and Inaugurated Eschatology in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, JSJSup 115 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 202–204.

[5] Cf. J. Tromp, "The Story of our Lives: The *qz*-Text of the Life of Adam and Eve, the Apostle Paul, and the Jewish-Christian Oral Tradition concerning Adam and Eve," *NTS* 50 (2004): 205–223.

[6] J. C. Picard, *Le continent apocryphe. Essai sur les littératures apocryphes juive et chrétienne*, Instrumenta patristica 36 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 247–287.

[7] W. Puchner, *Akkomodationsfragen. Einzelbeispiele zum paganen Hintergrund von Elementen der frühkirchlichen und mittelalterlichen Sakraltradition und Volksfrömmigkeit*, Kulturgeschichtliche Forschungen 23 (München: Tuduv, 1997), 13; Picard, *Le continent apocryphe*, 5–6.

cautious in measuring the contents of popular traditions by the standards of official Christianity. We should not be surprised to find in them notions that are hardly warranted by the Church's creed or by the biblical material to which they refer and refrain from designating them, on that account, as heretical.[8] The study of such writings as 2 Enoch and the Life of Adam and Eve should teach us that notions that may initially strike us as inconceivable in a Christian context[9] are actually well at home there, because the history of these writings' transmission shows that they apparently were.[10] It is our duty to investigate which meaning these writings may have had in the context where they are actually found (e.g., the Greek and Slavonic churches of the Middle Ages), before we speculate about their meaning in the hypothetical original context of pre-Christian Judaism.[11]

In the case of 2 Enoch, these matters receive extra urgency in the face of this writing's text-critical situation. In what follows, I shall be referring to the "long" recension as reflected in two recent translations,[12] which is argued by a number of scholars to preserve the most primitive text form. This view is opposed to André Vaillant's hypothesis, in which the "short" recension is presented as the one that comes closest to the original Slavonic translation.[13] I have not taken Vaillant's text as a starting-point, because in that case there would be much less about Adam and Eve to talk about; in the short recension, these figures are rather marginal.

It is impossible to reach a scholarly consensus about the priority of recensions, as long as the fundamental text-critical issues have not been cleared. Only a *stemma codicum*, based on the certainly secondary nature of readings and thereby establishing the genetic relationships between the available manuscripts' texts, can resolve the question of the priority of text-forms. As long as no serious attempts are made to draw up such

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[8] E. Turdeanu, "Apocryphes bogomiles et apocryphes pseudo-bogomiles," in: *Apocryphes slaves et roumains de l'Ancien Testament*, ed. Turdeanu, SVTP 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 1–74 (first published in *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 138 and 139 [1950]: 22–52 and 176–218).

[9] Cf. F. I. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (New York: Doubleday, 1983, 1985), 1:91–221 (esp. 1:94).

[10] M. de Jonge and J. Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve and Related Literature* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 68–69.

[11] R. A. Kraft, "The Pseudepigrapha in Christianity," in *Tracing the Threads. Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. C. Reeves, Early Judaism and its Literature 6 (Atlanta: SBL, 1994), 55–86 (esp. 75–76).

[12] Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch;" C. Böttrich, "Das slavische Henochbuch," JSHRZ V/7 (Gütersloh: Gütersloh Verlagshaus, 1995), 781–1040.

[13] A. Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch. Texte slave et traduction française*, Textes publiés par l'Institut d'Études slaves IV (Paris: Inst. d'Études Slaves, 1952, 1976[2]).

a *stemma*, or if its production would appear impossible, there can be no certainty with regard to the priority of recensions. So we are reduced to discussing individual Medieval manuscripts, and should accept the chronological consequences of that discussion.

2. *Adamic Traditions in 2 Enoch*

In what follows, I shall discuss three main motifs in 2 Enoch concerning Adam: (a) Adam and the elements; (b) Adam as ruler of the cosmos; (c) Adam as ruler over the animals.

(a) *Adam and the Elements*

In 2 En 30:8–9 it is related that God, through the mediation of his wisdom, formed man from seven elements (στοιχεῖα),[14] and bestowed him with seven sensory and intellectual capacities. In 2 En 30:13–14 it is stated that his name was formed from four letters (στοιχεῖα), corresponding both to the four corners of heaven, and to four stars.[15] This is a well-known motif, and it is clear that 2 Enoch represents a secondary version of it: in the course of time, the motif developed into a number of variants, which are here brought together and more or less harmonized. In a recent study, Sever Voicu has re-examined the available evidence of this motif and has proposed the following history of its development.[16]

SibOr III 24–26 is generally regarded as the earliest witness to Adam's name as an acronym of the four corners of heaven (ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία).[17] In Pseudo-Cyprian's treatise *De duobus montibus Sina et Sion*,

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[14] For this Greek equivalent, see Böttrich, "Das slavische Henochbuch," 915; Böttrich, *Adam als Mikrokosmos. Eine Untersuchung zum slavischen Henochbuch*, Judentum und Umwelt 50 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995), 29.

[15] Cf. C. Böttrich, "Biblische Figuren im slavischen Henochbuch," in *Biblical Figures in Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature*, ed. H. Lichtenberger and U. Mittmann-Richert, Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook 2008 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 303–335 (esp. 320).

[16] S. J. Voicu, "Adamo, acrostico del mondo," *Apocrypha* 18 (2007): 205–230.

[17] It should be noted that these lines are not part of the same writing as SibOr III 93–829, as is indicated by the manuscripts themselves; they are the fragmentary final part of a different Sibylline book, now lost for the greater part (see R. Buitenwerf, *Book III of the Sibylline Oracles and its Social Setting*, SVTP 17 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 66–72). Therefore, SibOr III 1–92 should be studied in its own right (Buitenwerf, *Book III of the Sibylline Oracles*, 91), and the habit to treat this fragment as, so to speak, more of the same as SibOr III 93–829 (e.g., Böttrich, *Adam als Mikrokosmos*, 23–24; Voicu, "Adamo," 207) is to be abandoned. In

probably dating from the third century C.E., the connection is made with four stars; moreover, the numerical value of the letters of Adam's name is counted as forty-six, a number that is subsequently connected to various events in salvation history, including Christ's resurrection. Next, it was Zosimus of Panopolis who, in his treatise on the letter Omega, connected the four letters of Adam's name with the four elements (air, water, fire, earth).[18] At about the same time, the early fourth century, Severianus of Gabala, speculated that Adam was made of material taken from the four corners of the world.

According to Voicu, Augustine of Hippo was instrumental in causing the proliferation of this motif in Western Christianity. In a number of sermons on the Gospel of John, delivered in the year 407, Augustine ruminated on Pseudo-Cyprian's theses; subsequently, numerous other ecclesiastical authors appear to have adopted his views.[19] A great number of variants of this motif come together in the ninth-century treatise *De plasmatione Adam*, written in Ireland, and adopted as an appendix to the Latin Life of Adam and Eve in the eleventh century.[20] A further development of the tradition in this text is the connection between the elements from which Adam was made (the number of which had in the meantime grown to eight)[21] and the capacities and characteristics that were bestowed on Adam.[22]

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the absence of a thorough study of this fragment, it is premature to simply assume that it can be dated to the second century B.C.E., as is often done.

[18] That Adam (just as the rest of creation) was formed from the four elements (στοιχεῖα), was in itself an ancient and widespread idea (see M. T. d'Alverny, "L'homme comme symbole. Le microcosme," in *Simboli e simbologia nell' alto Medioevo* I, ed. C. G. Mor, *et al.*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo 23 [Spoleto: presso la sede del Centro, 1976], 123–183; cf. Böttrich, *Adam als Mikrokosmos*, 36–38; A. S. M. Ri, *Commentaire de la Caverne des Trésors. Etude sur l'histoire du texte et de ses sources*, CSCO, Subsidia 103 [Leuven: Peeters, 2000], 141–145). What matters in this connection, however, is the combination of this view with the four letters (στοιχεῖα!) of Adam's name and the stars (στοιχεῖα!) they represent.

[19] See the survey in d'Alverny, "L'homme comme symbole" (which also includes the Arabic and Islamic tradition); cf. D. Cerbelaud, "Le nom d'Adam et les points cardinaux. Recherches sur un thème patristique," *VC* 38 (1984): 285–301 (esp. 286–289); for the rabbinic variant of this tradition, see A. A. Orlov, " 'Without Measure and Without Analogy': The Tradition of the Divine Body in 2 (*Slavonic*) *Enoch*," in *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism. Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, A. A. Orlov, JSJSup 114 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 149–174 (first published in *JSJ* 56 [2005]: 224–244); (esp. 160–161).

[20] Ed., J. H. Mozley, "The 'Vita Adae'," *JTS* 30 (1929): 121–149.

[21] The eventual number ranges from seven to eight or even nine in various forms of the tradition; M. Förster, "Adams Erschaffung und Namengebung. Ein lateinisches Fragment des s. g. slawischen Henoch," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 11 (1908): 477–529 (esp. 502–503).

[22] Cf. already the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, T. Reuben 2:3–3:1.

This version of the Life of Adam and Eve continues by stating that Adam was formed in the middle of the earth, Bethlehem, where Jesus was born,[23] and was composed of material fetched by the angels from the four corners of the earth. When God wanted to find a name for the man he made, the angels went to the four corners of heaven, and took the first letter of each of these; in this way Adam's name was found.

The organization of the material by Voicu so far is fascinating, because it strongly suggests a gradual expansion of the motif through the ages. Starting from the notion that the four letters of Adam's name were to be connected with stars representing the corners of heaven, the ensuing developments show how these four stars came to evoke the notions of the four elements (which number eventually grew into eight, in turn associated with the human senses and capacities), the four corners of the earth, and the four archangels. The Irish treatise *De plasmatione Adam*, adopted into the Latin Life of Adam and Eve in the eleventh century, clearly seems to be an end point to this development.

Voicu takes us one step further by concluding from this that several pieces of Eastern European literature, such as *The Dialogue of the Three Hierarchs* (eleventh century), are dependent on *De plasmatione Adam*. Indeed, the *Dialogue* contains numerous verbal agreements with *De plasmatione*, and the conclusion of a relationship of literary dependence is inescapable.[24] Voicu also concludes that 2 Enoch 30, which he, following Vaillant's reconstruction of 2 Enoch's textual history, regards as a secondary addition from the fifteenth century, depends on *De plasmatione Adam*.[25]

I am well aware that there are scholars who have very strong opinions about the originality of the "long" recension of 2 Enoch.[26] I must confess, however, that I am impressed by Voicu's study. In my opinion, his conclusions pose a very serious challenge to those who wish to maintain both points, namely, that the "long" recension is primitive, and that it was originally Jewish. If the "long" recension, including chapter 30–33, is primitive

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[23] Cf. *The History of the Repentance of Adam and Eve* 102, ed. W. L. Lipscomb, *The Armenian Apocryphal Adam Literature*, Armenian Texts and Studies 8 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 233.

[24] So already Förster, "Adams Erschaffung," 482.

[25] Vaillant, *Le livre des secrets*, 100, regarded this passage in 2 Enoch as dependent on the *Dialogue of the Three Hierarchs*.

[26] E.g., A. A. Orlov, "Noah's Younger Brother Revisited: Anti-Noachic Polemics and the Date of 2 (*Slavonic*) *Enoch*," in *From Apocalypticism*, Orlov, 379–396 (first published in *Hen* 26 [2004]: 172–187).

and depends on *De plasmatione Adam*, a Jewish origin for 2 Enoch is virtually excluded.

In any event, the history of European Christian literature shows that speculations about Adam's name were very much in vogue, and that the notions in 2 Enoch about the four letters of his name and the seven elements from which he was made (paired to his seven senses and capacities) are various offshoots of a single motif that connected Adam's name with the four corners of heaven.

Although there have been various studies on the history of this motif,[27] only a few have discussed its *meaning*. If it is true that this notion was one of the most popular in Christianity, why was that so? Böttrich, in his study of this issue, expresses himself in rather general terms about the meaning of Adam as a microcosmos: "Der Mensch, obgleich krönender Abschluß der Schöpfung und unvergleichbarer Herrscher aller Geschöpfe, ist doch von den einfachsten Bausteinen der Welt genommen und bleibt deren Teil."[28] However, as has been shown elaborately by Dominique Cerbelaud, most authors using this motif have linked it directly to Christ and his cosmic rule, understanding the microcosmic nature of Adam as a prefiguration of Christ's subduing the world to his kingship.[29] This interpretation of Adam's name is not explicit in 2 Enoch, but we might consider it as a possible frame of reference for the Christian readers and transmitters of this writing, especially since 2 En 30:12, almost immediately following this motif, broaches the subject of Adam's kingship, to which we shall now turn.

(b) *Adam As Ruler of the World*

In 2 En 30:11–12 it is stated that God devised humanity to be the ruler of creation. However, this passage is almost immediately followed by God's decision to provide Adam with the choice between good and evil (2 En 30:15), while knowing very well that Adam was certain to commit a sin

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[27] See, for instance, the survey in Böttrich, *Adam als Mikrokosmos*, 7–15; and add d'Alverny, "L'homme comme symbole;" Cerbelaud, "Le nom d'Adam;" and now also Voicu, "Adamo."

[28] *Adam als Mikrokosmos*, 8.

[29] Cerbelaud, "Le nom d'Adam." See, for instance, Hrabanus Maurus, *De laudibus sanctae crucis* I 12, on the four letters of Adam's name signifying the four corners of the world (Cerbelaud's translation, 287): "Et par là il nous est donné à comprendre qu'Adam fut créé Seigneur du monde, figure de celui qui serait le rédempteur et le restaurateur du monde entier, par la croix quadrangulaire. C'est pourquoi on l'appelle le second Adam."

(2 En 30:16), and therefore to lose his dominion. In this way, the author seems to project the outcome of the events back into the divine deliberations preceding their occurrence, in an apparent effort to safeguard God's prescience and providence.[30]

Chapters 31–32 elaborate upon this motif. They relate that God placed Adam in paradise, and that the devil realized that Adam was to be the ruler of everything on earth (2 En 31:1–3). Because of the sinful essence of his character, the devil contrived a way to end that situation, and he seduced Eve (2 En 31:5–6). God then decided not to condemn anyone or anything he had made with his own hands, but only their wicked deeds (2 En 31:7). God said to Adam that he would have to return to the dust from which he was taken, but that God would accept him again at his "second coming" (2 En 32:1). Some manuscripts add that Adam was in paradise for five and a half hours.

These sections can without effort be read as a meaningful whole. The overarching message is that humankind was destined to rule of the world, but that the devil's evil nature prevented this intention from being fulfilled; however, humanity will still receive what lays in store for them at the second coming of God.

Within the context of 2 Enoch's transmission in the Slavonic church, the second coming of God is most likely Christ's eschatological *parousia*.[31] This is confirmed by the addition, whether it is secondary or not, that Adam lived in paradise for five and a half hours, an unmistakable reference to the Christian chronological schema that assumed that Christ's first coming took place in the 5,500th year of creation, and that his second can be expected in the 6,000th year. On various occasions in Christian apocryphal literature, the first and second comings of Christ (and their respective dates) are telescoped into one.[32] The remarks in the next section about the eighth day (2 En 33:1–2), following a more or less obligatory reference to the Sabbath, seamlessly fit in with these Christian speculations about the chronology of the cosmos.[33]

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[30] See also Böttrich, "Biblische Figuren," 321.

[31] Cf. Böttrich, "Das slavische Henochbuch," 928. It has been suggested that, in the assumed Jewish original of 2 Enoch, the "second coming of God" might refer to God's eschatological advent; so Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," 155; Böttrich, "Biblische Figuren," 321.

[32] Tromp, "The Story of our Lives," 211–212.

[33] O. Hofius, *Katapausis. Die Vorstellung vom endzeitlichen Ruheort im Hebräerbrief*, WUNT 11 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1970), 113–115.

It is clear, then, that this motif can easily be understood within a Christian frame of mind. Humankind's rule over the world, although planned from the beginning of Adam's creation, will only be realized through the coming of Christ. From this perspective, the motif that humanity was created in order to rule the world, anticipates the eschatological fulfillment of that original intention.[34]

(c) *Adam As Ruler of the Animals*

In 2 Enoch 58 Adam is presented as ruler of the animals. In a farewell address to Methusalem, his brothers, and the leaders of the people, Enoch is depicted as explaining that God descended upon earth to bring together the animals before Adam, who gave names to all of them (2 En 58:1–2). Next, the Lord installed Adam as king of the animals, made the animals mute and obedient to humanity (2 En 58:3).

This passage is the introduction to a curious section on the relationships between humans and animals. It is said that humanity's kingship over the animals implies a great responsibility for the well-being of the animals (2 En 58:4–6), including that of animals that are sacrificed (2 Enoch 59).[35] Then, Enoch's speech continues into chapter 63 with various instructions of a moral nature. After a brief interlude, in which Enoch is praised and glorified by his people (chapter 64), chapter 65 resumes Enoch's instructions with prophecies and warnings with regard to the great judgment. This section is completed in chapter 66 with a kind of summary about the omniscience of the Lord, and the place of eternal bliss preserved for the righteous ones.

The exhortation and the prophecies in 2 Enoch 60–66 are of a universal nature. There is nothing in these chapters that presupposes a Christian worldview, but there is nothing in them that is inconceivable in a

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[34] G. A. Anderson, *The Genesis of Perfection. Adam and Eve in Jewish and Christian Imagination* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001).

[35] Böttrich, "Biblische Figuren," 322: "Eine solche Herrschaft verpflichtet." A. A. Orlov, "On the Polemical Nature of *2* (*Slavonic*) *Enoch*: A Reply to C. Böttrich," in *From Apocalypticism*, Orlov, 239–268 (first published in *JSJ* 34 [2003]: 274–303) (esp. 249), distinguishes between "the story of Adam's naming of animals and Enoch's instructions to his children about the protection of animals;" in this, he recognizes 2 Enoch's polemics against the Adamic tradition. However, the story of Adam's creation does not precede Enoch's instructions to his children, but forms an integral part of it, merely explaining why people should be good to animals, in agreement with his role as "originator of the sacrificial instruction"; so again Orlov, "Noah's Younger Brother Revisited, 365.

Christian context either, even if the references to the final judgment do not consider a role for Jesus Christ in that event.

At first sight, things are different in the first two chapters of Enoch's speech, about Adam as ruler of the animals, and the direct relation that is made between that motif and the good care that has to be taken of animals, sacrificial animals in particular. The motif of Adam's rule over the animals is already found in Gen 1:28 (cf. Jub 2:14; Sir 17:2–4), and unproblematic in a Christian context; indeed, it was a popular motif in early and Medieval Christianity.[36] However, 2 Enoch 59 directly connects this motif to the question of animal sacrifice. For this reason, this chapter is often taken as one of the clearest indications that 2 Enoch must have been an originally Jewish writing, since it would be inconceivable that a Christian author was the first to pen these lines. 2 Enoch 59 presupposes an actually existing cultic practice, to which the author makes no objection whatsoever, and which does not seem to be discussed in the abstract manner known from the Mishnah.[37] Therefore, this section is understood to imply that the author knew the sacrificial cult in the temple of Jerusalem, before it was destroyed in 70 C.E.,[38] even if Jerusalem or its temple are nowhere mentioned in 2 Enoch.[39]

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[36] See, e.g., H. Maguire, "Adam and the Animals. Allegory and the Literal Sense in Early Christian Art," in *Studies on Art and Archeology in Honor of Ernst Kitzinger*, ed. W. Tronzo and I. Lavin, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 363–373.

[37] See, for instance, Böttrich, *Weltweisheit*, 198–199; Orlov, "Noah's Younger Brother Revisited," 389–390. See also, however, Böttrich, "Biblische Figuren," 322: "Was der Autor des 2. Henoch-Buches in diesem Zusammenhang zum Tierschutz aussagt, ist in der frühjüdischen und frühen christlichen Ethik ohne Parallele!"

[38] Böttrich, *Weltweisheit*, 204; A. M. Denis and J. C. Haelewyck, *Introduction à la littérature religieuse judéo-hellénistique* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 155; contrast, however, A. Rubinstein, "Observations on the Slavonic Book of Enoch," *JJS* 13 (1962): 1–21 (esp. 13–15).

[39] It is often assumed that Achuzan or Azuchan (mentioned in 2 En 64:2; 68:5; 70:17; 71:35) stands for the temple in Jerusalem (e.g., Böttrich, *Weltweisheit*, 196), but to me, the evidence on which this assumption is based, seems weak. The text speaks about the altar erected by Enoch (64:2), not about the temple in Jerusalem. It is the same place where Enoch was taken up into heaven (68:5), and where Methusalem was buried (70:17). In 71:35–36 it is also regarded as the place where Adam was made and where he was buried (together with Abel), and it is designated there as the center of the earth. A second Melchizedek (71:34) will be priest and king at that place. This second Melchizedek is undoubtedly a reference to Christ (so Böttrich, "Das slavische Henochbuch," 1029), and the likeliest place where he is here regarded as having performed his office of priest and king is Golgotha, where Adam was buried according to a widespread tradition in Christianity; see B. Bagatti, "Note sull' iconografia di 'Adamo sotto il Calvario,'" *Liber annuus* 27 (1977): 1–32 (with 42 illustrations). Böttrich, "Das slavische Henochbuch," 804, recognizes the Christian character of 71:32–37 (contrast, however, Orlov, "On the Polemical Nature," 239), and claims that it is one of those passages that can easily be excised to recover the originally Jewish *Grundschrift*.

Be that as it may, we are still obliged to ask to what use this passage may have been put in the context of 2 Enoch's transmission by the Slavonic church. One possibility may be that Medieval Christian readers, who no doubt ate meat themselves, considered the patriarch's instructions on proper dealings with animals as relevant to their own way of killing animals before eating them.

This possibility becomes plausible especially if we take note of certain sacrificial rites that were practiced in the Middle Ages, and even until very recently, on the Balkans (including Greece).[40] Descriptions exist of the ritual slaughter of animals that were subsequently offered to saints (St. George in particular) or to God, followed by a common meal of the sacrificiants. These rituals, performed at specific occasions such as the construction of a house, or a funeral, or also on regular festive days during the summer season, were partly performed by orthodox priests, and on the whole supervised by them. The animals themselves were adorned with candles; prayers accompanying the rituals have been preserved to a great number; a meticulous distinction is reported to have been made between pure and impure animals (that is, animals fit and unfit for sacrifice);[41] and also the demand that the animals are treated in a decent, even loving way is attested.[42]

Often, these sacrifices are viewed as survivals from the Thracian era, but it has also been forcefully argued that the testimonies that exist, both from the Middle Ages and from the twentieth century, are thoroughly Christian in content.[43] Particularly interesting is the fact that the prayers (literarily documented from the early Middle Ages onward) pronounced by the priests are replete with references to Old Testament figures, such as Abel, Abraham, Elijah and other pre-Christian saints, suggesting that the Old Testament presented the models for this sacrificial cult that the

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[40] Puchner, *Akkomodationsfragen*, 54–56, with many bibliographical references, including the standard work by G. N. Aikaterinidis, *Νεοελληνικὲς αἱματηρὲς θυσίες. Λειτουργία—μορφολογία—τυπολογία*, (Diss. Athens 1979 [*non vidi*]). See also B. A. McClelland, *Sacrifice, Scapegoat, Vampire. The Social and Religious Origins of the Bulgarian Folklore Vampire*, (Diss. University of Virginia 1999), http://www.stlazaire.com/NewFiles/DISS.html. I am grateful to Mrs. Rea Matsangou, MA (Leiden), and Prof. Dr. Walter Puchner (Athens) for their help and advice on the following paragraphs.

[41] A. Stahl, "Animal Sacrifices in the Balkans," in *The Realm of the Extra-Human*, ed. A. Bharati (The Hague: Mouton, 1976), 443–451 (esp. 448).

[42] S. Georgoudi, "L'égorgement sanctifié en Grèce moderne: les '*Kourbánia*' des saints," in *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec*, ed. M. Detienne and J. P. Vernant (Paris: Gallimard, 1979), 271–307 (esp. 298–299).

[43] Georgoudi, "L'égorgement sanctifié," 293–297; Puchner, *Akkomodationsfragen*, 55–56.

doctrines of the Church could not provide.[44] It is worthy of note that representatives of the official Church used to protest against these practices, but that this apparently has had little effect on the practice in for instance the countryside, or on the involvement of local priests.[45]

It is conceivable that, in the context of the Christian, specifically Greek and Slavonic, transmission of 2 Enoch, chapters 58–59 functioned as a legitimation of the Balkan tradition of ritual animal sacrifice. As a specimen of monastic, hagiographical tradition, 2 Enoch may have functioned as an anchor for this practice, a primordial source that provided legitimacy to a habit that may not have had the bishops' approval, but had to be condoned by them, or tolerated at the least.[46]

To sum up: in our discussion of three Adamic motifs in 2 Enoch, considered in the context of their transmission by Christians, it has appeared that two of them belong closely together in function and meaning. In a Christian context, the motif of Adam as a microcosmos and that of Adam as ruler of the world are both expressions of the conviction that the first Adam prefigured the second, Jesus Christ.[47]

There does not seem to be a similar coherence with the third motif, Adam as ruler of the animals, a motif with clear antecedents in the Old Testament and Jewish tradition. In 2 Enoch it serves to underline human responsibility towards animals, sacrificial animals in particular. I have made an attempt to find a Christian context for this motif in the sacrificial tradition in the Balkans (including Greece), which has existed from the Middle Ages until very recently, perhaps even today. I readily admit to the speculative nature of this contextualization, but not without pointing out that placing the practices described in the context of the Jerusalem cult is no less the work of hypothesis and fantasy.

3. *Literature on Adam and Eve*

In this section, I shall compare the three Adamic traditions as found in 2 Enoch with the way in which they feature in the literature especially

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[44] Georgoudi, "L'égorgement sanctifié," 294–295.
[45] Georgoudi; cf. Stahl, "Animal Sacrifices," 444.
[46] Georgoudi, "L'égorgement sanctifié," 292–294.
[47] Anderson, *The Genesis of Perfection*; cf. also De Jonge and Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve*, 74–75.

devoted to Adam, in particular the various recensions of the Life of Adam and Eve.

(a) *Adam and the Elements*

Comparing the Adamic traditions in 2 Enoch with the Life of Adam and Eve and related literature, it is noteworthy that the interpretation of Adam's name as an acronym is absent in all recensions except in a late offshoot of the Latin tradition incorporating *De plasmatione Adam*.

The enigmatic Greek text of 5:3 might reflect the cosmic nature of Adam, or at least his offspring, when it states that all Adam's sons gathered unto him, "because the world was divided into three parts." Does this mean that, whereas Adam and Eve lived in the East (1:2), their children had gone to the other parts of the world?[48] The other versions appear to have understood as little of this phrase as we do, leaving it out (Armenian), or interpreting it in a hardly clarifying way (Georgian, Slavonic, Latin).[49] In any case, no association is made with Adam's name.

The only other instance in which the motif occurs in the Life of Adam and Eve is in the Latin text represented mainly by the fourteenth-century manuscript Arundel 326, already discussed above.[50] In this version, it forms part of an appendix to the Latin Life of Adam and Eve, in which various traditions are listed, without much coherence with the story itself. One has the impression that the copyist responsible for this version wished to record a number of motifs concerning Adam and Eve as he knew them, but did not want to go through the trouble of integrating them in the narrative that he had been copying. This impression is reinforced by the phrases with which he introduces these extra traditions: "Now one has to know also that . . ." or, "Furthermore, one should know that. . . ." In this way, several tidbits of knowledge about Adam are merely appended, such as the fact that Enoch's prophecy quoted in Jude 14 was

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[48] Cf. *Asatir* 1:2: "And he gave to Ḳain the West: and he gave to Hebel the North and the South;" ed. M. Gaster, *The Asatir. The Samaritan Book of the "Secrets of Moses"* (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1927), 184 (I thank my colleague Dr. Harm W. Hollander for this reference, as well as for his meticulous reading and critique of an earlier draft of this contribution). For a different interpretation, see J. Dochhorn, *Die Apokalypse des Mose*, TSAJ 106 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 224.

[49] G. A. Anderson and M. E. Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve. Second Revised Edition*, Early Judaism and its Literature 17 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 34–34E.

[50] Mozley, "The 'Vita Adae.' "

written on the same stones that preserved the story of Adam and Eve through the flood; the seven years that Adam stayed in paradise, when he ruled the animals; and then also the eight parts from which Adam was formed; the provenance of the mud from which he was formed, namely, from the four corners of the world; and the provenance of the letters of his name from the four corners of heaven.

In the preceding section we have already seen that the source of this appendix to the Life of Adam and Eve and of 2 Enoch 30–33 is quite likely the same. It is fascinating to observe how two closely related pieces of text show up in approximately contemporary manuscripts in two extreme corners of Europe, in the context of writings that are otherwise unrelated.

(b) *Adam As Ruler of the World*

In 2 Enoch it is stated that Adam was created to rule the world. There is no such statement in the various versions of the Life of Adam and Eve, but there are some related notions.

In the Greek Life of Adam and Eve 39 it is related how God, having just descended on earth for Adam's funeral, bewails Adam's fate, and asks him why he sinned. "If you would have obeyed my command," the author makes him say, "those who brought you down to this place would not have rejoiced" (39:1). The text continues: "However, I tell you that I shall turn their joy into grief, but your grief I shall turn into joy. I shall restore you to your rule, and make you sit on your adversary's throne. He will be thrown down into this place, so that he will see you sitting above him. Then he and those who followed him will be condemned, and he will be sad when he sees you sitting upon his throne" (39:2–3). On the surface, this passage seems to suppose that Adam lost his throne to the devil, but that he will regain it. It is not told in other parts of the Greek Life of Adam and Eve that Adam ever had a throne,[51] or that he lost it to his adversary, the devil.[52]

In this writing, the only other reference to some kind of rule that humanity lost, is in section 11. There it is related that an animal attacks Seth, who is accompanied by Eve on a journey to paradise, and explains to Eve that the animals' enmity towards humans is due to her sin: "Complain

[51] See, however, Testament of Abraham 11:4–9 (long recension); cf. Testament of Adam (all Syriac recensions) 3:1.

[52] Cf. Dochhorn, *Die Apokalypse*, 518–521.

about yourself, because the rule of the animals is caused by you" (11:1). As we shall see below, it has been argued that this phrase in 11:1 reflects the notion of the devil's rule on earth; in that case, the inimical animal in sections 10–12 would be no other than the serpent, that is, the devil. However, it is not necessary to interpret Greek Life of Adam and Eve 11:1 in this specific way, if it is accepted that the phrase simply expresses a reversal of fortunes: Once, Adam used to rule the animals, but he has lost that status.

In the Greek Life of Adam and Eve 16:3, it is told that the devil invited the serpent to be his companion in seducing Adam to sin, "so that he will be cast out of paradise, just as we have been cast out by him." This must be a reference to the story of the devil's fall from heaven, a story that is narrated at length in the Armenian, Georgian and Latin versions of the writing.[53] The author of the Greek Life of Adam and Eve must have known it in some form, but he has chosen not to narrate it.[54] It should be noted, however, that the story in the Oriental and Latin recensions explains that jealousy of Adam's status caused the devil to seduce him to sin, but that no mention is made of a throne for Adam, let alone that the devil would, through his evil schemes, have earned a throne of his own. Because the devil had fallen from God's grace, he wanted Adam's downfall as well; in the end, both receive an undesirable existence, and there is no throne for either of them.[55]

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[53] See especially G. A. Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan," in *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays*, ed. M. E. Stone, *et al.*, SVTP 15 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 83–110.

[54] Tromp, "The Story of our Lives;" cf. M. E. Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on *The Books of Adam and Eve*," in *Literature on Adam and Eve*, ed. Stone, *et al.*, 43–56.

[55] The Oriental and Latin recensions of the Life of Adam and Eve tell the story of Satan's fall from heavenly glory, causing his jealousy of Adam and Eve's happy life in paradise (the opposition being, then, that between the devil's former glory, and Adam and Eve's delight). In the Armenian version, it is even explicitly said that the devil from then on lived in sorrow and pains (armLAE 16:2); cf. armgeolatLAE 12:1. See on this matter, G. A. Anderson, "Ezekiel 28, the Fall of Satan, and the Adam Books," in *Literature on Adam and Eve*, ed. Stone, *et al.*, 133–147; cf. Dochhorn, *Die Apokalypse*, 287–288. An original throne for Adam appears in the Coptic *Discourse on Abbatôn* (trans. E. A. W. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms etc. in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* [London: Longmans and Co., 1914], 482–491 [esp. 483]), but in this story, Adam's fall does not lead to Satan's rule, either. Instead, kingship is granted to Mouriêl, or Abbatôn, the angel of death (Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms*, 489–490). Cf. the rather confused note in the *History of the Creation and Transgression of Adam* 9: "[The Lord God] put Adam in the middle of the garden because if Adam had kept the Lord's commands, he would have ascended gloriously to the celestial Jerusalem, to the place of the angels who had fallen" (Lipscomb, *The Armenian Apocryphal Adam Literature*, 119).

Greek Life of Adam and Eve 39, then, seems to presuppose yet another story, one that explains how the devil came to rule this world instead of Adam. That story, however, is not told in any of the recensions of the Life of Adam and Eve, except perhaps in the Slavonic, where Satan is told to have given Adam and Eve permission to plow the earth, on condition that they sign a contract, granting world dominion to the devil; Adam signed it, because he knew very well that Christ would eventually annul that contract (slavLAE 33[34:1]-37:1). Many variants of this story exist in the Armenian, Russian and Medieval and Modern Greek tradition, and it is also well attested in Eastern European iconography.[56] It is clear that the entire story is an elaboration of what is said in Col 2:14, namely that God wiped out the record of our debts and nailed it to the cross. In this interpretation, the Greek word χειρόγραφον, "record of debts," was understood in the sense of "contract," and Adam and Satan were conceived of as the contract partners, whose agreement was canceled by Jesus' crucifixion. But even the Slavonic version of the Life of Adam and Eve does not suggest that the devil took over his rule from Adam.

In summary, it can be said that, although Greek Life of Adam and Eve 39 seems to hint at a story in which Adam had to vacate his throne to the devil, this story did not actually exist. Instead, we find stories that relate how both Satan and Adam fell from glory. God's promise in 39:2–3, that Adam will be seated on the throne formerly occupied by Satan, is a projection into the future of a situation that was commonly assumed to be the reason for the devil's jealousy in primordial times.

To be sure, the notion that the devil is at present ruling the material world is well known in ancient sources. Moreover, the way in which for instance the Gospel of John speaks about the devil as "the ruler of this world" as a self-evident situation allows us to assume for the moment that this notion was not invented by Christians, but already existed in Jewish circles. However, the projection of the devil's fall from his throne into a future when Adam's destiny will be fulfilled—with the devil temporarily occupying the throne intended for Adam—seems to presuppose the Christian schema of the Christ enthroned in heaven as the second Adam, finally bringing God's intention with humankind to fulfillment. Greek Life of Adam and Eve 39, then, is to be read as an anticipation of the situation

[56] Stone, "The Legend of the Cheirograph;" cf. Turdeanu, "Apocryphes bogomiles," 44–49.

brought about by Christ's victory over the devil, through which the original intention of creation was completed.[57]

(c) *Adam As Ruler of the Animals*

As mentioned above, the notion that Adam was intended to rule the animals (2 Enoch 58) is already present in Genesis, Jubilees, and other early Jewish literature.[58]

In Greek Life of Adam and Eve 10–12, however, humanity's rule over the animals (and its loss of that dominion) is problematized. When Adam has fallen ill, he asks Eve and their son Seth to go to paradise and ask for oil from the tree, with which he expects to alleviate his pain (9:3). On their way to paradise, Eve and Seth encounter an animal that attacks Seth. Eve reproaches it for fighting against the image of God, and reminds it of its subordination to the image of God (10). The animal rejects her reproach, and explains that it is because of Eve's transgression that the rule of the animals has come about (11). Finally, Seth tells the animal to disappear from the sight of the image of God until the day of judgment, and so it does (12).

After Seth and Eve's return from paradise, where the favor they asked for was tersely denied (13), Adam instructs his wife to explain to their children how the present situation has come about (14). Eve then begins her flashback by telling that Adam and she were responsible for taking care of the animals in paradise: Adam for the male animals, and Eve for the female ones (15). When the devil seduced the serpent, he began by asking why it ate the stuff Adam weeded, instead of the food from paradise (16:3). After the fall, God announced his verdict on the culprits.[59] Adam's

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[57] See again Anderson, *The Genesis of Perfection*.

[58] For the relevant views of Philo of Alexandria, see J. R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism. From Sirach to 2 Baruch*, JSPSup (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), 65–88.

[59] In 2 En 31:7–8 it seems to be said that God decided *not* to curse anything created by himself—in 31:7a, however, the meaning of the text appears to be unclear; see Böttrich, "Das slavische Henochbuch," 927; differently: Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," 154. In *The Cave of Treasures*, God explains to Adam that he has cursed the earth because of Adam, but has not cursed Adam himself (5:4). In the same context, God promises Adam to send his son to save him and restore him to his heritage (5:1–9); see also *The History of the Expulsion of Adam from the Garden* 23–27 (ed. Lipscomb, *The Armenian Apocryphal Adam Literature*, 139–141). In the Greek Life of Adam and Eve, the angels pray to God to forgive Adam, because Adam was made in the image of God, by his own hands (33:5; 35:2), and later on in this writing, Adam appears to be pardoned by the Lord for exactly this reason (37:2; cf. Levison, *Portraits of Adam*, 185; Dochhorn, *Die Apokalypse*, 479). In 2 En 31:7–8, then, God's decision not to condemn the work of his own hands can be explained as an anticipation of his mercy.

punishments included the disobedience of the animals, over which he once ruled (24:3). The serpent's punishments included enmity between itself and humankind (26:4).

In sections 10–12 it is said that the animal world was once subject to humanity ("the image of God," here represented by Seth), but that it has taken over dominion because of Eve's sin. However, there is reason to assume that we should not take the second part of this proposition at face value. The concept that animals are at present ruling humankind is unparalleled, and it should be noted that the animal actually obeys Seth as soon as he tells it to be silent and disappear from the image of God until the day of judgment.[60] Moreover, the maledictions in sections 24 and 26 explicate that from now on, animals will be disobedient and in a state of enmity, but not that humans will have to obey the animals.

In a recent article Rivka Nir has argued that the animal encountered by Eve and Seth according to sections 10–12 was none other than the devil. She adduces parallels for the notion that the devil is constantly attempting to prevent humankind's return to paradise, and suggests that it is no coincidence that in the Life of Adam and Eve Seth is attacked at the one moment he is actually on his way to that place. Nir also offers an explanation for the curious ending of the episode, when the animal obeys Seth in removing itself from his sight until the day of judgment. In this brief passage, Seth is designated as the image of God four times, and the day of judgment seems to occupy a prominent position, presumably as the day when the animal's pretenses concerning the rule over humanity will be annulled forever. Nir proposes to regard the entire scene as an allegory of both the devil's enmity towards humankind, and his final defeat by Christ, the image of God *par excellence* (cf. 2 Cor 4:4; Col 2:14), prefigured by Seth.[61]

I am not entirely convinced by Nir's argument, especially because of the emphatic way in which the Life of Adam and Eve depicts the beast as a representative of the animal world (see esp. 11:2).[62] Furthermore, although various secondary versions of the story do indeed identify the animal with

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[60] Dochhorn, *Die Apokalypse*, 265.

[61] "The Struggle between the 'Image of God' and Satan in the *Greek* Life of Adam and Eve," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 61 (2008): 327–339; cf. Anderson, *The Genesis of Perfection*, 25–27.

[62] Cf. the *Combat of Adam*, episodes 8 and 12; ed. A. Battista and B. Bagatti, *Il Combattimento di Adamo*, Studium biblicum franciscanum collectio minor 29 (Jerusalem: Franciscan Print Press, 1982), 40, 49–51; see also Levison, *Portraits of Adam*, 165–167.

Satan, it is noteworthy that as many keep the emphasis on its representation of the animal world intact and fail to see a reference to the devil.[63]

In any case, there seems to be no particular relationship between 2 Enoch and the Life of Adam and Eve in the ways in which they elaborate upon the motif of Adam's rule over the animals. On the contrary, whereas 2 Enoch stresses humankind's responsibility in its dealings with animals, the Life of Adam and Eve emphasizes the inimical relationships between humans and animals. Animal sacrifice plays no role whatsoever in the Life of Adam and Eve, not even in its brief rendition of the story of Cain and Abel.

To conclude this section, it can be said that in the Life of Adam and Eve the motif of Adam's name as an acronym does not occur but in the addition of *De plasmatione Adam* to a late branch of the Latin literary tradition. The motif, originally a variant of the ancient tradition that man was formed from the four elements, has had a long and adventurous history in the Western church, where it was used to express the notion that the entire unfolding and completion of history was *in nuce* already present in Adam at his creation, and thus illustrated divine providence. At the time it was added to the Life of Adam and Eve, this motif was fully developed, and had about the same form as in 2 Enoch.

The motif of Adam's rule of the world occurs in the Life of Adam and Eve in the context of a discussion of Adam's eschatological future. In that future, the devil, the present ruler of this world, will be deposed, and Adam will ascend the throne intended for him in the first place. I have argued that this sequence of events is best comprehended within a Christian frame of mind, in which humankind is represented both by the first Adam, who was defeated by the Enemy, and by the second Adam, by whom the definitive downfall of the devil is effected.[64] The Christian character of this motif is explicit in 2 Enoch, and its combination in that writing with the concept of Adam as a microcosm now appears to be a natural and organic matter.

Finally, the biblical motif of Adam's rule over the animals is worked out in the Life of Adam and Eve in a way that differs very much from that in 2 Enoch. In neither writing, however, is a relation seen between this

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[63] Tromp, "Origen on the *Assumption of Moses*," 327–330; cf. Tromp, "The Role of Omissions," 273.

[64] Cf. M. Simon, "Adam et la rédemption dans la perspective de l'Église ancienne," in *Types of Redemption*, ed. R. J. Zwi Werblowski and C. J. Bleeker, Studies in the History of Religions 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 72–87.

motif and the second Adam, Christ. In both writings its etiological function is apparent: 2 Enoch connects Adam's rule over the animals with his (i.e., humankind's) responsibility for animals, and sacrificial animals in particular; in the Life of Adam and Eve it is applied in the description of one of the consequences of Adam's fall and expulsion from paradise, namely the profound change in the peaceful coexistence of animals and humans that once characterized life in paradise.

Conclusions

The preceding observations and deliberations lead to the following conclusions.

(1) If 2 Enoch is read in the context of its transmission by Christians, the traditions concerning Adam's formation from the four elements (and the further development of that motif) and concerning his rule over the cosmos, suspended until the end of time, are part of a particular view on history. In this view, the history of humankind is regarded as a predetermined totality defined by its inception in the first Adam, and completed by the work of the second Adam, Jesus Christ. The intermediate period is to an extent characterized by diabolical seduction and human transgression, but the final completion will bring redemption and the restoration of the world to its initial design.

(2) These two motifs, when they occur in the Life of Adam and Eve and related literature, appear to presuppose the same meaning. The restoration to glory in the eschatological future makes best sense if read in the frame work of the same view on humanity's history: Adam's ascension to the devil's throne is best understood as a reversal of the situation that the Enemy rules this world—a reversal brought about by the second Adam's victory over the devil. The formation of Adam from eight elements and the interpretation of his name as an acronym play no role in the Life of Adam and Eve, except in a late branch of the Latin tradition.

(3) In contrast, the biblical motif of Adam's rule over the animal is put to different uses in 2 Enoch and the Life of Adam and Eve. In both cases, the motif illustrates an aspect of the relationships between humanity and the animal world. In 2 Enoch, it is connected with the question of humans dealing with the animals that are entrusted to their care, whereas in the Life of Adam and Eve it provides the etiological explanation for the enmity that exists between humans and animals (presumably wild animals in particular). Therefore, it appears that the motif of Adam's rule over the

animals is of a somewhat different nature than the other two motifs discussed, in that the former apparently serves as a starting-point for speculation and explanation of the human condition (much in the way many other Adamic traditions do), whereas the latter make the impression of being far more saturated with meaning, and of having been imported into the writings discussed because of their intrinsic meaning.

ADAMIC TRADITIONS IN EARLY CHRISTIAN AND RABBINIC LITERATURE

Alexander Toepel

In order to give an overview of the way Adam is presented in rabbinic and Christian literature from the first to the sixth century C.E. it seems necessary to begin with the pseudepigraphal literature which bears his name. Even though the date and provenance of this literature are still subject to debate it contains *in nuce* those motifs which are otherwise scattered in various places and thus seems to be ideally suited to introduce some of the basic themes of Adamic lore. There exists in Greek, Latin, Slavonic, Armenian, and Georgian a corpus of related works commonly known as Primary Adam Books, all of which ultimately go back to a Greek ancestor, the surviving form of which bears the somewhat misleading title Apocalypse of Moses (ApMos).[1] While there is considerable debate as to whether ApMos is based upon a Hebrew or Aramaic original, it appears to be reasonably clear that this text was written at the turn of the first to second century C.E., most likely in Palestine.[2] Not quite so clear is the question of its provenance: The Greek text as it stands has been subjected to a

[1] The designation Primary Adam Books is Michael Stone's; cf. his *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*, Early Judaism and Its Literature 3 (Atlanta: Scholar's Press, 1992), 3. The title *Apocalypse of Moses* goes back to Constantin von Tischendorf's edition of the Greek text in his *Apocalypses Apocryphae* (Leipzig: Mendelssohn, 1866), 1–23. For in-depth information about the *Primary Adam Books* and their offshoots cf. also M. de Jonge and J. Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve and Related Literature*, Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1997) and the still readable overview by J. B. Frey, 'Adam (Livres apocryphes sous son nom)', *Dictionnaire de la Bible* (Paris: Létouzey et Ané, 1928), Suppl. 1, coll. 101–134. J. R. Levison, *Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism*, JSPSup 1 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), 163–190, gives a useful overview of the way Adam is treated in ApMos.

[2] Cf. most recently J. Dochhorn, *Die Apokalypse des Mose. Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar*, TSAJ 106 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 152, 172. While an Aramaic or Hebrew original is not totally impossible, this hypothetical text must not be confused with the "Book of Adam" mentioned in the Talmud which is housed in the imaginary library of the rabbis; cf. on this E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* (Hildesheim 1964 [repr. Leipzig, 4th ed., 1909]), 3:396 with n. 122. Cf., however, J. Bamberger, *Die Litteratur der Adambücher und die haggadischen Elemente in der syrischen Schatzhöhle* (Aschaffenburg: Krebs Hausmann, 1901), 11, who seems to regard this Adam book as a real volume.

Christian reworking but might well be a non-Christian, i.e. Jewish work.[3] For the time being I have to leave this matter undecided; I will, however, at the end of this paper, over against the way Adam is portrayed in rabbinic and Christian literature, attempt to comment upon the origin of one of this literature's major motifs: The worship of Adam by the angels.

The Adam Books

Beginning with Adam and Eve's expulsion from paradise, ApMos presents the story of their fall and further life in an intricate web of narrative elements and events recounted by the protagonists, thus weaving together past and present, sin and salvation.[4] The story begins with Adam and Eve having to face Abel's murder and the birth of Seth, who is going to play a prominent role further on.[5] After fathering 30 sons and 30 daughters Adam falls ill and summons his sons to see them before he dies. Upon this occasion he relates the story of the fall and then commissions Seth and Eve to go to paradise and procure a remedy "from the tree out of which the oil flows" (ApMos 9:3).[6] Both set out in due course; on their way they are attacked by a wild animal which finally shrinks back after being reminded that Seth is still bearing the image of God. Their supplication in front of paradise, however, is of no avail, whereupon Eve and Seth return to the dying Adam. Adam accuses Eve of being responsible for death's entrance into the world and makes her recount the story of the fall in greater detail. Eve's narrative contains a wealth of details, among which

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[3] Jan Dochhorn (*Apokalypse*, 156–157, 165, 172) places it within a Jewish context while Marinus de Jonge and Johannes Tromp (*Life*, 74–75), and Rivka Nir ("The Aromatic Fragrances of Paradise in the *Greek Life of Adam and Eve* and the Christian Origin of the Composition," *NT* 46 (2004): 20–45) opt for a Christian background. Already W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, 3rd ed., Handbuch zum Neuen Testament 21 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1926), 408, had doubted the book's Jewish origin. However, Michael Stone ([tr.], *The Penitence of Adam*, CSCO 430, Script. Arm. 14 (Louvain: Peeters, [1981], v, x–xvii) draws attention to the fact that the Armenian text represents a version independent from the extant Greek one, which in many cases has preserved more original readings not readily fitting into an orthodox Christian framework.

[4] The Greek text of ApMos is readily available in J. Tromp, ed., *The Life of Adam and Eve in Greek. A Critical Edition*, PVTG 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

[5] On Seth in the Armenian Adam books cf. M. E. Stone, "Report on Seth traditions in the Armenian Adam books," in *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism* 2: *Sethian Gnosticism*, ed. B. Layton, Studies in the History of Religions 41 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 459–471.

[6] M. D. Johnson, "Life of Adam and Eve," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (Garden City: Doubleday, 1983, 1985), 2:273.

the ones concerning her and Adam's expulsion from paradise are most interesting since they are not based upon the Biblical account. After meting out punishment to Adam, Eve, and the snake God orders the angels to cast them out from paradise. Upon this Adam asks to be allowed to eat from the tree of life, which God refuses. However, he promises to Adam that "when you come out of paradise, if you guard yourself from all evil, preferring death to it, at the time of the resurrection I will raise you again, and then there shall be given to you from the tree of life, and you shall be immortal forever" (28:4).[7] Adam then makes another supplication before the angels in order to be given aromatic substances from paradise for an incense offering.[8] Upon the angels' intercession this is granted to Adam who then finally leaves paradise together with Eve.

At this point the main narrative continues with Adam's death and the subsequent repentance of Eve. Eve and Seth are then comforted by an angel who shows them in a vision how all the angels are making supplication for Adam. Adam's soul is being washed in the Lake of Acheron (sic!) and taken up to the third heaven by the archangel Michael. Adam's body is then anointed and buried by Michael; according to ApMos 38:4 Seth is the only witness to this specific event. God himself promises resurrection to Adam's body "on the last day in the resurrection with every man of your seed" (41:3)[9] and then seals his tomb with a triangular seal. The story ends with Eve's death six days after Adam's and Michael instructing Seth to henceforth bury every dead person in the manner of Adam and Eve.

The Latin version of this text, which is commonly known as Life of Adam and Eve (*Vita Adae et Evae*, henceforth LLAE), shares a considerable amount of this material, but prefaces the account with a lengthy narrative of Adam and Eve's repentance after being expelled from paradise, which is based upon a short account in Eve's story of the fall in ApMos 29:7–17, and the birth of Cain. At this point the story of ApMos is taken up with additional material being inserted. Immediately before the account of Adam's illness LLAE has Adam recount to Seth a visionary trip to

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[7] Johnson, "Life of Adam and Eve," 2:285.

[8] As Rivka Nir ("Fragrances," 22–24) pointed out, these substances do not correspond to those prescribed for incense offerings in Exod 30:34–38; they rather are taken from Cant 4:12–14. "The garden to which the 'beloved' compares his «love» was interpreted in Christianity as the Garden of Eden, and the various spices that grew in it were connected with the incense offering" (24). Nir takes this to be an indicator of the text's Christian origin, which to me seems to be a *non sequitur*.

[9] Johnson, "Life of Adam and Eve," 2:293.

paradise. Eve's account of the fall is left out in the Latin text; the account of Adam and Eve's death and burial is considerably shortened.

The lengthy preface contains a story of Adam and Eve doing penance right after being expelled from paradise by spending 40 days standing in the rivers Tigris and Jordan. While Adam is about to complete his time in the Jordan, Eve is again deceived by the devil who makes her believe that their penitence has been accepted before completion. Whereas this story is basically the same as in ApMos 29:7–17, the Latin text has Eve demand an explanation from Satan for his hatred of humankind. Satan thereupon tells how, when Adam had been created, together with the other angels he was asked by Michael to worship Adam as the image of God. Upon refusing to do this he was expelled from heaven and henceforth given to insatiable hate of Adam.[10]

The Armenian and Georgian Primary Adam Books go back to a common, in all likelihood Greek, ancestor. With the Latin version they share the preface including the story of Satan's fall, but have some additional material which is not to be found in either the Latin or the extant Greek text. The Slavonic version, on the other hand, more closely resembles the Greek. It does not have the worship-scene, but contains some additional material missing in the Greek text, particularly a different opening which emphasizes Adam's authority over the animals.

From this overview it should be apparent that the Primary Adam Books do not only contain legends concerning the protoplasts which derive from curiosity and a wish to fill in gaps in the biblical account, but also revolve very much around questions of the original state of humankind, sin, the fall from grace, and ways to overcome it. This is unusual enough within the framework of Second Temple Judaism, which, generally speaking, had very little interest in a "fall," if it knew this category at all.[11] It fits, however, with other first- and second-century texts of Christian and Jewish provenance. The Fourth Book of Ezra (4 Ezra) and 2 Baruch (2 Bar), which were both written by Jews after the destruction of the temple, put great emphasis upon Adam's sin and the way it affected humankind in general;[12]

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[10] This story is of course well known from Christian Apocrypha as well as from the Quran; cf. on this my *Die Adam- und Sethlegenden im syrischen* Buch der Schatzhöhle, CSCO 618, Subs. 119 (Louvain: Peeters, 2006), 87–100. It presents its own problems, especially in regard to its origin, which I will deal with below.

[11] Cf. Dochhorn, *Apokalypse*, 165–166; P. Schäfer, "Adam II. Im Judentum" in *TRE* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1977), 1:424.

[12] Cf. Schäfer, "Adam," 425; Schäfer, "Adam in der jüdischen Überlieferung," in *Vom alten zum neuen Adam. Urzeitmythos und Heilsgeschichte*, ed. W. Strolz, Veröffentlichungen

the same tendency is of course present in the Pauline corpus.[13] Unlike 4 Ezra, 2 Bar, and Paul's letter to the Romans, ApMos seeks to exonerate Adam by putting the blame upon Eve; a similar approach is to be found 2 Cor 11:3 as well. Apart from that ApMos does *prima facie* not present any features which would firmly place it within one or the other camp. The following overview of Adamic lore in Early Christian and rabbinic literature will furthermore reveal that Jewish and Christian authors, while readily accepting some elements of ApMos, were prone to reject or modify others which did not fit into their respective dogmatic frameworks. Apart from that single motifs are dropped altogether, most notably Adam and Eve doing penance in the Jordan and Tigris, which to my knowledge appears nowhere else in patristic or rabbinical literature.[14]

Adam in Early Christian Literature

To begin with, while ApMos leaves out one rather important element, namely the creation of Adam, Christian authors of both orthodox and Gnostic provenance, as is to be expected, have much to say about this. The "technical" aspect of Adam's creation, that is, the way he was formed from clay and brought to life, receives broad attention in Gnostic sources. In these texts Adam's body is generally the work of inferior divine beings or evil angels. A typical myth has them see the reflection of the highest God's beautiful shape in the primordial waters, which arouses the demiurge(s) to imitate this form with insufficient means.[15] The image of

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der Stiftung Oratio Dominica, Weltgespräch der Religionen 13 (Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1986), 73. Peter Schäfer sees Sir 25:24 and Wisd 2:24 as precursors of this tradition; cf. "Adam," 425.

[13] Cf. Dochhorn, *Apokalypse*, 168–169. Dochhorn takes this as an argument for dating ApMos around the turn of the first and second century.

[14] It might be worthwhile to investigate possible connections with Baptist movements of the first and second century, such as the Elkasaites and Mandaeans.

[15] Cf. K. Rudolph, "Ein Grundtyp gnostischer Urmensch-Adam-Spekulation," *ZRGG* 9 (1957): 1–5; H. M. Schenke, *Der Gott "Mensch" in der Gnosis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), 34–43, 44–48, 49–51, 52–56. Hans-Martin Schenke bases his analysis upon the Apocryphon of John, Poimandres (*Corp. Herm.* 1,12), On the Origin of the World and the fourth-century Hermetic author Zosimos of Panopolis. The latter one understands the four letters of the name "Adam" in Greek as signifying the four points of the compass and the four elements; a tradition which is known to Augustine as well; cf. Schenke, 52 §11 = W. Scott and A. S. Ferguson, eds. and trans., *Hermetica* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), 4:106–107 §11; T. Heither and C. Reemts, *Biblische Gestalten bei den Kirchenvätern: Adam* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2007), 19 with n. 13 (*in Jo.* 9,14; 10,12; *in Ps.* 95:15); D. Cerbelaud, "Le

God is thus identified not with the physical Adam but, in a rather literal way, understood as an actual shape upon a reflecting surface. In regard to the individual human being it works as a stamp or seal upon wax; an image known to Philo of Alexandria as well.[16] This removes the likeness of God from Adam as a created being who in Christian texts is seen as a representative of humankind in a general way.[17] On the other hand, this implies that God has a human shape; a notion which seems to have been dear to Gnostic authors while it is vehemently combated by Philo and orthodox Christian writers. Thus, in Apocryphon of John (*ApocJohn*) "man" is a designation of the highest God and his female counterpart Barbelo; likewise the hypostasized Christ as son of the Father and Barbelo is called "son of man."[18] The highest God is called "man of light," as well, a term known from the Gospel of Thomas; other names are "perfect, true man" and "first man."[19]

While orthodox Christian authors emphatically reject the idea of God having human shape, they share with their Gnostic counterparts the wish to detach the image of God from the actual physical Adam as a created being and prototype of humankind. In order to achieve this they typically make a distinction between εἰκών and ὁμοίωσις with the latter being understood as "similarity" and only the former as "image" in its proper sense. In Gen 1:26–27 κατ᾽ εἰκόνα is then interpreted as "after the image," while the "image" is identified as the Logos or Christ.[20] This christological interpretation is present from the Pauline corpus onwards (Col 1:15; 3:10; 1 Cor 15:49; 2 Cor 4:4; Rom 8:29) where the image of God is identified with Christ and attainable for the individual believer "in Christ" by faith and participation in the sacramental structure of the Church. It was further

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nom d'Adam et les points cardinaux. Recherches sur un thème patristique," *VC* 38 (1984): 285–301.

[16] Cf. Schenke, *Gott "Mensch,"* 70 and Philo, *Opif.* 134. Schenke's affirmation of a "gnostische Weltansicht mit ihrer Anschauung von der Wesensgleichheit zwischen Gott und dem innersten Kern des Menschen" seems to be highly problematic in this regard. If the image works as a seal upon individual human beings, then there is rather no ontological identity between their innermost core and the deity; on the contrary, the image is something which can be known only insofar as it left its trace; the seal itself is absent.

[17] Cf. Heither and Reemts, *Adam*, 20–22, 28–30.

[18] Cf. Schenke, *Gott "Mensch,"* 6–7.

[19] Cf. Schenke, *Gott "Mensch,"* 6–15, 36, 57–60, 94–95. Apart from the writings cited above the term is to be found in Hypostasis of Archons, Sophia of Jesus Christ/Eugnostos, Clement of Alexandria, *strom.* 2,36,2–4 (Valentinus); *exc. Theod.* 47,1–3 (school of Valentinus); Hippolytus, *elench.* 5,7,3–9,9 (Naassenes).

[20] Cf. Schenke, *Gott "Mensch,"* 135; Heither and Reemts, *Adam* 46–55, 58. Already Philo identifies the εἰκών with the Logos; cf. *Opif.* 88, 146.

developed and systematised by Irenaeus, Origen, and Gregory of Nyssa, the latter ones being heavily dependent upon Philo of Alexandria.[21] This goes hand in hand with a tendency to subordinate Adam to Christ by seeing the former as a scriptural type of the latter. Thus, a number of patristic authors, among them Irenaeus, Origen, Ambrose, and John Chrysostom, regard Christ as the true father of humankind; Christ's birth is linked with the generation of Adam insofar as both came into being without a human father (this might already be hinted at in Luke 3:38 and the Protevangelium of James). Adam's exalted status is really due to Christ.[22] At times this typology is developed into an opposition between Adam and Christ, especially in connection with Adam's sin. In this regard it is emphasized that whereas Adam brought sin into the world, it is Christ who redeems from it. Thus it is only by Christ that Adam is saved, with the second-century author Tatian going so far as to deny salvation to Adam.[23]

There is thus a clear precedence of Christ over Adam in orthodox Christian authors which is mirrored by the detachment of God's image from the physical Adam in Gnostic texts. This, however, does not mean that the protoplasts' pre-eminence is diminished; especially among orthodox authors this aspect is present from the beginning and after the council of Nicaea in 325 received even greater attention as it became necessary on dogmatic grounds to elevate Christ beyond the level of a mere image of God. While Gnostic theologians see the image of God present in individual human beings only in the form of a seal's or a stamp's print, orthodox authors locate it, generally speaking, in their spiritual dimension.[24] This goes hand in hand with the idea that not just Adam but every human being is made in the image of God. Thus, among others, Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, and Augustine locate the image of God in the human soul, while Irenaeus and Origen see it in free will and the virtues exercised by it; both views can be found already in Philo. Authors belonging to the Antiochene

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[21] Cf. Heither and Reemts, *Adam*, 39–41.

[22] Cf. Heither and Reemts, *Adam*, 283–293; A. Vogl, "Adam – Messias in der Schatzhöhle," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 28 (1979): 183–185; J. Thekeparampil, "Adam – Christus in den Passionssedrē und in der Schatzhöhle," in *III Symposium Syriacum*, ed. R. Lavenant, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 221 (Rome: Pont. Inst. Stud. Orient., 1983), 323–332.

[23] Cf. Thekeparampil, "Adam – Christus," 294–301, 309–316. The information about Tatian is to be found in Irenaeus, *adv. haer.* 1,28,1. This point will be of importance for determining the Christian character of ApMos.

[24] Cf. R. McL. Wilson, "The Early History of the Exegesis of Gen. 1.26," in *Studia Patristica 1*, ed. K. Aland and F. L. Cross, Texte und Untersuchungen 63 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957), 437; Schenke, *Gott "Mensch,"* 70, 136–143; Heither and Reemts, *Adam*, 45–61, and above, note 16.

school (John Chrysostom; Theodoret of Cyrus; Diodore of Tarsus) take a more literal approach in finding Adam's likeness with God in his ability to name (and tame) the animals; an idea which is known to Philo, too, and hinted at in ApMos, chapters 10–12, where the wild animal refrains from attacking Seth because he is still the bearer of the divine image.[25] A singular approach is made by Theodore of Mopsuestia who takes over from rabbinic sources the idea that Adam is like God insofar as he spans both the physical and spiritual realm.[26]

Closely connected with this is the notion of Adam's kingship upon earth. Patristic authors generally regard Adam (and humankind) as the most preeminent of God's creations.[27] Especially authors of the Antiochene school—Theodore of Mopsuestia, John Chrysostom, Theodoret of Cyrus—but Basilius of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, Ephraem of Nisibis, and Narsaï, as well, emphasize Adam's royal dignity. In accordance with his royalty Adam is shown fully dressed and seated upon a throne in the midst of a throng of animals on the mosaic floor of a West Syrian church of the late fourth century C.E.[28] In this regard it is all the more notable that the motif of Adam being worshipped by the angels can be found only in Christian apocrypha, but—to my knowledge—never in the works of patristic theologians (or Gnostic texts, for that matter).[29] It makes its appearance in the Greek Questions of Bartholomew 4:54–56 and the Syriac Cave of Treasures (*Spelunca Thesaurorum*; henceforth: *SpTh*) 3:1–7, from where it was taken over into the Qur'ān, Surah 7:12–14 and 38:72–78.[30]

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[25] Cf. Schenke, *Gott "Mensch,"* 136–143; Heither and Reemts, *Adam*, 140–141; Philo, *Opif.* 88, 146, 148. These views are present in rabbinic literature, as well; they find pictorial expression in floor mosaics from churches in Syria; cf. G. A. Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan," *The Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 6 (1997): 111, n. 12; R. Wisskirchen, "Der bekleidete Adam thront inmitten der Tiere. Zum Bodenmosaik des Mittelschiffs der Nordkirche von Ḥūarte," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 45 (2002): 137–152.

[26] Cf. Schenke, *Gott "Mensch,"* 140.

[27] Heither and Reemts, *Adam,* 35–37, 81.

[28] Wisskirchen, "Der bekleidete Adam," 149–151. Again, Adam in this mosaic apparently functions as a prefiguration of Christ; cf. H. Maguire, "Adam and the Animals: Allegory and the Literal Sense in Early Christian Art," *DOP* 41 (1987): 372.

[29] The East Syrian author Narsaï in his *Homilies on Genesis* 1,234 speaks of a "yoke of servitude" being put upon the angels to make them subservient to Adam, but he does not mention actual worship; cf. P. Gignoux, ed. and trans., *Homélies de Narsaï sur la creation*, PO 34 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1968), 122–123. Irenaeus, *adv. haer.* 4,40,3; Origen, *fragm. in Lc.* 56 (Lk. 4:3–4); Gregory of Nyssa, *or. catech.* §6 know of Satan's envy of Adam; cf. Heither and Reemts, *Adam*, 248–249.

[30] Cf. Toepel, *Adam- und Sethlegenden*, 93–96. From the Qur'ān this motif made its way into Mandaean literature and the late eleventh-century C.E. midrash *Bereshit Rabbati* (96, n. 14).

Apart from that it does not seem to have received much attention from Christian writers, which is not surprising given the fact that Adam is *never* regarded as being himself the image of God in both orthodox and Gnostic traditions.

In addition to kingship orthodox Christian authors ascribe prophecy and priesthood, as well, to Adam.[31] His prophetical gifts were deduced from Gen 2:24 where Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, John Chrysostom, and Augustine interpret his exclamation about Eve as foreknowledge of the future.[32] Adam's priesthood is hinted at already in the Book of Jubilees (Jub) 3:26–27, as well as in ApMos 29:3–6 and rabbinic literature, but here Adam sacrifices only after being expelled from paradise. The idea of Adam being a priest from his creation onwards seems to be peculiar to Syriac writers; it is absent in the Greek and Latin tradition. It was first introduced by Ephraem of Nisibis in his Hymns on Paradise 3,16–17 which may have been dependent upon older texts such as the anonymous Hymn of the Pearl where a primordial figure (not necessarily Adam) is wearing a jeweled garment which can be identified as a priestly vestment.[33] The motif of a "garment of glory" worn by Adam before the fall is known to Irenaeus (*adv. haer.* 3,25,5), as well—albeit without any priestly connotations—, and played a rather significant role in baptismal theology, where the white gown worn by the neophytes after baptism was generally interpreted to be Adam's original dress.[34] It might not be superfluous to note here that these vestments are usually donned by inhabitants of heavenly realms and the eschatologically saved in second temple literature.[35]

Another important topic in patristic treatments of Adam is the question of his age at the time he was created. While Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Ambrose, John Chrysostom, and Theodoret of Cyrus maintain

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[31] In the late sixth-century Syriac Cave of Treasures 2:18, which seems to collect all the Adamic lore available to its author, Adam is all three; but again this serves a christological purpose; cf. Toepel, *Adam- und Sethlegenden*, 79–80.

[32] Cf. Heither and Reemts, *Adam*, 150–152, 179 with n. 206, 221 with n. 324.

[33] Cf. on this my article "When Did Adam Wear the Garments of Light?" *JJS* 61 (2010): 69. The garment described in the Hymn of the Pearl strongly resembles the high priest's vestment in Exod 26:31, 36; 27:16; 28:8, 15, 17–20, 33, and Philo, *Mos.* 2:109–132; cf. P. H. Poirier, *L'hymne de la perle des Actes de Thomas*, Homo Religiosus 8 (Louvain-la-neuve: Centre d'histoire des religions, 1981), 431 with n. 57. Cf. also Sir 50:11 where the high priest is wearing a "gown of glory."

[34] Cf. J. Z. Smith, "The Garments of Shame," *History of Religions* 5 (1965/6): 233 with n. 56; S. Brock, "Jewish Traditions in Syriac Sources," *JJS* 30 (1979): 221–223.

[35] Cf. Dan 7:9; 10:5; 12:7; 2Macc 11:8; 1 Enoch 62:16; Testament of Abraham 20:10; 2 Enoch; Ascension of Isiah 9:6–18; 4 Ezra 2:39. In ApMos chapter 20 Adam and Eve are said to have been clothed with "glory" and "righteousness" before the fall.

Adam's childlike status in paradise, Augustine understands this as a defect which does not fit with the perfect state Adam must be presumed to have been created in.[36] Both positions have theological implications since Adam's adolescent age seems to imply a goal which he did not yet attain, whereas in the case of Adam's having been created perfectly, salvation will really mean a return to his original state.[37] Adam's adolescence is thus not only a legendary tradition, but also concerns his status in relation to the salvation-historical development of humankind. It is, therefore, not astonishing that several issues of rather great anthropological importance are attached hereto, none of which is answered in an unanimous way by orthodox Christian authors. First of all, there is the question of Adam's original mortality. Its affirmation is clearly a minority position, as is its complete denial. The view that Adam had been created in a mortal way and was meant to die from the beginning is a characteristic of Theodore of Mopsuestia from whom it was taken over into East Syrian theology; in the West it was maintained by Pelagius and his followers.[38] His original immortality is affirmed unconditionally by Origen, and Augustine follows him insofar as he sees death as a result of Adam's sin which would not have ensued had he refrained from it.[39] Both positions within a Christian framework have soteriological consequences since Theodore's view minimizes the impact of Adam's guilt, whereas Origen and Augustine seem to reduce Christ's role to merely restoring an original state (in other words, if Adam had not sinned Christ's incarnation would have been superfluous). The majority of Christian writers maintain a middle position in seeing Adam having faced a choice between death and eternal life.[40]

In this context patristic authors are also concerned with whether Adam and Eve had sexual intercourse in paradise, that is, before the fall.[41] Unlike the foregoing issues, this is universally denied with the sole exception of an anonymous Latin work later called *Ambrosiaster*.[42] The reason for this

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[36] Heither and Reemts, *Adam*, 82–87, 110–111, 114, 157, 179.

[37] Cf. Heither and Reemts, *Adam*, 82.

[38] Cf. Heither and Reemts, *Adam*, 101–102, 121, 218–219; Gignoux, *Homélies*, 493–495.

[39] Cf. Heither and Reemts, *Adam*, 102–103, 120–122. ApMos 14:2 seems to maintain a similar position.

[40] Cf. Heither and Reemts, *Adam*, 120–121.

[41] Cf. on this generally G. A. Anderson, "Celibacy or Consummation in the Garden? Reflections on Early Jewish and Christian Interpretations of Eden," *HTR* 82 (1989): 121–148.

[42] Cf. Anderson, "Celibacy," 121–123; Heither and Reemts, *Adam*, 88, 241, 244–245. The topic is treated in *quaestio* 127 of the *Ambrosiaster*; cf. on this D. G. Hunter, "*On the Sin of Adam and Eve*: A Little Known Defense of Marriage and Childbearing by Ambrosiaster," *HTR* 82 (1989): 283–299.

agreement is not quite clear; it might be connected with early Christianity's general concern for asceticism. There are, to be sure, early Jewish works (2 Bar 56:6; Jub 4:1) which regard sexual intercourse and the begetting of children as a result of the fall.[43] However, at least in the case of Jub this is due to the fact that its author sees paradise in analogy to the temple which, therefore, makes similar regulations of ritual purity apply to it; this might well be the background for this motif in later writings of Jewish provenance.[44] It should be noted that Christian theory and practice is not consistent in this matter. If salvation means a return to Adam's state in paradise then Christians generally must not marry; a position which in effect was only maintained by the early Syriac church and some monastic circles.[45] If, on the other hand, salvation means adding to Adam's original perfection, there would seem to be no need to ascribe virginity to Adam and Eve while being in paradise; a position which is found only in the isolated case of the *Ambrosiaster*. It is furthermore not possible to systematize the views of patristic authors in a way which would situate Adam's adolescence, mortality, and virginity in paradise, on the one hand, and his maturity, immortality, and "consummation in the garden," on the other, with the former seen as a state of imperfection which is perfected by salvation and the latter as a state of lost perfection being restored by Christ. Rather, Christian writers tend to read the story of Adam over against their basic belief in Christ and mold Adam according to his image, albeit as an imperfect replica.[46]

What happened after the fall and expulsion is generally of no concern to patristic writers who tend to stay close to the Biblical text. An exception to this is the place of Adam's burial which is first identified by Origen (*comm. ser. in Mt.* §126) as Golgotha; this is accepted by a number of Greek and Latin fathers, among them Athanasius, Basilius, Gregory Nazianzen, and Ambrose.[47] Even though Jerome rejected this tradition in favor of Hebron as the place of Adam's tomb, it gained universal prominence especially in Christian art where usually a skull is shown beneath the cross

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[43] Cf. Anderson, "Celibacy," 121 with n. 1.

[44] Cf. Anderson, "Celibacy," 129. The Samaritan tradition should be included here; cf. J. Bowman, "The Malef," A*br-Nahrain* 20 (1981–1982): 10.

[45] This topic has been treated extensively by A. Vööbus, *Celibacy, A Requirement for Baptism in the Early Syrian Church*, Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile 1 (Stockholm: Estonian Theological Society in Exile, 1951).

[46] Cf. Heither and Reemts, *Adam*, 283, 286–293.

[47] Cf. V. Aptowitzer, "Les élements juifs dans la légende du Golgotha," *RÉJ* 79 (1924): 145–151; Heither and Reemts, *Adam*, 278–279.

which originally was meant to be Adam's head, purportedly having given its name to Golgotha, "place of the skull."[48] This has, on the one hand, obvious soteriological implications which led to, especially in the Latin and Western European tradition, elaborate legends concerning the tree from which Christ's cross was to be made growing out of Adam's grave;[49] *SpTh* 49:10 has Adam being baptized by Christ's blood flowing down from the cross. On the other hand, as Victor Aptowitzer pointed out in 1924, there seems to be an analogy between the place of Adam's creation and his burial site; this has since been confirmed by early itineraries of Christians visiting Jerusalem who know Golgotha as the place where Adam had originally been made.[50]

One element of Adamic lore which is present in Christian apocrypha though it does not receive any treatment by patristic writers is Adam's testament to his son Seth. As seen above, Seth plays a rather important role in ApMos insofar as he is the only witness to Adam's final forgiveness (cf. 38:4). The Syriac apocryphal tradition knows of a "Testament of Adam" which contains an abbreviated form of salvation history, especially the incarnation of Christ and Adam's salvation thereby.[51] This is summed up by *SpTh* which constructs Biblical history as a fulfillment of this testament; *SpTh* 5:17 replaces the aromatic substances which Adam takes from paradise according to ApMos 29:3–6, with gold, myrrh, and incense, that is, the gifts having been brought to new-born Jesus by the Mages. Adam places these items within the eponymous cave of treasures upon the consummation of his marriage with Eve, since it is by procreation that eventually Christ will be born in order to work salvation for Adam.[52]

Adam in Rabbinic Literature

Upon comparing the way Adam is presented in early Christian and rabbinic literature the first difference which immediately becomes apparent

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[48] For Jerome's view, which was followed by Gregory of Tours and Isidore of Sevilla, cf. Heither and Reemts, *Adam*, 279–281. Aptowitzer, "Les elements," 158–161, treats the subject of Adam's skull on Golgotha.

[49] Cf. on this Toepel, *Adam- und Sethlegenden*, 129–142.

[50] Cf. Aptowitzer, "Les elements," 151; Heither and Reemts, *Adam*, 27.

[51] A good introduction to this matter is to be found in G. J. Reinink, "Das Problem des Ursprungs des Testamentes Adams," in *Symposium Syriacum 1972*, ed. I. Ortiz de Urbina, OCA 197 (Rome: Pont. Inst. Orient. Stud., 1974), 387–399.

[52] Cf. on this Toepel, *Adam- und Sethlegenden*, 185–188.

is how little treatment Adam receives in the rabbinic tradition. The rabbis were certainly interested in apocryphal lore but Adam obviously did not constitute their main focus. Nonetheless there are several common features in the way Adam is set forth in the Jewish tradition, and they will be presented in due order. With their Christian counterparts the rabbis share an interest in the technical aspect of Adam's creation. Thus, Adam is created from dust taken from all over the world according to R. Meïr in *b. Sanh.* 38a, while *Targ. Ps.-Jon.* Gen 2:7 and *Tanḥ. Pequdei* §3 have the dust taken from the four ends of the earth.[53] This idea was designed to present Adam as a cosmic figure: according to *b. Sanh.* 38b and *Ber. Rab.* 24,2 he originally filled the whole world.[54] Apart from that Adam possessed at this time a clairvoyance that allowed him to gaze from one end of the world to the other; both his prophetic gift and giant stature were lost as a result of the fall.[55]

An important point in rabbinic portrayals of Adam is his amazing beauty. This is expressed in an exemplary way in *b. B. B.* 58a, while *Pes. de Rav Kah.* 12,1 has Adam shine with sun-like radiance. According to *Ber. Rab.* 8,1 he was androgynous.[56] As the place of his creation Jerusalem is universally acknowledged; *y. Naz.* 7,2 has Adam being created from a spoonful of dust from the site of the altar.[57] While Adam thus seems to have possessed even physically an extraordinary stature, rabbinic texts locate likeness to God in the human soul and its faculties, most prominently free will and the capability of ethical conduct.[58] In doing so the rabbis agree with the fathers of the patristic age, which is most likely due to a common dependency upon Philo.[59] *B. Sanh.* 38b and related texts furthermore give a detailed timetable of Adams's creation on the fifth day. While differing over the details these accounts all agree that Adam was

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[53] Cf. V. Aptowitzer, "Zur Erklärung einiger merkwürdiger Agadoth über die Schöpfung des Menschen," in *Festskrift i Anledning af Professor David Simonsens 70-aarige Fødselsdag*, ed. J. Fischer, A. Freimann, and J. Guttmann (Købnhavn: Hertz, 1923), 112 with n. 3; Schäfer, "Adam in der jüdischen Überlieferung," 70. This motif is present already in Philo, *Opif.* 146; Sibylline Oracles 3:24–26, and 2 Enoch 30:13.

[54] Cf. Schäfer, "Adam in der jüdischen Überlieferung," 70; Schenke, *Gott "Mensch,"* 126–130; Aptowitzer, "Zur Erklärung," 119–120.

[55] Cf. *Ber. Rab.* 11,2; 12,6. According to *Pes. de Rav Kah.* at this time Shekhina left the world as well.

[56] Cf. Schäfer, "Adam in der jüdischen Überlieferung," 70.

[57] Cf. Aptowitzer, "Les elements," 151–156; Aptowitzer, "Zur Erklärung," 112 n. 3.

[58] Cf. Schenke, *Gott "Mensch,"* 130–134.

[59] J. Cohn, trans., "Über die Weltschöpfung," in *Die Werke Philos von Alexandrien in deutscher Übersetzung*, ed. L. Cohn (Breslau: Marcus, 1909), 1:51 n. 1 takes this for granted in the case of *b. Ber.* 10a.

not created all at once but rather step by step with God being active at each individual stage. As Aptowitzer has convincingly shown, this most likely serves a polemical purpose in refuting the view that God had been assisted in his work of creation and especially that Adam's physical body was made by angels, a motif of course well-known from Gnostic sources such as the ones cited above.[60]

There are two further points in which rabbinic authorities sharply differ with Christian authors of all shades, namely Adam being worshipped by the angels and Adam and Eve having sexual intercourse before the fall. While patristic authors do not endorse the first of these motifs with especial enthusiasm, it occasionally makes its appearance in pseudepigraphal texts, as has been shown above. Rabbinic texts, on the other hand, emphatically deny that Adam has ever been worshipped by angels, not to mention God having given a command to this effect. This is all the more remarkable since the rabbis seem to have known such traditions. *Ber. Rab.* 8,10 has the simile of a king and his vice-gerent riding in a chariot and the populace being confused as to which of the two is the king. The dilemma is solved when the king pushes the vice-gerent out of the vehicle;[61] this idea is then applied to Adam, and the angels who try to worship him on their own account are hindered from this by God putting Adam to sleep. This story, which makes its appearance in later texts such as *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* (*PdRE*) §11 as well, accidentally reveals another form of Adam's divine likeness which considerably differs from the one usually put forward in rabbinic texts. Hans-Martin Schenke saw here a hint at outward resemblance: The angels confuse Adam with God; hence there must be a physical similarity.[62] While this makes sense in light of Adam's cosmic dimensions and supernatural beauty, there are to my knowledge no other instances in rabbinic literature which could corroborate such a view.[63]

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[60] Cf. Aptowitzer, "Zur Erklärung," 112–114 with n. 1.

[61] This should be compared with the way Enoch-Metatron is punished after actually having been worshipped by the angels upon his transformation; cf. 3 Enoch 16:1–5.

[62] Cf. Schenke, *Gott "Mensch,"* 126–130.

[63] Gnostic texts, however, do know this motif, and Schenke came to his conclusion on the basis of his treatment of the Gnostic material. If an analogy between Adam and Enoch on the one hand, and the identity of Enoch and Metatron on the other, is accepted, it might be conjectured that God and Adam share a physical similarity on the ground that God's body as it is described in the Shiur-Qomah texts in reality seems to be Metatron's; cf. A. A. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, TSAJ 107 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), *passim*. On the basis of an Adam-Enoch-Metatron analogy this could then be said about Adam, too, but such an assumption remains of course purely conjectural.

However, the text in *PdRE* gives a reason why the angels would try to worship Adam: It is because Adam is one (יחיד) just as God is one (יחיד).[64] That the likeness between Adam and God consists in their numerical oneness can be found in *Targ. Ps.-Jon.* and *Neofiti* Gen. 3:22, with R. Abahu according to *b. Ber.* 61a seeing a contradiction between sexual differentiation and likeness to God. Putting Adam to sleep in order to prevent him from being worshipped, as is told in *Ber. Rab.*, makes sense in this context: Most likely God is about to create Eve in order to demonstrate that Adam is by no means divine but differentiated into sexes like the other animals.

Still, the question remains as to why the angels are restrained from worshipping Adam even though he appears almost as a semi-divine being. Of course there would be a concern with the preservation of monotheism, but other aspects might be present as well. To begin with, Alexander Altmann in 1944 pointed out a structural similarity between the hostility of the angels against Adam's creation which is found in rabbinic texts, and the fall of Satan as it is described in ApMos.[65] In both cases angels oppose God over the elevated status of Adam and subsequently are punished for this. Altmann would assign this motif to Gnostic sources and understand *Ber. Rab.* 8,10 as a polemic against it. This is certainly correct insofar as the midrashist has knowledge of stories about Adam being worshipped by the angels which he wishes to subvert, but it does not fit with the fact that the angels' hostility against Adam's creation mentioned by Adam plays a rather important role in rabbinic texts since it serves to demonstrate God's love of humankind. On the other hand, Gary Anderson in 1997 called attention to the fact that stories very similar to Adam's creation in rabbinic literature can be found in connection with the giving of Torah at Sinai.[66] He quotes *Pesikta Rabbati* 25,4 which has the angels oppose the giving of Torah in the very same words they are using in *b. Sanh.* 38b when consulted on the creation of Adam.[67] This time, however, not only a consultation with the angels is taking place but an actual elevation, not

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[64] Cf. D. Börner-Klein, ed. and trans., *Pirke de-Rabbi Eliezer*, Studia Judaica 26 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2004), 124.

[65] Cf. A. Altmann, "The Gnostic Background of the Rabbinic Adam Legends," *JQR* 35 (1944/45): 373–376. On this subject cf. generally P. Schäfer, *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen*, Studia Judaica 8 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1975); Anderson, "Exaltation," 111–115.

[66] Cf. Anderson, "Exaltation," 116–134.

[67] Cf. Anderson, "Exaltation," 116–117. The characteristic phrase is a quotation from Ps 8:4: "What is man that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that thou dost care for him?" (RSV).

of Adam, but of Israel who, unlike the angels, is able to keep the Torah and thus shows herself being superior to them.

The impetus of the midrash seems to be a shifting of the focus away from Adam and upon Israel. This implies a shift in the definition of divine likeness: The image of God does not consist in numerical unity or physical stature but the ability to learn and keep the commandments. This is again in accordance with the general rabbinic understanding of divine likeness as being grounded in the volitional and ethical faculties of humankind, which the rabbis share with Christian authors and which ultimately go back to Philo, as has been shown above. The connection between divine likeness, free will, and the capability to keep God's commandments is further corroborated by the way Adam's sin is presented in rabbinic texts. There is general agreement that Adam and Eve were tempted into sin by the snake and/or an evil angel with the motive being envy on the side of the tempter.[68] An early version of this can be found in Josephus, *Ant.* 1,41; *b. Sanh.* 59b, and *Abot de Rabbi Nathan* (*ARN*) A §1, where it is still the snake who is envious of Adam. Again, *PdRE* seems to have preserved the full story. In §13 the ministering angels decide to spoil Adam because they are envious of his superior mental powers which had been manifested in his ability to name the animals. Samael then takes a leading role in tempting Adam into sin in order to demonstrate his inferiority. Since the naming of animals makes its appearance in connection with the consultation scene before Adam's creation in *Ber. Rab.* 17, where Adam's superiority over the angels is again grounded in his ability to name the animals, Samael's action in *PdRE* might be seen as an attempt to prove the angels' concerns about Adam's creation to have been justified; it furthermore fits perfectly with the role of the Biblical Satan.[69]

The second point of disagreement between the rabbinic and Christian traditions concerns the age of Adam and Eve at the time of their creation and the related question whether they had sexual intercourse before the

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[68] Cf. on this Toepel, *Adam- und Sethlegenden*, 144–147.

[69] This assumption receives further support by the fact that in 3 Enoch 4:6–10 the angels Uzzah, Azzah, and Azael bringing charges against Enoch-Metatron before God are the same ones who according to 5:9 tempt the generation of the flood into sin. Even the sexual character this temptation has according to 3 Enoch 6:1–7:6 finds its analogy in spurious rabbinic traditions assigning an erotic dimension to Eve's temptation which would have resulted in the birth of Cain; cf. *Ber. Rab.* 18; *b. Yeb.* 103b; *b. A. Z.* 22b. The quarrel between God and the angels in 3 Enoch chap. 6 ends with the angels prostrating themselves in front of Enoch-Metatron.

fall. While Christian authors almost universally deny that they had sexual relations before the fall, this is universally affirmed by rabbinic authorities. Adam and Eve's marriage in paradise is affirmed by *b. Yeb.* 63a; *ARN* B §8; *Ber. Rab.* 17–19.[70] Again there is the question of how this relates to the Christian view, and again it is tempting to see rabbinic texts as polemics against Christian asceticism. However, Adam and Eve's marriage before the fall is known already in Jub 3:2–6, where they are brought into paradise afterwards. The fact that they refrain from sexual intercourse while being in paradise is due not to a devaluation of marriage but to the fact that paradise is understood in analogy to the temple which makes the Levitical laws of purity applicable to it. Therefore, Anderson in 1989 understood this motif as a prefiguration of eschatological bliss on the grounds of the close connection between sabbath-rest, sexual intercourse, and the world-to-come in rabbinic literature.[71] This seems to be confirmed by *SpTh* 3:13 were Adam is said to have *rejoiced* at the creation of Eve. The Syriac term ܫܒܚ is otherwise known from the Peshitta of Deut 24:5 and Aphrahat, *dem.* 7,18, where, in both cases, it refers to the consummation of marriage. *SpTh*, which is otherwise firmly rooted in the Christian tradition, might here be dependent upon an unknown Jewish (or Samaritan) source.[72]

Whereas Adam's sin and its consequences loom large in early Jewish texts such as 4 Ezra and 2 Bar, the rabbis were comparatively little concerned about it. In *Ber. Rab.* 12,6 Adam loses his original giant stature and immortality as a result of his sin but the same midrash contains an unequivocal affirmation of death as part of the divine order of creation (9,5).[73] Finally, according to rabbinic tradition (*b. Er.* 53a; *Sotah* 13a; *B. B.* 58a; *Ber. Rab.* 58,4. 8; *PdRE* §§20, 36) Adam is buried in the double cave near Hebron; a tradition known to the Samaritan *Asatir* 3:1–8, as well.[74]

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[70] Cf. Anderson, "Celibacy," 126–128.

[71] Cf. Anderson, "Celibacy," 131–139.

[72] Cf. Toepel, *Adam- und Sethlegenden*, 108–109.

[73] Cf. Schäfer, "Adam," 426–427. This has far-reaching consequences in regards to the role of evil in history; cf. Schäfer, "Adam in der jüdischen Überlieferung," 79–80: "Beide, Meir [in *Ber. Rab.* 9,5] und Shimon b. Laqish [in *b. A. Z.* 5a], wollen dasselbe sagen, nämlich daß Sünde und Tod (als Folge der Sünde) zur Geschichte gehören und deswegen in das Schöpfungswerk Gottes hineingenommen sind. Um es noch schärfer zu formulieren: Die Sünde ist das eigentliche *movens* der Geschichte; ohne Sünde gibt es keinen Menschen und damit keine Geschichte."

[74] Cf. Aptowitzer, "Les elements," 153 with n. 4; Toepel, *Adam- und Sethlegenden*, 217–219.

Adam Worshipped by Angels

At the end of this *tour d'horizon* of Adamic traditions in early Christian and rabbinic literature I wish to come back to the question of Adam being worshipped by angels. As has been seen, this idea is emphatically rejected by the rabbinic tradition without receiving equally emphatic acknowledgment by Christian authors.[75] On both sides there seems to be a concern that Adam might diminish the rank of another figure regarded to be more central to one's own religious worldview, that is, Christ and Moses, respectively. As the motif makes its appearance—apart from Christian apocrypha and the Qurʾān—in the Latin, Armenian, and Georgian reworkings of ApMos but not in the extant Greek text, it is *prima facie* attested only in Christian works. On the other hand it is not at all clear which purpose it serves within a Christian context; it does not have any relation to specifically Christian tenets and patristic authors ignore it. This should lead us to a reconsideration of a possible Jewish origin.

As has been seen above the reason for which the worship-motif is rejected by the rabbinic tradition is not so much that it infringes upon monotheism, but rather because superiority over the angels is shifted from Adam to Israel. Philo, on the other hand, is not hindered by such concerns; he describes the exalted status of Adam in a way coming very close to divinity. To begin with, on the basis of the double account of Adam's creation in Gen 1:26–27 and 2:7 he distinguishes in *Opif.* 76, 134 between two creations: Of the ideal human and the physical Adam.[76] While the physical human being consists of body and soul, is mortal, and either male or female (i.e. sexually differentiated like the animals), the ideal one is ἰδέα τις ἢ γένος ἢ σφραγίς, νοητός, ἀσώματος, οὔτ' ἄρρεν οὔτε θῆλυ, ἄφθαρτος φύσει (*Opif.* 134);[77] only the latter is made according to the image of God and identified by Philo with the divine logos. Their relation is one of archetype and actual instance; the ideal Adam relates to the physical one as a seal to wax, and indeed in the following paragraphs Philo goes on to describe the physical Adam's creation in very much the same way as can

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[75] Heb 1:6 has God order the angels to worship the "first-born," but again this seems to refer to Christ, not Adam. I owe this reference to Crispin Fletcher-Louis.

[76] Cf. Cohn, "Über die Weltschöpfung," 75, n. 1). This distinction is made in *LA* 1:31; 2:4, as well. On Philo's treatment of Adam cf. generally Levison, *Portraits of Adam*, 63–88.

[77] R. Arnaldez, ed. and trans., *Les œuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie. De opificio mundi* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1961), 1:230 ll. 22–24.

be found in the Gnostic texts quoted above.[78] The material human being therefore shares certain qualities with the ideal one, among them dominion over the animals. In *Opif.* 148 this is described as kingship with Adam acting as God's vice-gerent in the material world. As the physical Adam is only a type of the spiritual one, this applies all the more to the ideal one. In commenting upon Gen 1:26–27 Philo uses the terms "chariot-driver" and "vice-gerent" in order to elucidate the ideal Adam's relation to God (88), which of course brings to mind the simile of king and vice-gerent riding in a chariot together that is used in *Ber. Rab.* 8,10 in order to *refute* claims of Adam having been worshipped. The animals (ζῴα) make their appearance in this context as well: In 83 Philo says that Adam was created so that τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις ἐπιφανεὶς ἐμποιήσῃ κατάπληξιν[79] and that the animals (ζῷα) might prostrate themselves in front of Adam ὡς ἂν ἡγεμόνα καὶ δεσπότην.[80]

It is not clear what ζῷα would mean in this heavenly context and Philo does not give any clue of his intentions. In the Septuagint, however, ζῷον in several instances refers to angels, most notably in Ezek 1:5, 13–15, 19–20, 22; 3:13, 10:15, 20.[81] A reader of Philo's comment on Gen 1:26–27 might have interpreted his exegesis to mean that ζῷα in this context really refer to angels. In combination with a literal understanding of Philo's ideal Adam as a primordial creature this would have lead to a mythologization of an exegetical tradition which Schenke has shown to exist in Gnostic texts.[82]

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[78] This might be taken as a hint to seriously reconsider Ferdinand Christian Baur's ideas concerning the origin of Gnosticism; cf. e.g. the extract from his *Das Christentum und die christliche Kirche der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, 2nd ed. (1860) in *Gnosis und Gnostizismus*, ed. K. Rudolph, Wege der Forschung 262 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1975), 1–16.

[79] Arnaldez, *Les œuvres*, 1:196 ll. 20–21.

[80] Arnaldez, *Les œuvres*, 1:196 ll. 22–23.

[81] Another instance would be Hab 3:2 LXX; Sir 49:16 merely states that Adam is ὑπὲρ πᾶν ζῷον ἐν τῇ κτίσει. In Rev 4:6–8 ζῷον has become a *terminus technicus* for the four angelic beings who surround God's throne; cf. R. Bultmann, "ζῷον," in *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, ed. G. Kittel (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1935), 2:875.

[82] Cf. Schenke, *Gott "Mensch,"* 72–93. However, C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, STDJ 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 98–100, draws attention to the phrase לעבד אדם in 4Q381 (Ms. ca. 75 B.C.E.; the text itself probably goes back to the Persian or Early Hellenistic era). Since the context is damaged, it does not seem possible to restore the original meaning entirely, but there are indications toward this phrase referring to angels serving Adam (a parallel to this is found in Mark 1:13 with angels serving [διηκόνουν] Jesus after the temptation; [99, n. 25]). Incidentally, this form of the motif recurs in *b. Sanh.* 59b where the angels are frying meat and cooling wine for Adam. If the Hebrew root עבד in 4Q381 is to be taken in a cultic sense, this would constitute a much earlier attestation of the motif. Philo in that case would simply refer to a perhaps rather common idea. I am indebted to Crispin Fletcher-Louis for pointing out these facts to me.

The result of this mythologization might have been a story similar to the one found in LLAE and referred to in a polemical way by the rabbis.

While this is still conjectural and lacks any textual basis it shows that there is at least a possibility of those parts of Adamic lore that seem to have been problematic to the early Christian, as well as rabbinic, tradition going back to a type of literature which is anterior to both. Christians and Jews took up these elements in a selective way: They used them to corroborate their claims while at the same time sorting out that which was no longer compatible with the new dogmatic requirements.

ADAMIC TRADITION IN SLAVONIC MANUSCRIPTS (VITA ADAE ET EVAE AND APOCRYPHAL CYCLE ABOUT THE HOLY TREE)

Anissava Miltenova

Mutual penetration and the interweaving of separate motifs, episodes, or entire stories are among the most interesting phenomena characterizing paratextual literature.[1] This process is particularly well expressed in the Slavic miscellanies of mixed content where stories created on the basis of biblical items or topics, erotapokriseis, and different types of apocalypses are prevalent.[2] Copied as a certain invariable circle of themes and motifs, some of the works in these miscellanies began to interact. Compilers quite frequently borrowed and combined appropriate elements from the narratives of various works, the outcome being both new versions of separate apocryphal works and new assembled combinations such as series based on shared themes or shared protagonists.

Here I shall try to observe some points in the textological tradition of the apocryphal series about the Holy Tree attributed to St. Gregory the Theologian and the Slavonic version of the *Vita Adae et Evae*. The two works are frequently part of South Slavic manuscripts of an identical type in which there is a peculiar consistency: In some cases they are featured separately and independently of one another, while in others they constitute a stable entity, complimenting each other like two parts of one work.

The apocryphal series about the Holy Tree ascribed to St. Gregory the Theologian is widespread in Old Bulgarian, Serbian and Russian literature (more than 50 witnesses). The text of the work attracted the attention

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[1] The term "apocrypha" in many cases needs additional clarification. Lately, scholars consider the term "parabiblical literature" (established after the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls) more convenient (A. Lange and U. Mittmann-Richert. "Annotated List of the Texts from the Judaean Desert Classified by the Content and Genre," DJD 39 [2002]: 115–121 [117]) or "paratextual literature" (Lange, "Pre-maccabean literature from the Qumran library and the Hebrew Bible," *DSD* 13.3 [2006]: 277–305). I adopt the last term because I consider it indicates correctly that the concept of "Bible" did not exist until the first or even second century C.E.

[2] This paper is a part from my book, *Paratextual Literature: co-existence and interdependence (Balkan Mixed Content Miscellanies, 13th–18th c.)*, (In print).

of scholars even in the 19th century when N. S. Tixonravov, A. N. Pypin, I. Y. Porfiryev, L. Stojanovič, and Y. Polivka, among others,[3] published some Russian and South Slavonic copies, while A. N. Veselovskij[4] tried to summarize the information about the representatives of the manuscript known at that time, and to make suggestions related to the origin of the series. At the same time, in his study on the *Story of the Holy Tree*, written by the Old Bulgarian Father Jeremiah, M. I. Sokolov[5] discussed the other apocrypha on a comparative plane and noted the similarities and the differences of the two works. A. de Santos Otero summarized all texts about the Holy Tree in one chapter[6] of his catalogue of apocryphal literature, but did not classify copies of different works (original and translated, or with regard to their authorship). F. Thomson criticized this approach and filled in the gaps in the identification of the witnesses.[7]

The legend of the Holy Tree is connected with the myth about the universal tree. In Genesis, there is only one tree around which the stories revolve: the tree of knowledge of good and evil (Gen 2:17), also called the tree in the middle of the Garden (Gen 3:3). It is also called the tree of life (Gen 3:22). In the Slavonic *Vita Adae et Evae*, three trees are mentioned: a cedar, a pine, and a cypress which have been combined with the sacred tree. The series of stories attributed to St. Gregory the Theologian also give an account of three trees, but without their names, and the anonymous author persists in depicting a threefold structure of the Holy Tree. It is known that the tradition of the cedar, the pine, and the cypress tree is both connected with the ancient Near East and ancient

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[3] Separate copies published in Н. С. Тихонравов, *Памятники отреченной русской литературы*. Т. 1, 2. (Москва, 1863), 305–313; А. Н. Пыпин, *Ложные и отреченные книги русской старины. Памятники старинной русской литературы*. Вып. III. СПб (1862), 4–6; И. Я. Порфирьев, *Апокрифические сказания о вехтозаветных лицах и событиях по рукописям Соловецкой библиотеки*. СОРЯС, XVII, № 1, СПб (1877), 47–50, 96–99; Љ. Стојановић, "Неколико рукописа из царске библиотеке у Бечу. I. Један апокрифни сборник XVII столећа," *Гласник српског ученог друштва*, (Београд, 1885), књ. 63, 53–59; I. Polivka, "Opisi i izvodi iz nekoliko jugoslavenskih rukopisa u Pragu," *Starine* XXI, (1889): 216–218; and І. Франко, *Апокріфи і легенди з українських рукописів* 2 (Львів, 1896), 242–245.

[4] А. Н. Веселовский, *Разыскания в области русского духовного стиха. X. Западные легенды о древе креста и Слово Григория о трех крестных древах*. [Приложение к XLI-му тому ЗИАН. № 1]. СПб (1883), 367–424.

[5] М. Соколов, *Материалы и заметки по старинной славянской литературе*. М. (1888), 149, 155–158.

[6] A. de Santos Otero, *Die Handschriftlische Überlieferung der altslavischen Apokryphen*. B. II, Patristische Texte und Studien 23 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1981), 129–147.

[7] F. Thomson, "Apocrypha Slavica II," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 63 (1985): N 1, 73–98 (85–87).

Greek mythology, and like the parts of the Holy Tree, they are the symbolic instrument of redemption and completion of the divine plan, which begins with Adam and is fulfilled in Christ, as well as the universal symbol of the resurrection.[8]

The first steps towards studying the apocryphal series about the Holy Tree are to track down and compare the separate copies. In the past, scholars were generally of the opinion that the oldest preserved text of this work can be found in the 15th century manuscript no. 1/112 (12) of the V. I. Grigorovič collection at the Odessa State Library.[9] This copy, South Slavonic by origin, is usually identified with the prototype of the apocryphal series, unlike the later Russian copies, which are assumed to have resulted from additional editing. The new texts of the work that have been discovered and the analysis of their peculiarities indicate that this assumption has to be corrected. So far the author relies on twenty nine Bulgarian, Serbian, Moldavian and Russian copies of the whole series or parts of it, which form a reliable ground for textological research.

They can be distributed into three groups based on their differences:

A. Copies with the most orderly and logically sound narrative, with the least unfounded omissions, repetitions, or vague patches. This group is distinguished by a number of ancient features and is probably the closest to the archetype of the text. Its oldest representative witnesses extant today are texts in MS 1700 from the Mazurin collection (196), RGADA-Moscow, of the second half of 14th century[10] and MS No. 13.6.13[11]

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[8] J. H. Philpot, *The Sacred Tree or the Tree in Religion and Myth* (London: Macmillan, 1897), 109–143; A. J. Wensinck, *Studies.* (The Ideas of the Western Semites Concerning the Navel of the Earth; The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites; Tree and Bird as Cosmological Symbols in Western Asia), Repr. edition (New York, 1978), 1–35; S. J. Reno, *The Sacred Tree as an Early Christian Literary Symbol*, Forschungen zur Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte 2 (Saarbrücken: Homo et Religio, 1978), 85–93, 187–194.

[9] The copy is published by Тихонравов, *Памятники отреченной русской литературы*, 308–313, without the final part of the cycle, the story about two robbers.

[10] The manuscript is written on parchment; it is Bulgarian, with Middle Bulgarian orthography (two juses, two jers). For a description see *Каталог славяно-русских рукописых книг XI–XIV вв., хранящихся в ЦГАДА СССР* (Москва, 1988), 302–305. The text of the Cycle about Holy Tree is not published. It should be noticed that parts of the Cycle changed places: it ends with parts (f) and (g)—the story about the discovery of Adam's head.

[11] The manuscript was from Walachia, with watermarks: capricorn of second quarter of 15th c.; scissors from 1478–1480; pliers from 1454–1461; three hills in the circle (unidentified); deer, with apparels in last decades of 14th c. (1388–1389). The last watermark is on the ff. 110–115. So the manuscript is a convolute: the major part of it is from the second quarter of 15th c., but the last part of it is from an earlier period. I am very grateful to Aleksej

of the first half of the 15th century from the collection of P. Syrku at the LRAS.[12]

B. Copies with traces of additional processing, where the contents are complimented with some details while others are trimmed. The above-mentioned copy of the Odessa manuscript from the Grigorovič collection should be classified here.

C. The third group of copies contains a version of the second, the only difference being that the introductory part is trimmed to the point where only one sentence is left. This trimming, however, was not done at whimsy. The text was edited intentionally in order to be linked to another work, the *Vita Adae et Evae*.

In all three groups the basic points of the narrative are preserved intact and can be broken down to the following composition parts:

a) An introductory part, which tells about the events related to Adam's death and to the tree that grew from his crown on which Christ was later crucified.
b) The tale about the second tree on which the righteous robber was crucified.
c) The tale about the third tree on which the sinful robber was crucified.
d) A question and answer which explains how the Holy Tree was even divided in heaven (only in group A of the copies).
e) A question and answer on the origin of the Holy Tree (Satan's theft from the Eden); in groups B and C, the division of the tree in paradise is briefly mentioned at the end.

Sergeev from the Manuscript Department in the Library of the Russian Academy in St. Petersburg, who identified the watermarks and sent the information to me. The orthography is Middle Bulgarian (with two jers, two juses). The information about the miscellany and the copy of the Cycle about the Holy Tree can be found in A. Miltenova, "Текстологически наблюдения върху два апокрифа (апокрифен цикъл за кръстното дърво, приписван на Григорий Богослов, и апокрифа за Адам и Ева)," *Старобългарска литература* 11 (1982): 35–55 (49–55).

[12] The following abbreviations will be used throughout this paper:

ANL: Austrian National Library, Vienna, Austria
CMNL: Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia, Bulgaria
LRAS: Library of Russian Academy of Sciences, Sankt Petersburg, Russia
NLS: National Library of Serbia, Belgrade, Serbia
RNL: Russian National Library, Sankt Petersburg, Russia
RSL: Russian State Library, Moscow, Russia

f) The tale of how the three trees found themselves in Jerusalem during the building of the Temple of Solomon; in group A, this part features a short introductory passage about the unity of the three parts in the beginning; this is lacking in groups B and C (the narration beginning directly with the magic ring Solomon receives from God).
g) The story about the discovery of Adam's head and how Adam is connected with the Holy Tree.
h) The story of the two robbers.

One can see from this short review that the differences between the separate groups also pertain in part to the composition structure of the apocryphal series. All parts acting as links between the larger entities in the series are omitted in groups B and C of the texts, probably because they were considered unnecessary details or superfluous by the authors of the versions. As a result of the abbreviation, the narrative has lost its streamlined order according to the initial plan.

As has already been mentioned, the most significant differences between the copies of group A and groups B/C consist of the removal of certain details and the addition of new ones, as well as of the reconsideration of certain elements. In order to establish the differences in the versions, I shall use the copy from the first half of the 15th century in MS No. 13.6.13 and the Odessa copy also dating to the 15th century, but with very ancient content.[13] In a nutshell, the results of the comparative analysis boil down to the following:

1. The introductory section (which contains the story about Adam's illness before his death and the conversation between Seth and Eve on how to cure him) in the Odessa copy has considerable abbreviations in comparison with the copy in MS No. 13.6.13. A comparative study gives grounds to assume the primary character of the text from group A and the secondary edition in group B:

[13] The watermark is crown with trefoil and trefoil with letter V and with letter B (my observations). See also В. Н. Мочульский, "Описание рукописей В. И. Григоровича," *Летопис историко-филологического общества при Императорском Новороссийском университете* 1 (Одесса, 1890), 53–133; М. М. Копыленко and М. В. Рапопорт. "Славяно-русские рукописи Одесской государственной научной библиотеки. им. М. Горького," *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы* 16 (1960): 550; and Е. Г. Королькова and Ж. Н. Кравченко. "Славянские рукописи нерусского произхождения Одесской государственной научной библиотеки им. А. М. Горького," *Известия на Народната библиотека и Софийския държавен университет*, т. III, (IX) (1963): 35.

Group A: MS No. 13.6.13	Group B: Odessa MS No. 12
[And Seth] said: "Tell me, mother, why my father suffers so much; I am wondering very much about this. You know everything about him, you understand by reason from what he is so ill."	[And Seth] said to the mother: "Oh, my mother, you know everything about him, tell us why our father is so ill."
и рⷮ. повѣжⷣь мнѣ мⷮтн моⷣ почто ѡ̃ць мон снко болнᵀ. мнѡ̃ ⷣнвлⷭ томоу ⷣзъ. ти бо вѣсѣ егова ⷤнаешн. ти бо раⷤзмѣешн, чего раⷣї снко болнⷮ.	рⷮ кь мⷮрн своен. ѡ мⷮтн моꙗ ты вѣсн все егова. повѣжⷣь намь что снко ѡ̃ць нашь болѣⷣзеть.
....	....
Seth said: "My God bless me! I shall enter into Eden, and I'll bring him [a cure] from there, to see if he will be restored to health." And he stood up and went. And he heard the voice tell him: "Seth, Seth, hold on! It is impossible for anyone to enter there." Seth said: "Oh Lord, my father is very ill and I am coming for the goods of paradise!" Thus the Lord's angel gave him **three sticks**.	Seth said: "Let's go to Eden and bring to my father [a cure], in order to satisfy his sickness." [Seth] went, and wailed, and cried in front of paradise. And the archangel gave him **the tree**.
Снѳ рⷮ. жнв гⷣь бⷣь мон. вынⷣⷢ въ ран. и прїнесⷢ емѕ ѡ̃ раꙗ. да внⷢ̂ⷢ егда како не вⷭⷤболнт. и ставⷭ понⷣе. и ѕслыша глⷭ̂ глⷣь. снѳе снѳе въстанї, невⷭⷤможно е тамо никомѕ прїнтн. снѳ рⷮ. гн ѡ̃ць мон болнⷮ ⷤа благⷭ̂ ранскⷭ̂ того раⷣї прїнⷣⷢ. аггль же гнь прнне емѕ г. прⷢтн.	Снть рⷮ. нⷣемь въ ран. и прннесем ѡ̃цѕ моемѕ. еда како оⷭтолнт се болѣсть его. нⷣе и выпне плаче протнвѕ раю. и прннесе емѕ архггль ⷣрѣво.

2. In the second part of the apocryphal series (about the tree on which the righteous robber was crucified), the Odessa copy includes a detailed story about the sin of Lot. One can assume that the large passage was introduced during the secondary editing of the text under the influences of the apocryphal story about *Abraham and the Holy Trinity* (about the hospitality of Abraham), from where there are literal borrowings.[14]

[14] The name of the river Nile, given here as нло (or reconsidered вівилоне from въ нло), while in the first group of copies it is consistently in the form of Ннль, Ннло, also draws attention to the textological peculiarities of the same apocrypha and the Abraham series as a whole. While tracking down the text of borrowing closest to the source, I found that

3. The third part (about the tree and the sinful robber) reveals the least amount of changes. The differences in the Odessa copy as compared to the copies in MS 1700 and MS No. 13.6.13 are not so much in content as in the linguistic (lexical and syntactic) form of the story. The same could be said of the episode with Satan's theft which is found in all groups of copies with insignificant changes.

4. The story of how the trees converged in Jerusalem is quite abridged in the copies of group B, represented by the Odessa manuscript. Some elements are transposed, and there is no streamlined order of the narrative as in group A of the texts.[15] This part ends with the fate of the third tree, which the demons bring from Eden. Once again the episode is very much abbreviated in the copies of group B, making the whole story seem incomplete.

5. The tale of Adam's head in the Odessa copy also carries the traces of an edition, which consists mainly of the omission of some details characteristic of group 1. An additional short conclusion is introduced in the end, a sort of summarized outline of the story about the Holy Tree (Question: What was the tree taken by the angel and given to the Seth?—вѣпрос. како бы то дрѣво. гдѣ вѫземь аггль и дадѣ сїѳ…). But this type of conclusion too is not strictly consistent, for it is intertwined with the end of the episode of the discovery of Adam's head—the creation of the mound named Lithostrotos—which is the conclusion of this part in group A of the copies. Thus the end (explicit) in the two groups of texts reads as follows:

what was used was a copy of *Abraham and the Holy Trinity*, similar to the second version of the apocrypha, familiar from MS No. 677 (Tikveš) from the end of the 15th century (CMNL, Sofia), the 16th century MS No. 740 (National State Archive, Bucharest) and the 16th century MS No. 13.2.25 (Yacimirskij collection, LRAS).

[15] For example, the Odessa copy initially speaks about the first tree, which fell in the river Jordan, and then the story goes on to the second tree without completing the first tale. The story of the first tree is resumed after the prediction of the Sibyl.

MS No. 13.6.13	Odessa MS No. 12
And they have made a big mound over the head, that's why it called Lithostrotos,[16] and there was to be the gathering place for all Jerusalem.	And they have made Lithostrotos, in the Hebrew 'thrown [by stones],'[17] and there was to be the gathering place for all Jerusalem. And when the oblation of our Lord took place, he was brought to Pilate—Christ together with two robbers—and after Pilate's order three crosses had been made from the same three trees. And the Christ was crucified on the one which grew atop Adam's head, on the right side the righteous robber, on the tree from the fire-brand,[18] and on the left side the unrighteous robber, on the tree which grew up from Moses' part, which he planted at the Marah River.
и сътворишѫ могнлѫ велн велнкѫ на главѫ тѡ радї нарє сѧ лнѳострать. и тоу бы съборнце въсемѕ ієрлмѕ.	и сътворнше лнтострато еврескн *побнень*. то бы съборнце въсемѕ їерлїмѕ. да єга бы прѣданїе гл нашего прнвѣдоше вь Пнлатѕ хл и два разбоннка Пнлать повѣле и сътворнше въ тѣˣ дрѣвѣˣ г. кръты и распеше хл на дрѣвѣ. нже ѡ главн ададмовн нзрасте а разбоннка вернаго. распеше на дрѣвѣ нже ѡ главны нзрасте. о десною хл. а разбонныка невѣрнаго распеше о шоую хл на дрѣвѣ еже нзрасте на морскон (sic!) рѣце еже посадьı Монсн.

6. "Amendment for two robbers" (Нсправленіе о двою разбонникъı), which is characterized by insignificant changes in the majority of the texts, is featured as the last part of the series in all groups of copies. This story has a certain independence, which can be seen from the fact that it is sometimes featured in the manuscripts as an independent work.

[16] Literally "the place, covered with stones." The word is mentioned in John 19:13.

[17] This reading appears only in Slavic apocrypha. In the Gospel text, it is "Gabbatha," an Aramaic word derived from a root meaning "back," or "elevation," which refers not to the kind of pavement but to the "elevation" of the place in question. The Slavic reading here gives a new meaning, which is connected with the custom of making a cairn of stones in order to imprecate someone. Cf. the legend from the archive of Marko Cepenkov about Adam's head; *Чума село изгорила*. Съст. Св. Петкова. (София, 1996) ("Първата болест на дедо Адама," Зап. М. Цепенков), 35.

[18] The tree which grew up after the penitence of Lot.

The fact that data about the earliest texts of the series, which have not reached us, report complete coincidence in their textological peculiarities with group A, provides additional proof for the age of this group of copies, which reflect the archetypal version of the apocryphal series. Such is the case with the copy in MS No. 104 from the third quarter of the 14th century, with its Serbian orthography peculiarities and traces of a Bulgarian protograph, which was kept at the NLS in Belgrade and was burnt in World War II. Since the text has neither been published nor been the subject of special study, the only source of information about it remains the notes of V. M. Istrin[19] who worked directly with the manuscript. He compared the apocryphal series about the Holy Tree with yet another lost fragment: three pages from the beginning of the 15th century MS No. 259 at the NLS in Belgrade. One can see from the published excerpts that they present the first version of the series. A similar conclusion can be made about the copy in MS No. 828, written by Father Pribil in 1409 and also destroyed in the fire at the NLS. One can judge about the contents and peculiarities of the text in the Pribil miscellany from the reports, among others, of M. N. Speranskij[20] and the description of S. Matić.[21] A total of fifteen copies of the first version have been discovered until now, including nine South Slavonic and six Ruthenian and Russian texts.[22] The linguistic

[19] М. Истрин Василий, "Отчет командированного за границу приват-доцента Московского университета Василия Истрина за вторую половину 1894 года," *Журнал Министерства народного просвящения*, ч. 305 (май, 1896), 1–86 (79).

[20] М. Н. Сперанский, "Белградские рукописи," *Библиографическая летопись*, т. II, СПб (1915), 8–9.

[21] Св. Матић, *Опис рукописа Народне библиотеке* (Београд, 1952), 135–140.

[22] The rest of the copies are: No. III.a.43 (Pakrac), Archive of Crotaian Academy, Zagreb, 16th century; No. 794 from the collection of the Troitse-Sergieva Lavra, RSL, Moscow, 16th century; No. 76 at the ANL in Vienna, 16th–17th century; No. 649 (Tulcea), Library of the Romanian Academy of Sciences, Bucharest, 16th–17th century; No. 326 (Adžar) at CMNL, Sofia, 17th century miscellany; miscellany of Father Teodor of Dubivec from the collection of Iv. Franko, Institute of Literature, Kiev, 16th–18 century; No. 684 at CMNL, Sofia, 17th century; No. 214 from the collection of the Archaeographical Commission, LRAS, 17th–18th century; No. 565 from the collection of V. M. Undolsky, RSL, Moscow, 17th century; No. 1938 from the M. Pogodin collection, RNL, St. Petersburg, 17th century; No. 4760 from the collection of Ivan Franko, Institute of Literature, Kiev, 18th century. For the content of Ruthenian manuscripts, see A. Miltenova, "Из историята на българо-руските и българо-украинските литературни връзки през XVI–XVII в. (сборници със смесено съдържание)," *Сборник доклади от международния славистичен конгрес в Киев, 6–14 септември, 1983 г.* [*Славянска филология*, 18] (1983): 51–58; for the content of Russian manuscripts, see A. Miltenova, "Апокрифи и апокрифни цикли с вероятен български произход в руските чети-сборници от XVI–XVII в," *Slavia Orthodoxa. Език и култура. Сборник в чест на проф. дфн Румяна Павлова* (София, 2003), 244–260.

data of the earliest of these documents provide grounds to assume that the translation of the apocryphal series was done on Bulgarian territory.

The third group of copies is particularly interesting with regard to the present topic. The text in this group coincides completely with the second version of the apocryphal series with the exception of the introductory part. It is reduced to: "When Adam has been buried with the wreath which was made by the tree from which he had been expelled, and he put it on his head, the same which Seth brought to him, given by the angel in Eden; and the Tree has grown up from the wreath on Adam's head, and very big was the height of the Tree, and it was wondrous, at three parts it was grown up, and it became in the united whole sevenfold, and it was most high of all trees." (Єгда погрѣбоша Ад҃ама съ вѣнцем҃ еже извить и възложи на главѫ своѫ ѿ дрѣва ѿ негоже бѣ изнань еже приносе емоу снъ его еже дасть емѹ агглъ из раꙗ. издрасте дрѣво из вѣнца из главы а҃дамовы и бы высотоѫ велико и прѣчюдно въ растомъ҃ на три растѣше сѧ и въ единно стажще семорнцеѫ и бы прѣвысоко въсѣ дрѣвь.).

As I have noted already, the most typical feature of this group of copies is its relation to the *Vita Adae et Evae*. When it was copied in its second version, a third version of the series about the Holy Tree was added directly after it as a continuation of the story. This fact is reflected in the following manuscripts: the 16th century MS No. 740 (Bucharest National State Archives); the 16th century MS No. 13.2.25 (LRAS); the 16th century Loveč miscellany whose location is unknown today; MS No. 198 (Vesselinov) of 1789 (NLS, Belgrade); the 17th century MS No. 380 from the collection of the Roumyantsev Museum (RSL, Moscow); MS No. 925 from the Solovets monastery collection (State Public Library, St. Petersburg). There is good reason to ask what the mechanism of interdependence between the two works might be.

In order to give a precise answer, however, it is necessary above all to glance at the Slavic manuscript tradition of the *Vita Adae et Evae* and to clarify the specifics of the secondary rewriting of the work.

Scholars have studied the Slavic translation of the apocrypha quite thoroughly, and a large part of the texts have been published. In the first place one should note the comprehensive study of V. Jagić, who attempted a classification by versions and a definition of the textological peculiarities of the copies on the basis of the four South Slavonic and five Russian copies he knew about at that time.[23] According to him, there are two main

[23] V. Jagić, *Slavische Beiträge zu den biblischen Apokryphen. 1. Die altkirchenslavischen Texte Adambuches* (Vienna, 1893).

groups of copies that reflect a long version of South Slavonic, most probably of Bulgarian origin, and an abridged version solely represented by Russian manuscripts. The differences between the two versions do not consist so much in the abbreviation of some parts as in the different way the entire story is ordered, leading to a new sequence of the separate episodes which form a logical whole. Jagić asserts that the secondary version is characterized by greater logic in the development of the plot and chronological sequence. Without analyzing the two versions in detail, for this is not our task here, one should underscore that the secondary version constitutes an overall re-composition of the apocryphal work which one can assume was the product of intentional editing. Jagić quotes numerous arguments in favor of the assertion that this editing was based on the first version but was combined with the usage of additional sources. It is only in this way that one could explain a number of additions, including the extremely characteristic addition about the tree which grew from Adam's crown. Jagić assumes that one of the possible sources was the *Palaea*, which served at least as an example of the edited tale if not for direct borrowings. As he had only Russian manuscripts of the second version at his disposal, Jagić considered that it had originated on Russian soil and highlighted a number of cases of misunderstanding or reconsideration of the text. Y. Ivanov also maintained this view.[24] In the observation of the Slavic tradition in *Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti*,[25] this point of view is also represented by the following division: two versions of the Slavic texts named "Recensio A (longior)" and "Recensio B (breuior)." The first is analogous to Jagić's group "A," edited by Tixonravov and Jagić,[26] and the second to the group represented in the Russian manuscripts, published by Pypin and Tixonravov.[27]

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[24] Й. Иванов, *Богомилски книги и легенди.* "Наука и изкуство," София (1925; reprint 1970), 203–209.

[25] *Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti.* Cuva et studio J. C. Haelewyck (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 1.iii.The observation made here is based on the old book of E. Kozak, *Bibliographische Übersicht der biblisch-apokryphen Literatur bei den Slaven* (1892) and on the work of E. Turdeanu, "La Vie d'Adam et d'Eve en Slave et en roumain" in *Apocryphes slaves et roumains de l'Ancien Testament.* Variorum reprint (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 75–144, 437–438.

[26] Тихонравов, *Памятники отреченной русской литературы*, 6–15 (copy in MS No 794 from Troitse-Sergieva lavra, RSL, Moscow, 16th cent.); Jagić, *Die altkirchenslavischen Texte Adambuches*, 17–40, 83–89, 100–101 (MSS No 104 NLS in Belgrade, 14th cent.; MSS No 149, ANL, Vienna, 16th cent.; MSS No 433, CMNL, Sofia, 16th cent.).

[27] Пыпин, *Ложные и отреченные книги русской старины*, 1–3, 4–7 (by the copy in MS No 358, 15th–16th cent., Rumjancev collection, RSL, Moscow); Тихонравов, *Памятники отреченной русской литературы*, 1–6; 298–304 (by the copy in MSS No 637, Undolskij collection, 17th cent., RSL, Moscow. Nowadays, this point of view has not been reconsidered on the bases of new discoveries of Slavonic copies. Cf. an electronic edition of

Because of the discovery of new copies of *Vita Adae et Evae* and a detailed reconsideration of the extant evidence, it is necessary to reexamine some points related to this view. Additional data confirmed the division of the manuscript tradition into two versions, primary and secondary, contrary to Ivanov's opinion that there were three. Today we can classify eight South Slavonic copies and one Russian example with the first version of the work, the latter indicating directly a Bulgarian original.[28] This group corresponds to the one Jagić designated as "A."

The second group of copies has been expanded by four new South Slavonic and two Moldavian copies based on a Middle Bulgarian framework. Some of them are known to scholars but were incorrectly classified with another version. Such is the case with the copy in MS No. 740 at the National State Archives in Bucharest, which Ivanov classified with the first version without giving any arguments corroborating his decision. A careful comparison of the text with the published Russian copies, unanimously classed by scholars as representing the secondary version, reveals that the story is built according to the same plan, and even the linguistic expression is identical, the only exception being the Russian orthographic peculiarities. Here I should also classify the 14th century Loveč miscellany, once the property of M. Nedelčev. The text has not been published with the exception of small parts for the comparative analysis and variants of the first version quoted by Ivanov. According to Ivanov, this copy represents a separate version that differs from the Russian copies. Close examination of the peculiarities of the text from the published parts revealed that they coincide completely with the characteristic features of the secondary version. The reason for this misinterpretation lies in both the fragmentary part of the apocrypha preserved in this copy and the previous lack of other South Slavonic texts of the second version to serve as a comparison. Nevertheless, the classification of this copy should be

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the *Life of Adam and Eve.* Compilers: G. A. Anderson (The University of Virginia) and M. E. Stone (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem): http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/anderson/iath.report.html#Sla.

[28] The earliest copy was discovered in the MS No. 29 from the collection in the Savina monastery, Montenegro, around the year 1380, with Rashka orthography, but with traces of Middle Bulgarian protograph. Parts of the texts and miscellanies are included in: http://clover.slavic.pitt.edu:8080/exist/mss/index.xml. In the present research, I do not take into account two copies in CMNL in Sofia (in MS No. 681, 15th cent., Serbian in origin, with traces of Kosovo-Moravian dialect peculiarities and MS No. 437, 18th cent., with New Bulgarian dialect peculiarities) which are revisions of the initial translation. Cf. Д. Димитрова, "Някои наблюдения върху литературните особености на апокрифа 'Слово за Адам и Ева,'" *Старобългарска литература* 11 (1982): 56–66.

considered hypothetical, since at this point there is no opportunity for an overall comparison of the text.

The other copies were *never* used when the work was discussed, including the 16th century MS No. 13.2.25 of Moldavian origin based on a Middle Bulgarian original (LRAS); the 16th century MS No. 13.4.10 (written by Bulgarian bookman Bajčo the Grammarian), Resava orthography (LRAS); the 16th century MS No. 53, Serbian orthography (NLS); MS No. 198 of 1787 (written by Vesselin) with late Church Slavonic orthographic peculiarities and traces of a Bulgarian original (NLS), burnt during World War II.

The total of textological peculiarities of the South Slavonic and Moldavian copies, as well as their earlier chronology in comparison with the known Russian copies doubtlessly support the assumption that the text of the *Vita Adae et Evae* was re-edited on South Slavonic, most probably Bulgarian soil. The earliest copy of the secondary version is found in the 16th century Bucharest miscellany No. 740, all of which doubtlessly indicates a Middle Bulgarian original. The majority of scholars suggest its content originated as early as the end of the 13th century or as late as the 14th century.[29] Therefore, one could assume that the second version of the apocrypha probably also originated at the same time.

The final clarification of the relations and interaction between the *Vita Adae et Evae* and the series about the Holy Tree, attributed to St. Gregory the Theologian, could be achieved only after a comprehensive and profound analytical comparison of the manuscript tradition of the two works in all their copies and variants. Thorough familiarity with the Greek and Latin texts,[30] from which the works were translated, is a must to ensure objective conclusions. There was an original Hebrew or Aramaic book from which the extant Adam writings are derived. As M. Stone has shown, providing a general point of view on the whole tradition,[31] the Adam material has a long pedigree in the East, in both Latin and Greek traditions. W. Meyer considered that the reconstruction of the original Adam book written in Hebrew lied at the base of the Greek and Latin lives.[32] Many other scholars also stressed that *three* known Adam books

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[29] Cf. П. А. Сырку, *Византийская повесть об убиении императора Никифора Фоки в старинном болгарском пересказе*. СПб. (1883), I–VI, 111–113 (III–IV).

[30] Cf. Тихонравов, *Памятники отреченной русской литературы*, 1–23.

[31] M. E. Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve*, SBL.EJL 3 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 66–70.

[32] W. Meyer, "Vita Adae et Evae," *Abhandlungen der königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosoph-philologische Klasse*, XIV. Bd. 3. (Munich, 1878), 185–250; Meyer, "Geschichte des Kreuzholzes von Christus," *Abhandlungen der königlichen Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosoph-philologische Klasse*, XVI. Bd. 2. (Munich,

(Greek, Latin, and Slavonic) had a common starting point in an original Hebrew writing. The detailed work of M. Nagel[33] pointed out that the Slavic translation is from the texts of family two, which has a direct connection with the initial Hebrew original. In his new study of the Greek Life of Adam and Eve, Michael Eldridge argued that the Greek text was the original form from which all extant versions ultimately derived.[34] He underlined that there existed an "Adam Cycle" of which the Greek Life formed a part. Some peculiarities of the Armenian and Georgian Lives have been explained through the interaction with other texts in the Cycle. One very possible secondary stage of this process is the forming of Cycle of the Holy Tree as a part of the Cycle of the Adam stories. It took place not in Greek, but in Slavic tradition. So the interrelations between the texts are as follows:

1. The *first* version of the *Vita Adae et Evae* appears in South Slavic manuscripts simultaneously with the *first* version of the series about the Holy Tree in an identical type of makeup of the miscellanies of mixed content, but *separately and independently* of one another: in MS No. 104 at the NLS (destroyed); MS No. 794 in the Troitse-Sergieva Lavra collection, RSL-Moscow, MS No. 326 at the CMNL in Sofia and others. Although there is no obvious link between them, one cannot but notice the considerable similarity between the introductory part of the apocryphal series and the first version of the *Vita Adae et Evae*. There are quite a few instances of parallel phrases and even lexical correspondence, which indicate that *the similarity of the texts is not only thematic*. One detail is really indicative: The first versions of both works mention "three sticks" (.г҃. прѫти) that Seth brought to Adam from heaven, while the second version of the *Vita Adae et Evae* and the second and third versions of the series speak of a "twig" (вѣтвь) or a "tree" (дрѣво).[35] If this intertwining of identical motifs

1882), 103–165.

[33] M. Nagel, *La Vie grecue d'Adam et d'Eve* (unpublished dissertation, University of Strasbourg, 1974). I use the text cited by M. D. Eldridge, *Dying Adam with his Multiethnic Family. Understanding the Greek Life of Adam and Eve.* SVTP 16 (Leiden: Brill, 2001). The book of B. Murdoch, *The Apocryphal Adam and Eve in Medieval Europe (Vernacular Translations and Adaptations of the Vita Adae et Evae)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009) was not accessible to me.

[34] Eldridge, *Dying Adam with his Multiethnic Family*, 101–107.

[35] It is evident that the anonymous editor tried to avoid the "pagan" motif about the threefold tree, and to modify it to coincide with the "orthodox" view about one sacred tree, a symbol not only of Christ, but of the relationships between Christ and the members of the Christian community.

did not exist even on Greek soil, in copies unfamiliar to us, then it seems that the Slav translator and compiler used the apocryphal story about the fate of Adam and Eve in creating the cyclical story ascribed to St. Gregory the Theologian. It is interesting to point out that there are many legends on the same theme in Bulgarian folklore.

2. The history of the text of the series about the Holy Tree follows the path of penetration of a number of elements or entire episodes from other works, as, for example, from the stories of the apocryphal series about Abraham. In addition, the work has been simplified, some elements considered superfluous have been deleted, and the portions of the text or separate phrases that the copyists did not understand have been substituted by others. This is a new stage in the development of the manuscript tradition, reflected in the *second* version of the apocryphal series. The origin of this secondary rewriting is closely related to the formation of the content of miscellanies of the Tikveš type (No. 677 at CMNL-Sofia). It is characterized by literary and textological peculiarities largely inherent to the overall specifics of this types of miscellanies of mixed content. Such a conclusion is indicated by the works incorporated in the Odessa MS No. 12, which are closely related to the main contents of the Tikveš miscellany, the Bucharest miscellany No. 740, MS No. 13.2.25, LRAS, MS No. 1161 at the Church Archaeological Museum in Sofia, MS No. 13.4.10, LRAS and others.

The second version of the apocryphal series no longer speaks of .г҃. прѫти but of дрѣво. It is difficult to determine what the reason behind this change was. The introductory part of the series loses its similarity with the first version of the apocryphal *Vita Adae et Evae*. This occurrence could be explained only with the possibility that the unknown author of the version was familiar with and used the series about the Holy Tree in its already determined second version. The additions to the text of the *Vita Adae et Evae* in the second version, which Jagić explained as an influence of the *Palaea*, are explained very well in this light. The additional text about the tree that grew from Adam's crown, with which the text of the apocrypha ends, is the most typical example of the penetration of elements of the second version of the apocryphal series in the second version of the *Vita Adae et Evae*.

3. Using the second version of the apocryphal series about the Holy Tree as a source, the author who rewrote the *Vita Adae et Evae* has cut the introductory section of the series and has adapted it as an immediate continuation of the apocryphal story. This is how the third version of the series appeared, the result of the work becoming dependent on another

work and consequently encountered in manuscripts always related to the rewritten *Vita Adae et Evae*. The link between the two works is achieved by the motif of the bough from which Adam makes a crown that he put on his head with the characteristic addition in the second version of the *Vita Adae et Evae*: И тѣ израсте древо из вѣнца из главы Адамовы, which ends the apocrypha. This sentence is not related directly to the preceding events, Eve's death, and her burial in Abel's grave; rather, it serves as a transition to the series about the Holy Tree.

In conclusion, I want to point out the great importance of the motif of the tree of life in several narratives within the miscellanies of mixed content in the Slavonic tradition. On the one hand, it appears across the apocrypha (in Abraham's cycle, during the episode with the penance of Lot, in the *Vita Adae et Evae*, closely connected with the cycle of Holy Tree, or in the Story of Sibyl), and on the other hand, the same motif is found in the *erotapokriseis* within the content of the same manuscripts.[36] In the part of the cycle devoted to the origin of the tree, it is pointed out that the Holy Tree was expelled by Satan (*Satanail*) from paradise.[37] This text corresponds with the same passage in the questions and answers under the title *Razumnik*. Here the Tree is also the cosmological symbol. It serves as a kind of leader from heaven to earth, or a cosmological column, which links earth and heaven. A comparison of the borrowings and their sources will shed additional light on the mutual penetration of the works and perhaps also on their origin.

[36] A. Miltenova, *Erotapokriseis. Съчиненията от кратки въпроси и отговори в старобългарската литература*. "Дамян Яков," (София, 2004), 242–245.

[37] M. E. Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the Books of Adam and Eve," *JTS* 44.1 (1993): 143–156. I am very grateful to Prof. Stone for additional consultation.

MELCHIZEDEK TRADITIONS

MELCHIZEDEK TRADITIONS IN SECOND TEMPLE JUDAISM

*Eric F. Mason**

Despite the scarcity of information about Melchizedek in the Hebrew Scriptures, he was a figure of interest to Jewish writers in the Second Temple period, and curiosity about him continued in Christian, Gnostic, and subsequent Jewish texts. The purpose of this article is to survey Melchizedek traditions in Second Temple Judaism, leaving aside the portrait in 2 Enoch as it and later texts are addressed in other chapters. The interpretations surveyed here neatly divide into two major categories, understanding Melchizedek either as a historical Canaanite king and priest (integrated into Israel's tradition) or as a heavenly, angelic figure. Among texts clearly dated to the Second Temple period, the latter view is explicit only in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and even there in a moderate form compared to subsequent speculations.[1]

I. *Melchizedek in the Hebrew Scriptures*

Melchizedek is discussed in only two passages in the Hebrew Bible, and is it difficult to discern the precise relationship between these two very different texts. The first is Gen 14:18–20, where he appears abruptly in the discussion of Abram's return from his victory over Chedorlaomer and allied kings. In Gen 14:17, one reads that the king of Sodom went to meet the patriarch in the Valley of Shaveh, and they converse about the distribution of the spoils of the campaign in Gen 14:21–24. The account of their meeting is interrupted by the awkward introduction of Melchizedek into

* I appreciate very much the invitation from Gabriele Boccaccini and Andrei Orlov to address Melchizedek traditions at the Fifth Enoch Seminar, and I am also grateful to Devorah Dimant for her perceptive response to my paper. My participation in the seminar and work on this paper was supported by funds from the Homer and Margaret Surbeck Summer Scholarship Program of Judson University, administered by our provost, Dr. Dale H. Simmons.

[1] The following survey is adapted and significantly condensed from E. F. Mason, *'You Are a Priest Forever': Second Temple Jewish Messianism and the Priestly Christology of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, STDJ 74 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), especially 138–90.

the story in vv. 18–20; suddenly one reads there that *this* king—of Salem rather than Sodom—instead first encounters Abram. Bearing bread and wine, this "priest of God Most High" blessed Abram, and the scene concludes with payment of a tithe.

This passage raises numerous exegetical issues. One concerns the relationship between vv. 18–20 and the surrounding narrative. Most scholars agree that these verses were secondarily inserted into this passage, as implied by the disjunctive nature of the narrative flow, though overall Gen 14 is vexing for source critics.[2] The name מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק "Melchizedek" literally means either "my king is righteous," or more likely in a Canaanite context, "my king is Ṣedeq." Likewise, Melchizedek's אֵל עֶלְיוֹן "God Most High" likely is the Canaanite deity El 'Elyon, though clearly this king/priest has been assimilated into the biblical tradition as a devotee of Israel's God instead (thus Gen 14:22, "Yahweh God Most High").[3] Virtually all interpreters have assumed that Melchizedek as priest was the recipient of tithes paid by Abram, though the Hebrew is ambiguous. Salem normally is understood as Jerusalem, though a case may be made for Shechem.[4] A minor variation in the Septuagint is use of a plural term for "bread" in Gen 14:18, something perhaps noticed by Second Temple interpreters who credit Melchizedek with feeding Abram's entire party.[5]

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[2] See, for example, J. A. Emerton, "The Riddle of Genesis XIV," *VT* 21 (1971): 403–39; and C. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, CC (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 187–90. Joseph A. Fitzmyer allows that the Melchizedek pericope may derive from "an independent ancient poetic saga, as old as the rest of Gen 14" but which has been inserted and interrupts the account of Abram's meeting with the king of Sodom; see "Melchizedek in the MT, LXX, and the NT," *Biblica* 81 (2000): 63–69 (esp. 64).

[3] J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I*, 3rd ed., BibOr18B (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2004), 246–48.

[4] For Salem as Jerusalem, cf. Ps 76:3 (EV 2). This identification is affirmed in most Second Temple period interpretations, and in all of the extant Targums on Gen 14. See R. Hayward, "Shem, Melchizedek, and Concern with Christianity in the Pentateuchal Targumim," in *Targumic and Cognate Studies: Essays in Honour of Martin McNamara*, ed. K. J. Cathcart and M. Maher, JSOTSup 230 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 67–80 (esp. 72). On Melchizedek in the Targums, see further M. McNamara, "Melchizedek: Gen 14,17–20 in the Targums, in Rabbinic and Early Christian Literature," *Biblica* 81 (2000): 1–31; and C. Gianotto, *Melchisedek e la sua tipologia: Tradizioni giudaiche, cristiane e gnostiche* (*sec. II a.C.–sec. III d.C.*), SRivBib 12 (Brescia: Paideia Editrice, 1984), 171–85. For Salem as Shechem, see J. Gammie, "Loci of the Melchizedek Tradition of Genesis 14:18–20," *JBL* 90 (1971): 385–96 (esp. 390–93). See also J. L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible as it Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1998), 283–84, 291–93; and Mason, *'You Are a Priest Forever,'* 140 n. 4.

[5] On this and other variations in the LXX, see Fitzmyer, "Melchizedek," 67.

The second passage is Ps 110:4. Most interpreters approach this royal psalm as a pre-exilic text addressed to the ruler of the Davidic dynasty; the complicating matter is how to understand the granting of a priesthood in "the order of Melchizedek" to a Hebrew king because of the typical biblical separation between royal and priestly functions.[6] Furthermore, the relationship between the Melchizedek tradition in Gen 14 and in this psalm is complex, though most scholars agree there is a connection. In both passages a figure holds both royal and priestly offices, but scholars debate the rationale for associating a Davidic king with Melchizedek—is the tie in the combination of offices, or an appeal to ancient (Jeru)salem traditions for legitimation of a later dynasty? A few interpreters have instead argued for the psalm's composition in the post-exilic—perhaps Hasmonean—era, reflecting later realities of the combination of priestly and political roles, but such theories have attracted little support.[7]

The discussion above assumes a translation of Ps 110:4 similar to that of the NRSV: "The LORD has sworn and will not change his mind, 'You are a priest forever, according to the order of Melchizedek,' " and this is consistent with the rendering in the LXX. Some, however, have proposed different translations of the divine decree אַתָּה־כֹהֵן לְעוֹלָם עַל־דִּבְרָתִי מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק as a statement addressed to Melchizedek himself ("You are a priest forever by my order [or "on my account"], O Melchizedek"), while others have read מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק not as the name "Melchizedek" but as a comment on the addressee's personal nature or ruling characteristic ("a rightful king" [NJPS], "may justice reign," or "reign in justice").[8] The difficulty of such interpretations, however, is that both the LXX and NT interpreters (the latter no doubt influenced by the former) find the personal name Melchizedek when explicitly citing this verse.

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[6] For a recent survey of the manifold problems concerning the setting, dating, and interpretation of Ps 110, see L. C. Allen, *Psalms 101–50, Revised*, WBC 21 (Nashville: Nelson, 2002), 108–20. See also F. L. Horton, Jr., *The Melchizedek Tradition: A Critical Examination of the Sources to the Fifth Century A.D. and in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, SNTSMS 30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 23–34; and D. M. Hay, *Glory at the Right Hand: Psalm 110 in Early Christianity*, SBLMS 18 (Nashville: Abingdon, 1973), 19–22.

[7] For a survey of such positions, see Mason, *'You Are a Priest Forever,'* 145–46.

[8] A third possibility is to understand Melchizedek as the speaker. See J. T. Milik, "*Milkî-ṣedeq* et *Milkî-reša'* dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens." *JJS* 23 (1972): 95–144 (esp. 125). For direct address, see D. Flusser, "Melchizedek and the Son of Man (A preliminary note on a new fragment from Qumran)," *Christian News from Israel* (April 1966): 23–29 (esp. 26–27); and Kugel, *Traditions*, 279. See Allen, *Psalms 101–50*, 116, for a survey of interpretations that omit a personal reference to Melchizedek.

II. *Melchizedek in Second Temple Jewish Literature*

Melchizedek appears in several texts from the Second Temple period—Genesis Apocryphon, Jubilees, Pseudo-Eupolemus, Josephus, Philo, and the Qumran literature (distinguishing here chiefly, but not exclusively, texts composed by the community from those originating elsewhere but also read there). The discussion of the figure in this literature varies widely—most authors of these texts address Melchizedek's encounter with Abram, demonstrating a particular desire to smooth out the rough edges of the Gen 14 account, but do not concern themselves with Ps 110:4. Strikingly, three Qumran texts instead present a heavenly understanding of Melchizedek, presumably deriving this interpretation from the statement 'a priest forever' in Ps 110:4.

A. *Genesis Apocryphon*

Though found in its only extant copy (dated 25 B.C.E–50 C.E. on paleographical grounds) among the Dead Sea Scrolls, this work of "rewritten Scripture" almost certainly is not a text composed by members of the Qumran community. Rather, it lacks evidence of their sectarianism and was composed in Aramaic, perhaps in the mid-second century B.C.E.[9] The Gen 14 account is retold in 1QapGen ar XXII 12–17.

> [12] The king of Sodom heard that Abram had brought back all the captives [13] and all the booty, and he went up to meet him. He came to Salem, that is Jerusalem, while Abram was camped in the Valley of [14] Shaveh. This is the Vale of the King, the Valley of Beth-haccherem. Melchizedek, the king of Salem, brought out [15] food and drink for Abram and for all the men who were with him. He was a priest of God Most High, and he blessed [16] Abram and said, "Blessed be Abram by God Most High, the Lord of heaven and earth! Blessed be God Most High, [17] who has delivered your enemies into your hand." And he gave him a tithe from all the goods of the king of Elam and his confederates.[10]

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[9] Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 23, following J. C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, HSM 14 (Missoula, MT.: Scholars Press, 1977), 287. Earlier Fitzmyer proposed the date of 100 B.C.E. ("Genesis Apocryphon," *EDSS* 1:303). In his review of J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I: A Commentary*, *RB* 74 (1967): 100–02 (esp. 101), R. De Vaux suggested that the extant copy of Genesis Apocryphon is the autograph.

[10] The translation is that of Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 109. His italics, indicating where the Aramaic very closely follows the Hebrew of the Gen 14 account (see Fitzmyer, *Genesis Apocryphon*, 38), have not been retained.

This author understands Salem as Jerusalem (line 13), and he softens the disjunction of the Gen 14 account concerning Abram's various meetings. Here the king of Sodom journeyed to Salem, home of Melchizedek, en route to meet the patriarch in the (presumably nearby) Valley of Shaveh (whereas in Gen 14:17 he went directly to the valley).[11] Perhaps this implies that the two kings traveled together to meet Abram, as may be indicated by the smooth transition in 1QapGen ar XXII 18 when the king of Sodom met Abram after his experience with Melchizedek: "*Then* [באדין] the king of Sodom approached Abram . . ." (italics mine). Another difference concerns Melchizedek's gift of "food and drink" (מאבל ומשתה), less specific than the "bread and wine" (לֶחֶם וְיַיִן) of Gen 14:18 but now for both Abram and his troops. Finally, the tithe is paid from the spoils of war, thus clearly by Abram. The overall impression of the adaptations is to make Melchizedek's introduction less dramatic than in Gen 14:18.

B. *Jubilees*

Jubilees also is "rewritten Scripture" that did not originate among the Qumran sectarians, nevertheless fragments of fourteen (or perhaps fifteen) manuscripts were recovered from five caves (1–4, 11). Likely composed 170–150 B.C.E. in Hebrew, it subsequently was translated into Greek, Latin, Ethiopic, and perhaps also Syriac, with complete manuscripts extant only in Ethiopic.[12] Abram's encounter with Melchizedek is discussed, but unfortunately the text is defective in this section, leaving only the following in Jub 13:25: "When he had armed his household servants . . . for Abram and his descendants the tithe of the firstfruits for the Lord. The Lord made it an eternal ordinance that they should give it to the priests who serve before him for them to possess it forever."[13]

Despite the absence of Melchizedek's name, context ensures that the episode from Gen 14 is being recounted—the lost account of Abram's tithe prompted a digression on the divine origins of the practice as a means to

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[11] Several ancient writers located the Valley of Shaveh near Jerusalem. See M. C. Astour, "Shaveh, Valley of," *ABD* 5:1168.

[12] J. C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2 vols., CSCO 510–11, Scriptores Aethiopica 87–88 (Louvain: Peeters, 1989), 2:V–VI; VanderKam, "Book of Jubilees," *EDSS* 1:434–38 (esp. 435, 437). According to VanderKam and P. Flint, "*Jubilees* was most likely viewed as Scripture by the Qumran community." See their book *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Harper San Francisco, 2002), 199.

[13] This translation is adapted from the restored translation of VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, 1:82, 2:81–82.

support the priests of Israel, followed by Abram's meeting with the king of Sodom. Other authors of the period relate the tithe paid to Melchizedek with the Levitical benefit in a similar way. Indeed, Jewish texts of the period uniformly assimilate Melchizedek into Israel's priestly tradition, in sharp contrast with the novel interpretation of Heb 7:1–10.

Some scholars assert that Melchizedek's encounter with Abram was removed from Jubilees, perhaps to dampen speculation on the former.[14] Others argue that the omission is due to scribal error, likely haplography. James VanderKam proposes that this occurred in the Hebrew stage of textual transmission before the book was translated into Ethiopic, and he notes that several minor Ethiopic manuscripts do contain some mention of Melchizedek (even if only in marginal notations).[15]

C. *Pseudo-Eupolemus*

Melchizedek appears in one of the two pseudonymous fragments among the seven attributed to Eupolemus (a second-century B.C.E. Jewish historian of a priestly family, sent as an ambassador to Rome by Judas Maccabeus) and preserved in Eusebius, *Praep. ev.*, Book 9.[16] Pseudo-Eupolemus' reference to Melchizedek is preserved in Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.17.5–6: "When the ambassadors approached him [Abraham], requesting that he might release the prisoners in exchange for money, he did not choose to take advantage of those who had been unfortunate enough to lose. Instead, after he had obtained food for his young men, he returned the booty. He was also received as a guest by the city at the temple Argarizin,

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[14] See, for example, Kugel, *Traditions*, 293; E. Tisserant, "Fragments syriaques du Livre des Jubilés," *RB* 30 (1921): 55–86, 206–32 (esp. 215); and A. Caquot, "Le Livre des Jubilés, Melkisedeq et les dîmes," *JJS* 33 (1982): 257–64 (esp. 261–64).

[15] VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, 1:82, 2:81–82. See also VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha (Sheffield: Sheffield, 2001), 49.

[16] C. R. Holladay, "Eupolemus," *ABD* 2:671–72 (esp. 2:671). These two fragments were first identified as pseudonymous by Jacob Freudenthal in the late 19th century because of their Samaritan tendencies, and this remains the dominant view. For an introduction, critical text, and translation of these two fragments, see C. R. Holladay, "Pseudo-Eupolemus (Anonymous)," in *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*, Vol. 1: Historians (Chico, CA.: Scholars Press, 1983), 157–87. See also C. R. Holladay, "Eupolemus, Pseudo-," *ABD* 2:672–73; and J. Freudenthal, "Ein ungenannter samaritanischer Geschichtschreiber," in *Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm erhaltenen Reste judäischer und samaritanischer Geschichtswerke*, Hellenistische Studien 1–2 (Breslau: Skutsch, 1875), 82–103, 207–08, 223–25.

which is interpreted 'mountain of the Most High.' He also received gifts from Melchizedek who was a priest of God and a king as well."[17]

This account is derived from Gen 14 but with surprising adaptations. Abraham's forfeiture of the spoils (presumably based on his conversation with the king of Sodom in Gen 14:21–24) here precedes his encounter with Melchizedek. The latter, identified as a ruler and priest, presumably is associated with "Argarizin," reflecting the Aramaic for Mt. Gerizim. Either this is an alternate tradition about Melchizedek's city or (more likely) the author locates Salem in Samaria.[18] Jerome and Aetheria argued the latter (late fourth century C.E.), but the Samaritan Pentateuch and the *Samaritan Targum* do not.[19] Also unclear is the nature of the gifts that Abraham (not Abram as in Gen 14) receives from Melchizedek, though it seems unlikely given the context that a meal for Abraham's troops is intended.[20] Melchizedek is said to have a temple (and Josephus writes similarly; see below), even though such language does not appear in Gen 14.

D. *Philo of Alexandria*

Philo discusses Melchizedek in three of his works (*Abr*. 235; *Cong*. 99; *LA* 3.79–82) in very different contexts, though as expected allegory is frequently employed. In *Abr.* 235, Melchizedek is not mentioned explicitly, but clearly his encounter with Abraham is in view:

> When the high priest of the most high God saw him [Abraham] approaching with his trophies, leader and army alike unhurt, for he had lost none of his own company, he was astonished by the feat, and, thinking, as indeed was natural, that such success was not won without God's directing care and help to their arms, he stretched his hands to heaven and honoured him with prayers on his behalf and offered sacrifices of thanksgiving for the victory and feasted handsomely those who had taken part in the contest, rejoicing and sharing their gladness as though the success were his own, and so indeed it was, for "the belongings of friends are held in common," as the proverb says, and this is far more true of the belongings of the good whose one end is to be well-pleasing to God.[21]

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[17] Holladay, *Fragments*, 173.

[18] Kugel, *Traditions*, 283–84, 291–93, argues that this author understood Salem as a Samaritan site on the basis of Gen 33:18 LXX ("Salem, the city of Shechem") and Jub 30:1 ("Salem, to the east of Shechem").

[19] McNamara, "Melchizedek," 9–10.

[20] See Mason, *'You Are a Priest Forever,'* 152–53, for discussion of possible interpretations.

[21] English translations of Philo are from Colson and Whitaker, LCL.

Though unnamed, Melchizedek here is the "high priest"—not just "priest"—in the service of the "most high God" (ὁ μέγας ἱερεὺς τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ), and he determines that God must be responsible for the patriarch's military success when he sees him approaching with his troops unharmed. This prompts Melchizedek's prayers and sacrifices, loosely based on his words in Gen 14:20 (blessing God for enabling Abram's victory) yet significantly more elaborate. The feast for Abraham's entourage, also present in Genesis Apocryphon and Josephus (see below), provides an opportunity for Philo to discuss friendship. He says nothing about Abraham's response to Melchizedek or the tithe.

Philo does find an opportunity in *Cong.* 99 to discuss the tithe: "It was this feeling which prompted the Man of Practice [Jacob] when he vowed thus, 'Of all that thou givest me, I will give a tenth to thee'; which prompted the oracle that follows the blessing given to the victor by Melchisedek the holder of that priesthood, whose tradition he had learned from none other but himself. For 'he gave him,' it runs, 'a tenth from all'; from the things of sense, right use of sense; from the things of speech, good speaking; from the things of thought, good thinking." Whereas Philo ignored Melchizedek's tithe in the previous passage, here he (like the author of Jubilees) uses it as an opportunity to discuss the broader practice. Also, Philo credits Melchizedek with a "self-taught" priesthood (τὴν αὐτομαθῆ καὶ αὐτοδίδακτον λαχὼν ἱερωσύνην). This is a high compliment for Philo, who elsewhere discusses Isaac as self-taught (cf. *Ios.* 1), and perhaps reflects an assumption (shared with Josephus) that Melchizedek was the first priest.[22]

Philo's most ambitious allegorization concerning Melchizedek comes in *LA* 3.79–82.

> [79] Melchizedek, too, has God made both king of peace, for that is the meaning of "Salem," and His own priest. He has not fashioned beforehand any deed of his, but produces him to begin with as such a king, peaceable and worthy of His own priesthood. For he is entitled "the righteous king," and a "king" is a thing at enmity with a despot, the one being the author of laws, the other of lawlessness . . .[81] Let the despot's title therefore be ruler of war, the king's prince of peace, of Salem, and let him offer to the soul food full of joy and gladness; for he brings bread and wine, things which Ammonites and Moabites refused to supply to the seeing one, on which

[22] Philo's comment that he is 'self-taught' need not be read in the vein of the discussion of Melchizedek's parentage in Heb 7:3 because Philo used the same language for Abraham's son Isaac. Cf. also Philo, *LA* 3.79–82.

> account they are excluded from the divine congregation and assembly . . .[82] But let Melchizedek instead of water offer wine, and give to souls strong drink, that they may be seized by a divine intoxication, more sober than sobriety itself. For he is a priest, even Reason [λόγος], having as his portion Him that is, and all his thoughts of God are high and vast and sublime: for he is the priest of the Most High, not that there is any other not Most High—for God being One "is in heaven above and on earth beneath, and there is none beside Him"—but to conceive of God not in low earthbound ways but in lofty terms, such as transcend all other greatness and all else that is free from matter, calls up in us a picture of the Most High.

Philo has interests far beyond the narrative of Gen 14, yet several elements of this story can be discerned. Salem is interpreted as "peace" by means of a specious etymology, and Melchizedek is said to be both "king of peace" (cf. Heb 7:2) and God's priest. Without specifying it as an etymology, Philo notes that Melchizedek is called "the righteous king" (a rendering shared with Josephus; cf. Heb 7:2 "king of righteousness") and contrasts this with despots.[23] Philo initially relates Melchizedek's presentation of bread and wine to Abraham as a function of his kingship, not his priesthood, and Melchizedek's God Most High is understood as Abraham's deity.

Philo clearly goes beyond Gen 14 with his correlation of Melchizedek the priest with the Logos, whom Philo sees as a mediating figure between God and humanity. One may question, however, what Philo intends here—ultimately is he concerned to present *Melchizedek* as the Logos, or the *priest* as the Logos? The latter is more likely—while Melchizedek is a very minor figure in Philo's voluminous literary corpus, he frequently discusses the correlation between the Logos and priesthood.[24]

E. *Josephus*

The first-century C.E. Jewish historian Josephus discusses Melchizedek in two passages, *JW* 6.438 and *Ant.* 1.179–81. He alludes to Melchizedek

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[23] On Philo's etymological interpretations of Melchizedek and Salem, see L. L. Grabbe, *Etymology in Early Jewish Interpretation: The Hebrew Names in Philo*, BJS 115 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 186–87, 199. Melchizedek's name is interpreted as "the righteous king" (Aramaic מלכא צדיקא) in *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* (seventh-ninth centuries C.E.) on Gen 14:18, but note the comments of McNamara: "The change is probably intentional: the identification of Melchizedek with Shem has been so thoroughly made that he has lost his identity and name." See McNamara, "Melchizedek," 3, 8.

[24] J. Dillon (*The Middle Platonists: 80 B.C. to A.D. 220*, Rev. ed. [Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996], 158–61), for example, can address Philo's understanding of the Logos without ever mentioning Melchizedek. For a list of key passages in Philo discussing the Logos, see K. Schenck, *A Brief Guide to Philo* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2005), 130.

in *JW* 6.438 while briefly recounting occasions when Jerusalem had been subdued by foreign armies: "Its original founder was a Canaanite chief, called in the native tongue 'Righteous King'; for such indeed he was. In virtue thereof [διὰ τοῦτο] he was the first to officiate as priest of God and, being the first to build the temple, gave the city, previously called Solyma, the name of Jerusalem."[25] Like Philo, Josephus interprets the name Melchizedek as "righteous king," and whether because he founded the city or because of the quality of his kingship, Josephus identifies Melchizedek as the *first* priest of God. Perhaps this is because he is the first priest mentioned in Scripture (see also *Ant*. 1.179–81 below; cf. Philo and the implied sequence in Heb 7:1–10).

Josephus follows the biblical precedent of viewing the Canaanite as a priest of Israel's God, but his accommodation goes even further. He explicitly acknowledges Melchizedek's Canaanite identity and credits him with founding the city later renamed Jerusalem (noting in *JW* 6.439 that David expelled the Canaanites from the city). More surprisingly, Josephus credits Melchizedek with building the first temple in Jerusalem. It is *Melchizedek's* temple that was destroyed by the Babylonians—in *JW* 6.437, Josephus dates this destruction to 1468 years, six months after the foundation of the temple, clearly linking the foundation of the temple with Melchizedek rather than Solomon, who is not mentioned in this context. (Subsequently Josephus dates the destruction to 477 years, six months after the time of *David* in *JW* 6.439). Josephus clearly sees a continuity of *the* temple in Jerusalem, not a series of temples in the city; he dates the span of time between its initial foundation and destruction by the Romans as 2168 years (*JW* 6.441). Thus like other exegetes of the period, he sees no need to legitimate Melchizedek as a Yahwist, and he appeals to the antiquarian tastes of his Roman readership.

Josephus again mentions Melchizedek in *Ant.* 1.179–81 when rewriting the biblical narrative:

> [179] So Abraham, having rescued the Sodomite prisoners, previously captured by the Assyrians, including his kinsman Lot, returned in peace. The king of the Sodomites met him at a place which they call the "royal plain." [180] There he was received by the king of Solyma, Melchisedek; this name means "righteous king," and such was he by common consent, insomuch that for this reason he was moreover made priest of God; Solyma was in fact the place afterwards called Hierosolyma. [181] Now this Melchisedek hospitably

[25] English translations of Josephus are from Thackeray, LCL.

> entertained Abraham's army, providing abundantly for all their needs, and in the course of the feast he began to extol Abraham and to bless God for having delivered his enemies into his hand. Abraham then offered him the tithe of the spoil, and he accepted the gift.

As expected, in some ways this account parallels that in *Jewish War*: his name again means "righteous king" and is cited as the reason he also serves as priest; Melchizedek's righteousness is publicly acknowledged; and Solyma is Jerusalem.[26] Other features compare favorably with the account in Genesis Apocryphon: Josephus attempts to smooth the disjunctions in Gen 14:18, 21 between Abraham's encounters with the king of Sodom and Melchizedek, here by describing both kings as meeting the patriarch at the "royal plain"; he transforms Melchizedek's bread and wine of Gen 14 into provisions for Abraham's entire army (despite the subsequent comment about provisions in Gen 14:24); and he clarifies that the patriarch paid the tithe.

F. *Qumran Literature*

When examining texts of the Qumran community, one encounters a very different portrait of Melchizedek compared to what has been observed above, hence the departure of this survey from its broadly-chronological order to consider these texts in contrast.[27] Whereas the authors of the previous texts understand Melchizedek in light of Gen 14, that passage is not cited in the texts now to be considered, but Ps 110:4 may instead be in view.

Discussion of these texts is complicated by the fragmentary nature of the manuscripts. Here it must suffice to say that unless otherwise noted, the reconstructions cited are embraced by a broad consensus of Qumran scholars.[28]

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[26] The LCL translations of *Jewish War* and *Antiquities* are both by Thackarey, but he translated Ἱεροσόλυμα as "Jerusalem" in the former and as "Hierosolyma" in the latter.

[27] As noted above, Genesis Apocryphon and Jubilees are also found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, but their portrayal of Melchizedek differs significantly from that discussed here. It is important, however, to recognize that both understandings of the figure appear in texts highly esteemed by the Qumran community.

[28] Such a comment is necessary because scholars working in other fields often question the appropriateness of appealing to texts in such fragmentary conditions. While this certainly can serve as a reminder to Qumran scholars about the tentative nature of such reconstructions, it also reflects an unfortunate disciplinary divide and overlooks the impressive progress made in sixty years of careful Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship.

The name "Melchizedek" may appear in fragments from the cave 4 and 11 manuscripts of Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice.[29] The extant manuscripts are dated to the first century B.C.E. (4Q400–407) or early first century C.E. (11Q17). Carol Newsom proposes a date no later than 100 B.C.E. for the composition of the pre-Qumran text; she notes that its origins could lie "sometime in the second century B.C.E. . . . although there is no evidence to preclude an earlier date."[30] As the title implies, these songs—describing the glories of God and the heavenly sanctuary—were intended to accompany thirteen Sabbath offerings administered by angelic priests.[31]

Newsom reads מלכי]צדק כוהן בעד[ת אל, "Melchi]zedek, priest in the assemb[ly of God," in 4Q401 11:3.[32] If correct, Melchizedek (a human priest in Gen 14 and presumably so in Ps 110) is here presented as a heavenly, angelic priest in a text "largely concerned with invoking and describing the praise of angelic priests in the heavenly temple."[33] Newsom notes that it would be the only place in the text where an angel is named (and the use of the singular כוהן itself is unusual). She restores the name "Melchizedek" on the basis of a possible parallel with the phrase בעדת אל in 11QMelch II 10, where Melchizedek is identified as the first אלוהים of Ps 82:1.[34] James Davila further notes that this section of 4Q401 appears to be part of the fifth song, "which describes an eschatological 'war in heaven.' "[35] If so, Melchizedek is mentioned here in a *context* similar to that of 11QMelchizedek, a text discussed in detail below, though admittedly no militaristic language in reference to Melchizedek has survived in 4Q401 itself.[36]

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[29] For the texts, see C. A. Newsom, DJD XI, 173–401 and plates XIV–XXXI; and F. García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude, DJD XXIII, 259–304 and plates XXX–XXXIV, LIII. See also J. H. Charlesworth and C. A. Newsom, eds., PTSDSSP 4b; this edition also includes discussion of Masık.

[30] C. A. Newsom, "Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," *EDSS* 2:887–89 (esp. 2:887). Newsom, like most scholars, finds an angelic priestly order in the text. See C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), for a very different approach, rejecting the idea of angelic priests in favor of discussion of "divine humans."

[31] Little has survived concerning the nature of the sacrifices themselves, but in the fragmentary 11Q17 IX 4, burnt offerings are implied by the mention of aroma (ריח).

[32] Newsom, DJD XI, 205. This is supported by J. R. Davila, *Liturgical Works*, ECDSS (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 162; and García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, DJD XXIII, 270.

[33] Newsom, "Songs," 2.887.

[34] Newsom, DJD XI, 205. See further discussion of 11QMelch II 10 below.

[35] Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 162; cf. 223.

[36] Davila finds another reference to Melchizedek in 4Q401 22 3, though Newsom is less convinced. See Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 162–63; and Newsom, DJD XI, 213. See also Charlesworth and Newsom, PTSDSSP 4b, 38, n. 46.

The letters למלכ (the כ is less certain) appear on 11Q17 3 II 7. Davila and the editors of DJD XXIII find here a passage from song 8, otherwise composed of 4Q403 1 II 21 and 4Q405 8–9 5–6.[37] As reconstructed, the phrase ראשי נשיאי כהונות פ]לא למלכ[י צדק, "the chiefs of the princes of the wonderful priesthoods of Melchizedek" (DJD), appears in a song that invokes the praises of heavenly priests serving in the heavenly sanctuary. The striking feature is that Melchizedek would stand at the head of the heavenly priesthood, reminiscent of "the order of Melchizedek" in Ps 110:4. Both the DJD editors and Davila admit that other readings are possible, however, and Newsom rejects mention of Melchizedek here.[38]

Thus at least one passage—and possibly more—in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice appears to identify Melchizedek as an angelic priest serving in God's heavenly temple court; the context may be a discussion of eschatological warfare. Another passage may identify Melchizedek as head of an angelic priesthood (reminiscent of Ps 110).

A second text, Visions of Amram, also seems to portray Melchizedek as a heavenly figure. This second-century B.C.E. Aramaic text is preserved in fragments of six (perhaps seven) Cave 4 manuscripts, 4Q543–549, the most significant of which for this study is 4Q544 (4Q Visions of Amram^{b} ar).[39] It takes the form of a testament and recounts a vision of its namesake, the grandson of Levi.[40] Amram dreams that two watchers are fighting over him, one evil and the other good; he inquires about their identities and powers. Though no letters of Melchizedek's name are preserved, Józef Milik proposed that he indeed was mentioned in the text in 4Q544 3 IV 2–3 based on a parallel with 4Q544 2 III 13:[41]

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[37] Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 132–33; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, DJD XXIII, 266, 269–70.

[38] Newsom, DJD XI, 205, limits references to Melchizedek (or any named angel) in the Sabbath songs to the aforementioned 4Q401 11 3. See also Davila, *Liturgical Works*, 133; and García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, DJD XXIII, 270: "in view of the context, למלכ[י צדק is very attractive."

[39] The DJD edition is that of E. Puech, DJD XXXI, 283–405 and plates XVI–XXII. On the dating, see also M. E. Stone, "Amram," *EDSS* 1:23–24.

[40] P. J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša'*, CBQMS 10 (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981), 24–25.

[41] J. Milik, "4Q Visions de 'Amram et une citation d'Origène," *RB* 79 (1972): 77–97 (esp. 85–86); and now also Puech, DJD XXXI, 328–29; Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 36; and E. Puech, *La Croyance des Esséniens en la Vie Future: Immortalité, Résurrection, Vie Éternelle?, EBib* n.s. 21–22 (Paris: Gabalda, 1993), 2:536.

4Q544 2 III 13
ואנון תלתה שמהתה בליעל ושר חשוכה]ומלכי רשע
[And these are his three names: Belial, Prince of Darkness], and Melchireša‘

4Q544 3 IV 2–3
לי תלתה שמה[ן די לי ואנון מיכאל ושר נהורא ומלכי צדק]
[My] three names [are Michael, Prince of Light, and Melchizedek][42]

Clearly both lists of names are heavily based on reconstructions, but scholars have proposed the particular names based on conceptual parallels with 1QM and 11QMelchizedek.[43] The one extant name is מלכי רשע, Melchireša‘ (“my king is wicked”), but clearly three were listed. Assuming this reconstruction is correct, Melchizedek is identified as (or with) the angel Michael and the “Prince of Light.” Michael appears elsewhere in Qumran texts as the opponent of Belial and may be described as “Prince of Light” in 1QM XIII 10–11.[44] Melchizedek then would be an angelic opponent of Belial in the eschatological war on behalf of God’s people.

This also appears to be his role in 11QMelchizedek (11Q13), discovered in 1956 and first published by Adam S. van der Woude in 1965.[45] Portions of at least three columns (perhaps from the latter part of the manuscript) are extant, though only the second of these columns is preserved substantially. No complete lines among that column’s 25 remain, but enough

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[42] The text and line numbers are those of DJD; Milik cited the texts as 4Q544 3 2 and 4Q544 2 3. The translation is that of Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 28.

[43] For explanations of the reconstructions, see Milik, “4Q Visions,” 85–86, and Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 33, 36.

[44] For a survey of Michael traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see E. W. Larson, “Michael,” *EDSS* 1:546–48. Larson asserts that some Gnostic texts identify Michael with Melchizedek. This is not explicit in the texts, though they do correlate Melchizedek and Christ. See B. A. Pearson, “Melchizedek in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Gnosticism,” in *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible*, ed. M. E. Stone and T. A. Bergren (Harrisburg, PA.: Trinity, 1998), 176–202, and Horton, *Melchizedek Tradition*, 131–51. Two medieval rabbinic texts identify Michael with Melchizedek, a point sometimes raised in support of reconstructing a similar correlation in 4Q544; see A. S. van der Woude, “Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI,” *Oudtestamentische Studiën* 14 (1965): 354–73 (esp. 370–71); and M. de Jonge and A. S. van der Woude, “11Q Melchizedek and the New Testament,” *NTS* 12 (1965–66): 301–26 (esp. 305). Horton wisely cautions against reliance on medieval evidence (*Melchizedek Tradition*, 81–82).

[45] Van der Woude, “Melchisedek,” 354–73. The text was published (reflecting minor changes from the *editio princeps*) with an English translation by de Jonge and van der Woude, “11Q Melchizedek,” 301–26. Van der Woude’s *editio princeps* also served as the base text in J. A. Fitzmyer, “Further Light on Melchizedek from Qumran Cave 11,” *JBL* 86 (1967): 25–41. For other editions, see Milik, “*Milkî-ṣedeq*”; Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 3–23; E. Puech, “Notes sur le manuscrit de XIQMelkîsédeq,” *RevQ* 12 (1987): 483–513; and García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, DJD XXIII, 221–41, Pl. XXVII. A later edition with a very brief introduction is J. J. M. Roberts, PTSDSSP 4b, 264–73.

material has survived to allow significant reconstruction. The manuscript likely dates to the first century B.C.E.[46] (Because of the text's length and fragmentary condition, it is not reprinted here, but comments reflect the DJD edition.)

Melchizedek appears in an eschatological context with priestly, prophetic, and judgment themes. Numerous Scripture quotations are utilized in the passage, and frequently they are recast in such a way as to identify Melchizedek as an אלוהים in the service of אל.[47] This naturally has led to much speculation on the author's understanding of the identity and nature of Melchizedek, but the original assertion of van der Woude and de Jonge that Melchizedek is presented as a heavenly, angelic אלוהים remains most convincing.[48]

Deliverance is the theme at the beginning and end of column II. The author divides time into ten jubilee units concluding with an eschatological Day of Atonement (line 7).[49] In lines 2–9, Melchizedek delivers the "captives" (line 4), who likely are also those subsequently called "the inheritance of Melchizedek" (line 5). Melchizedek executes God's pronouncement (lines 3–4) and announces liberty in the first week of the tenth jubilee "from the debt of all their iniquities" (line 6), a phrase with cultic overtones. It is unclear if liberation actually occurs at that time or

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[46] Milik, "*Milkî-ṣedeq*," 97, followed by García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, DJD XXIII, 223. For a brief defense of dating the manuscript to 50–25 B.C.E., see Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 3.

[47] For discussion of the text as a thematic pesher and detailed examination of each use of אלוהים and אל in the column, see Mason, *'You Are a Priest Forever,'* 176–83.

[48] For other suggestions, see, for example, Milik, "*Milkî-ṣedeq*" (hypothesis of God); P. Rainbow, "Melchizedek as a Messiah at Qumran," *BBR* 7 (1997): 179–94 (Davidic messiah); G. L. Cockerill, "Melchizedek or 'King of Righteousness,'" *EvQ* 63:4 (1991): 305–12; and F. Manzi, *Melchisedek e l'angelologia nell'Epistola agli Ebrei e a Qumran*, AnBib 136 (Rome: Editrice Pontifico Istituto Biblico, 1997) (both Cockerill and Manzi argue, on different grounds, for an interpretation of the name Melchizedek as descriptive of Yahweh); and R. van de Water, "Michael or Yhwh? Toward Identifying Melchizedek in 11Q13," *JSP* 16 (2006): 75–86 (the Logos). See Mason, *'You Are a Priest Forever,'* 185–90; and E. F. Mason, "The Identification of *Mlky ṣdq* in 11QMelchizedek: A Survey of Recent Scholarship," *The Qumran Chronicle* 17.2–4 (2009): 51–61, for summaries and evaluations of these and other positions.

[49] See Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 49–50, for a brief survey of other Second Temple Jewish literature in which time is divided into Jubilees or weeks of years. VanderKam implies that Lev 25:9 may already connect the Day of Atonement and jubilee years; a trumpet call on the tenth day of the seventh month (i.e., the Day of Atonement) announces the beginning of a jubilee year. See his article "Yom Kippur," in *EDSS* 2:1001–03 (esp. 2:1002); and J. C. VanderKam, "Sabbatical Chronologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*, ed. T. H. Lim (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 159–78 (esp. 169–72).

if this points to the eschatological Day of Atonement at the end of the tenth jubilee, when "atonement shall be made for all the sons of light and for the men of the lot of Melchizedek" (line 8).[50] This Day of Atonement appears to be the "year of grace of Melchizedek" (line 9), and presumably he is the high priest conducting the eschatological sacrifice.[51] Line 9 also speaks of "the administration of justice," and the extant text of line 8 implies that the righteous benefit from this judgment ("according to all their doings").

This theme of judgment continues with quotations of Ps 82:1; Ps 7:8–9; and Ps 82:2 in lines 10–11, emphasizing God's judgment of the wicked. In lines 10–12, Melchizedek, an angelic אלוהים in the heavenly court of אל, administers justice (cf. line 14, "all the gods of justice are to his help") on behalf of אל against Belial and those of his lot.[52] Deliverance is again the theme in lines 15–25, where a messenger (Isa 52:7) announces peace and salvation and speaks of the kingship of the אלוהים of Zion. The messenger is identified with the prince anointed by the Spirit (from Dan 9:25); perhaps the identity of this messenger was further clarified in the missing sections of lines 21–22. Perhaps also the messenger was correlated with the figure who blows the horn in line 25 (presumably to announce the Day of Atonement, as in Lev 25:9), but again the subsequent text has not survived. Some scholars identify Melchizedek with the messenger, but this is unlikely because he is the אלוהים in lines 24–25 whom the messenger announces.[53]

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[50] G. G. Xeravits notes that "the 'tenth jubilee' in the historical view of several writings of the late biblical and intertestamental literature—some of which were known and revered also at Qumran—denotes the last age before the closing of the present aion." See Xeravits, *King, Priest, Prophet: Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library*, STDJ 67 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 72.

[51] Admittedly the text is fragmentary and some reject a priestly role for Melchizedek here. For an overview of the issue, see A. Aschim, "Melchizedek and Jesus: 11QMelchizedek and the Epistle to the Hebrews," in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus*, ed. C. C. Newman, J. R. Davila, and G. S. Lewis, JSJSup 63 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 139–40.

[52] For similar interpretations, see Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 72; and Aschim, "Melchizedek and Jesus," 132–35; though others reject this identification.

[53] For Melchizedek as herald, see M. P. Miller, "The Function of Isa 61:1–2 in 11Q Melchizedek," *JBL* 88 (1969): 467–69. Milik ("*Milkî-ṣedeq*," 126) and Puech ("Notes," 509–10) argue that the messenger is the Teacher of Righteousness himself. De Jonge and van der Woude, followed by Kobelski, understand the messenger as the eschatological prophet of 1QS IX 11 and 4Q175 5–8. See de Jonge and van der Woude, "11Q Melchizedek," 306–08; and Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 61–62.

It is clear that the three Qumran texts surveyed here portray Melchizedek in a very different way than the others discussed earlier that essentially interpret Gen 14. It is important then to consider how this Qumran approach may have developed. As noted above, typically both ancient and modern readers have understood Ps 110:4 as addressed to someone receiving a eternal priesthood *like* that of Melchizedek, though Flusser argues that some ancients may have found it directed *to* Melchizedek.[54] If the author of 11QMelchizedek read Ps 110:4 as granting Melchizedek an eternal priesthood, then he must also be the one enthroned at God's right hand (Ps 110:1) with dominion over his enemies (Ps 110:1–2) and bringing judgment (Ps 110:5–6). The latter then prompted the author to read Ps 82 as also about Melchizedek.[55] Melchizedek seems clearly to be understood as אלוהים (see also below) in Ps 82 as quoted in 11Q13 II 10, and the text relates this final judgment with jubilee periods, sabbatical legislation, and the Day of Atonement. This pastiche of themes is rooted in Scripture—according to Lev 25:8–10, jubilees (with the accompanying restoration of land and liberty) began on the Day of Atonement, and in Gen 14 Abram in essence enacts a "jubilee" by returning captured persons and property in the context of his encounter with Melchizedek. So VanderKam notes: "It seems that the writer of 11QMelch used a series of biblical passages and themes that allowed him to connect Melchizedek, the day of atonement, and sabbatical and jubilee periods."[56] Similarly, Florentino García Martínez asserts that the portrait of Melchizedek in 11QMelchizedek has biblical roots. He argues that the author is restricted by the biblical traditions from calling Melchizedek an angel, but he nevertheless understands him as a heavenly—even messianic—figure filling his biblical roles as king and priest with both judgmental and cultic functions.[57]

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[54] Flusser, "Melchizedek," 26–27. Flusser is followed by VanderKam, "Sabbatical Chronologies," 173–76; and Kugel, *Traditions*, 276–81. Flusser similarly argues that this direct address provides a better rationale for the assertion in Heb 7:3 that Melchizedek is eternal than does the silence about his origins and destiny in Gen 14.

[55] Flusser, "Melchizedek," 27; and VanderKam, "Sabbatical Chronologies," 174.

[56] VanderKam, "Sabbatical Chronologies," 175–76.

[57] F. García Martínez, "Las tradiciones sombre Melquisedec en los manuscriptos de Qumrán," *Biblica* 81 (2000): 70–80 (esp. 74–77). The idea that the presentation of Melchizedek in 11QMelchizedek presupposes characteristics of the biblical Melchizedek is widespread but not without its detractors, and discussion of the viability of this assumption was vigorous at the Enoch Seminar.

In conclusion, 11QMelchizedek presents Melchizedek as a heavenly, eschatological figure in the service of God. He will deliver the righteous on God's behalf and will execute judgment on Belial and his lot. Also, Melchizedek will make atonement for those of his own lot. This presentation of Melchizedek as a figure at war with Belial is consistent with that of Visions of Amram, and Melchizedek as a heavenly priest corresponds with that found in Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. This contrasts with the more restrained portraits of Melchizedek in most Second Temple period Jewish literature, where the account of Gen 14 is much more influential than Ps 110:4.

MELCHIZEDEK AT QUMRAN AND IN JUDAISM: A RESPONSE

Devorah Dimant

The figure of Melchizedek has long puzzled traditional exegetes as well as modern commentators. Presented in Genesis 14 without explanation or pedigree, and promoted to an elevated status in Psalms 110:4, Melchizedek has remained an enigma. Yet he looms large in several later works, especially Epistle to the Hebrews 7 and 2 Enoch 65–73. This gap has puzzled generations of critical scholars. So when the new Melchizedek pesher from Qumran (11Q13) was first published more than four decades ago it was expected to solve the riddle.[1] The new pesher was especially intriguing because of its presentation of Melchizedek as a supernatural eschatological judge at the final jubilee of history.[2] Ever since this first publication the practice has been to include the pesher in surveys of references to this figure in Jewish sources, in connection with the study of the Epistle to the Hebrews.[3] Eric Mason's presentation is written in this tradition.[4] Yet an examination of the evidence shows that the references to Melchizedek in Jewish sources do not explain the elaborate midrash of the Epistle to the Hebrews, nor for that matter, the account of Melchizedek's miraculous birth in 2 Enoch. In my judgment, the contribution of Jewish references to understanding the Epistle to the Hebrews 7 is marginal, while the episode

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[1] First published by A. S. van der Woude, "Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eshcatologischen Midrashim aus Qumran Höhle XI," *OTS* 14 (1965): 354–373.

[2] See further J.A. Fitzmyer, "Further Light on Melchizedek from Qumran Cave 11," *JBL* 86 (1967): 25–41; M. de Jonge and A. S. van der Woude, "11Q Melchizedek and the New Testament," *NTS* 12 (1966): 301–326; J. Carmignac, "Le document de Qumran sur Melkisédeq," *RevQ* 7 (1970): 343–378 (esp. 369–371).

[3] See, for instance, F. L. Horton, *The Melchizedek Tradition* (Cambridge: University Press, 1976), 52–60, 114–130; L. D. Hurst, *The Epistle to the Hebrew* (Cambridge: University Press, 1990), 43–66.

[4] See E. F. Mason, *'You are a priest forever': Second Temple Jewish Messianism and the Priestly Christology of the Epistle to the Hebrew*, STDJ 74 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 64–137. Mason writes in unprecedented detail. Especially notable is his treatment of Qumran texts. However, significantly he divides his treatment between the idea of priestly messiah at Qumran (*Second Temple Jewish Messianism*, 111–132) and the figure of Melchizedek at Qumran (*Second Temple Jewish Messianism*, 164–190). Indeed, the two issues are distinct and should be treated separately.

from 2 Enoch is best explained by the Enochic literature rather than by the scattered allusions to Melchizedek in other Jewish literature.[5]

In the way they treat the biblical sources related to Melchizedek these allusions vary and, as Mason rightly indicates, may be divided into two groups. One builds exclusively on the episode of Genesis 14, while the other is based mainly on Psalms 110. The sources which develop the Genesis story consider Melchizedek human, and therefore do not refer to Psalm 110 since the psalmic picture does not accord with such an understanding. The texts which adapt Genesis 14 highlight Melchizedek's priestly or royal functions, or both. This is true of the Genesis Apocryphon XXII, 12–17, Jubilees 13:25, Pseudo-Eupolemus (*Praep.Ev*. 9.17.5–6), Philo (*Abr. 235; LA* 3.79–82; *Congr*. 99; *Legat*. 3.79–82) and Josephus (*JW* 6.438 and *Ant*. 1.179–181). Yet although the above sources describe Melchizedek in terms of the same biblical episode, they do so differently and according to their individual perspectives. The Genesis Apocryphon tells a straightforward story, rewriting the biblical episode within the framework of Abraham's life.[6] Jubilees 13:25 is textually defective but is clearly interested in the tithes given by Abraham in order to derive from it the law of tithes assigned to the priests.[7] Pseudo-Eupolemus emphasizes the booty returned by Abraham,[8] while Philo goes his own allegoric way.[9] Josephus is interested in Melchizedek as the first priest.[10]

The second group of sources presents Melchizedek as a supernatural being: the Melchizedek pesher from Qumran, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the episode of Melchizedek's miraculous birth in 2 Enoch. Yet except

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[5] The miraculous birth of Melchizedek told by 2 Enoch requires a detailed separate study, especially in relation to Qumran and other material on the miraculous birth of Noah (1QGenesis Apocryphon 2–5; 1Q19; 1 Enoch 106–107). For the present see A. Orlov, "Melchizedek Legend of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch," *JSJ* 31 (2000): 23–38; C. Böttrich, "The Melchizedek Story of *2* (*Slavonic*) *Enoch*: A Reaction to A. Orlov," *JSJ* 32 (2001): 445–470.

[6] See the comments of J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1* (*1Q20*), third edition, *Biblica et Orientalia* 18B (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2004), 245–248; Mason, *Second Temple Jewish Messianism*, 147–149.

[7] Cf. A. Caquot, "Le livre des Jubilés, Melkisedeq et les dîmes," *JJS* 33 (1982): 257–264; Mason, *Second Temple Jewish Messianism*, 149–151.

[8] See C. R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors* (Chico, CA.: Scholars Press, 1983), 1:172–173, 183; Mason, *Second Temple Jewish Messianism*, 151–154.

[9] Cf. Mason, *Second Temple Jewish Messianism*, 158–160. Allegorical tendencies are also at work in the ancient versions of Psalms 110:4 (LXX, Vulgate, and the Peshitta) as well as in Josephus, as shown by J. A. Fitzmyer, "Melchizedek in the MT, LXX and the NT," *Bib* 81 (2000): 63–69.

[10] Cf. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 245–247; Mason, *Second Temple Jewish Messianism*, 154–158.

for promoting Melchizedek as a supernatural figure these three texts widely diverge, each developing a different scale of ideas. For instance, they differ in their handling of Psalm 110. The Epistle quotes it explicitly whereas the other two texts appear to be based on it since they stress the supernatural aspect of the Melchizedek figure. However, both 2 Enoch and the Epistle also assume the Genesis story, 2 Enoch by placing Melchizedek in the patriarchal period, and the Epistle by explicitly linking the Genesis story with Psalm 110. In contrast, the Melchizedek pesher seems to completely detach the episode of Genesis 14 from its own presentation, for its biblical references are taken mainly from the Prophets.[11]

Despite their individual character, most of the various Jewish texts share two interpretative traditions; one is the description of Melchizedek as a righteous king, derived from his name מלכי צדק. Such an attribution is based on the understanding of Melchizedek as a construct pair, *malki zedek*, rather than a proper name, thus enhancing the figure's anonymity. This tradition is shared by most witnesses: Philo, Josephus, Targum *Pseudo-Jonathan* to Genesis 14 and the *Targum to Psalm* 110:4, the rabbinic Genesis Rabbah (43, 6) and the Epistle to the Hebrews 7:2. This reading apparently underlies the Melchizedek pesher too, at least in its emphasis on the juridical function of Melchizedek, who will dispense justice at the End of Days. Note in passing that the understanding of *Malki Zedek* as a descriptive expression instead of a proper name made it possible to identify the enigmatic priestly king with Shem son of Noah, a tradition attested by the Palestinian Targums (*Pseudo-Jonathan*, *Neofiti*, *Targum of Fragments*) and rabbinic midrashim (e.g. *ADRN* A, chapter 2; GenRabbah 56, 14).[12] The other tradition shared by Jewish sources concerns the identification of Melchizedek's city, Salem, with Jerusalem, based on the

[11] The following remarks are based on the text edition of the Melchizedek pesher by É. Puech, "Notes sur le manuscript de XIQMelkîsédeq," *RevQ* 12 (1987): 483–513. I have also consulted the edition by F. Garíca Martínez, *et al.,* eds., "13. 11QMelchizedek," *Qumran Cave 11. II: 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31,* DJD 23 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 221–241.

[12] See the surveys proposed by R. Hayward, "Shem, Melchizedek, and Concern with Christianity in the Pentateuchal Targumim," in *Targumic and Cognate Studies: Essays in Honour of Martin McNamara*, ed. K. J. Cathcart and M. Mahwer, JSOTSup 230 (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1996), 67–80; M. McNamara, "Melchizedek: Gen 14, 17–20 in the Targums, in Rabbinic and Early Christian Literature," *Bib* 81 (2000): 1–31. Hayward explains the identification of Melchizedek with Shem as an old Jewish tradition about Shem as a venerable and wise man ("Shem, Melchizedek, and Concern with Christianity," 78–79). In the same vein McNamara ("Melchizedek," 15) argues that this identification must be a pre-Christian tradition. See also J. A. Fitzmyer, " 'Now this Melchizedek . . .' (Heb 7,1)," *CBQ* 25 (1963): 305–321.

similarity of the two names.[13] It is espoused by the Genesis Apocryphon (XXII, 14), Targum Onqelos and all the Palestinian Targums, by Josephus and by rabbinic midrashim (such as Genesis Rabbah 43, 6; 56, 14), all of which rest on the Genesis story. The occurrence of this tradition in the first-century B.C.E. Genesis Apocryphon shows that it was already popular at this early date.[14] Both identifications, of Melchizedek as a righteous king, and of Salem with Jerusalem, appear quite old since they are shared by works of different provenance and date. These traditions seem therefore to predate most of the sources listed above and consequently are not due to the particular tendencies of individual texts.

Further, Jewish sources on the whole emphasize facets of Melchizedek's priesthood. In this context Josephus and rabbinic midrashim attribute to him the building of a temple. This is undoubtedly related to the identification of Salem with Jerusalem and expresses the tendency to present Melchizedek as antecedent to the Jerusalem temple and its priesthood.[15] The pro-Samaritan *Pseudo-Eupolemus* places this temple and the meeting with Melchizedek on Mount Garizim and thus appears to reflect a Samaritan polemic against the Jewish legend.[16] Stemming from the second century B.C.E., *Pseudo-Eupolemus* attests to the antiquity of this theme.[17]

From the general picture above, most of the Jewish texts appear to opt for the sober depiction of Melchizedek as an ancient royal priest and his connection to Abraham's life.[18] This choice explains why Psalm 110, with its supernatural figure, is disregarded by these documents. Against this backdrop the views of the Qumran pesher, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and 2 Enoch emerge as the exceptions rather than the rule.

To appreciate the specificity of the Melchizedek pesher, a few comments on its general character are offered below. In discussing this pesher and comparing it with other documents, it is usual to quote only the second and best preserved column of the largest fragment that elaborates on Melchizedek. It is indeed quoted by Mason in his survey.[19] However, that column forms part of a fragment with three badly preserved consecutive

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[13] Cf. Fitzmyer, "Now This Melchizedek," 313–314 and McNamara, "Melchizedek," 8–10.

[14] For the possible date of the Genesis Apocryphon see Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon*, 26–28.

[15] Cf. the comments of McNamara, "Melchizedek," 10–13.

[16] Cf. Mason, *Second Temple Jewish Messianism,* 152 for further references.

[17] See Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*, 1:159.

[18] As rightly stated by Mason, *Second Temple Jewish Messianism*, 146: "Melchizedek is never presented as a heavenly figure in Jewish texts outside of the Dead Sea Scrolls."

[19] Cf. Mason, *Second Temple Jewish Messianism*, 173–174.

columns. In addition seven other small pieces have survived. The editors of the first full edition of 11Q13 think that all of them come from the two last columns, which they place at the end of the composition.[20] The interest displayed by these passages in chronological specifications has led the editors plausibly to suggest that the original work dealt with the historical sequence in general, within the framework of a jubilees' chronology, albeit not the imaginary work postulated by Jozef Milik.[21] If so, the Melchizedek section belongs to the end of the work and describes the final phase of the historical process. So the original work may have treated other subjects besides Melchizedek's eschatological activities. The description of this final judgment is depicted in dualistic terms, well known from other writings of the Qumran community, for instance, the Community Rule column 4 or the War Scroll column 13. Note further that in attributing to Melchizedek a judicial function, the pesher may initially be based on understanding מלכי צדק as the title of the one who "reigns by dispensing justice."[22] As noted, such an interpretation is espoused by many other Jewish sources; but the pesher may have had a particular motive in selecting Melchizedek, namely the sectarian predilection for compounds with the word צדק. In the sectarian nomenclature this word designates the essence of the domain of Light.[23] The angelic character of Melchizedek is another idea that the pesher derives from Psalm 110, made clear also by the connection with Psalm 82:1 and the choice of the word אלהים to designate Melchizedek. The sectarians' practice of naming the angels אלים or אלהים is well known, so by the plural אלהים the pesher's author suggests Melchizedek's angelic nature.[24] In such a context there is no room for the human figure from the story of Genesis 14, which is disregarded. Once this angelic nature is established, Melchizedek may be identified

[20] Cf. Garíca Martínez, *et al*., "11QMelchizedek," 231–232.

[21] Garíca Martínez, *et al*., "11QMelchizedek," 232.

[22] Cf. Fizmyer, "Now This Melchizedek," 312.

[23] Cf., for instance, חוקי הצדק ("the law of justice," CD XX, 33), דרכי הצדק ("the ways of justice," 1QS IV, 2) and אל צדק ("God of justice," 1QM IV, 6).

[24] As pointed out by van der Woude, "Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt," 368; de Jonge and van der Woude, "11Q Melchizedek and the New Testament," 304–305; Fitzmyer, "Further Light," 37; Mason, *Second Temple Jewish Messianism,* 184–185. Carmignac's and Horton's doubts about the angelic character of Mekchizedek in the pesher are unconvincing. See Carmignac, "Le document de Qumran," 366–367; Horton, *The Melchizedek Tradition*, 80–81. Carmignac's main argument against Melchizedek's angelic nature rests on the formulation of 11Q13 ii 14, where it is stated that *elim* will help Melchizedek. *Elim*, the plural of *el*, is the regular name for angels in the Qumran sectarian texts. So, argues Carmignac, if Melchizedek is helped by angels he cannot be himself angelic. This is patently incorrect, for he may be the prominent figure amid the angelic host, helped by his peers.

with other angelic figures. Since the eschatological-judicial functions of Melchizedek in the pesher are similar to the activities of the archangel Michael in other texts, some scholars have suggested that the two are indeed identical.[25] This, I think, must remain one of several possibilities, but no definite conclusion may be drawn because of the diversity of the evidence. It is also asserted that the pesher attributes to Melchizedek priestly functions.[26] However, the pesher does not mention the term כהן ("priest").[27] Melchizedek's task is certainly to atone (לכפר) for the sins of the Sons of Light, but this function may stem from his judicial role rather than his priestly function. The pesher clearly derives this task from the citation of Leviticus 25:9, which determines the beginning of the eschatological redemptive *shemita* as the Day of Atonement (יום הכיפורים).

Viewed in context of the Qumran library, the passage about Melchizedek integrates well into the particular dualistic ideology and self-understanding of the Qumran community, and its thinking about history with its eschatological conclusion. But the figure of Melchizedek is solitary even in the Qumran literature. The reconstructions of his name in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice[28] and in the Visions of Amram[29] are speculative and should not be exploited to develop further theories. The fact remains that

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[25] Cf. van der Woude, "Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt," 371–372; J. T. Milik, "4Q Visions de 'Amram et une citation d›Origène," *RB* 79 (1972): 86; É. Puech, "544. 4QVisions de 'Amram[b] ar," *Qumrân Grotte 4. XXII: Textes Araméens, Première Partie 4Q529–549,* DJD 31 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 329.

[26] See van der Woude, "Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt," 371–72.

[27] Hurst, *The Epistle*, 59, rightly observes that the pesher does not present Melchizedek as priest, in contrast to the priestly function of Jesus in the Epistle.

[28] First suggested for 4Q401 11 3 by C. A. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition,* HSS 27 (Altanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1985), 133, and repeated in her final edition in "401. 4QShirot 'Olat HaShabbat[b]," in *Qumran Cave 4. VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1,* ed. E. Eshel *et al.*, DJD 11 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 205. In a third version of her edition Newsom suggested this restoration in a textual note. See Newsom, "The Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," in *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth *The Dead Sea Scrolls* 4B (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 32, n. 16. Davila's support for such a restoration remains as hypothetical as Newsom's. See J. R. Davila, *Liturgical Works, Commentaries on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001), 162. Mason thus builds his case for Melchizedek in the Songs on nonexistent textual evidence. See Mason, *Second Temple Jewish Messianism,* 164–187.

[29] As proposed for 4Q544 3 2 by Milik, "Visions de 'Amram," 85–86, followed, for instance, by P. J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša',* CBQMS 10 (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association, 1981), 27, and M. Philonenko, "Melkireša' et melkira': note sur les "Visions de 'Amram," *Sem* 42 (1993): 160. This restoration is proposed again in the final edition by Puech, "544." The flimsy basis of this restoration casts doubt on Mason's discussion of the Visions of Amram in connection to Melchizedek. See Mason, *Second Temple Jewish Messianism*, 167–168.

the term מלכי צדק is not mentioned in any surviving Qumran text except the Melchizedek pesher and the Genesis Apocryphon. This may be due to the fragmentary nature of the evidence or may reflect a real theological stance. Be that as it may, besides the evidence adduced by the Qumran pesher for understanding Melchizedek as an eschatological angelic figure, not much can be learnt from it that may shed light on details of other peculiar descriptions of Melchizedek, either in the Epistle to the Hebrews or in the 2 Enoch episode.[30] Each of the three texts remains unique in its own way.

I would like to take advantage of this opportunity to point out a possible Qumran connection with the Epistle to the Hebrews, not hitherto noted.[31] The Qumranic tradition which replaced sacrifices by prayer is well known.[32] However, in a recent article[33] I also show that the members of the Qumran community called themselves "volunteers" because they held their pietistic perfect life in the community akin to an acceptable free-will offering in a temple-like organization. They performed the correct and the effective atonement for the land through their own lives. In my judgment this sectarian idea may shed fresh light on the priestly background to the Epistle to the Hebrews and its reading of Jesus' sacrificial act.

[30] See the judicious survey of Hurst, *The Epistle*, 59–60, of the similarities and differences between the Melchizedek pesher and the Epistle to the Hebrews 7. Against three similarities (admittedly quite general), he lists eight specific dissimilarities.

[31] For a survey of other connections between Qumran and the Epistle, suggested by various scholars, see Hurst's critical survey in *The Epistle*, 43–52.

[32] See CD XI, 20–21, citing Proverbs 15:8, and B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry,* STDJ 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 47–49.

[33] Cf. D. Dimant, "The Volunteers in the Rule of the Community: A Biblical Notion in Sectarian Garb," *RevQ* 23 (2007): 233–245.

ENOCH AND MELCHIZEDEK: THE CONCERN FOR SUPRA-HUMAN PRIESTLY MEDIATORS IN 2 ENOCH

Charles A. Gieschen

In light of the content of 1 Enoch, the focus of 2 Enoch on the figure of Enoch and his revelatory experiences is expected. What is not anticipated is the shift in the final chapters to Enoch's descendents and the miraculous birth of Melchizedek (2 Enoch 69–73). This surprising shift, however, should not obscure the complementary relationship between the figures of Enoch and Melchizedek that is set forth in this document. This study will demonstrate that the ideological continuity between Enoch and Melchizedek in 2 Enoch is the concern for a supra-human priestly mediator, one who is the primary figure serving before the divine throne. It will further be argued that Psalm 110 was the major catalyst in generating interest in Melchizedek as the supra-human and heavenly priestly mediator among Jewish groups during the first century C.E., including the one in which 2 Enoch has its origin.

A major hurdle that has hindered the inclusion of 2 Enoch in the wider study of mediator figures in Second Temple Judaism, especially traditions about Enoch and Melchizedek, is its complicated textual history.[1] It is known primarily from manuscripts in Old Slavonic, although a portion of the text in Coptic is now known to exist.[2] Because of the codicological practices of Slavic scribes, it is very difficult to determine the original text of 2 Enoch; it has been abbreviated, expanded, excerpted, and rearranged. Although both shorter and longer recensions are available for scholarly study, there has not been agreement that the longer recension is earlier

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[1] See F. Andersen, "Enoch, Second Book of," *ABD* 2:516–522, and F. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* ed. J. H. Charlesworth, 2 vols. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983, 1985), 1:91–213 (hereafter *OTP*). A bibliography on the provenance of 2 Enoch is found in A. Orlov, *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism: Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha,* JSJSup 114 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 423–424. See especially the contributions by C. Böttrich and G. Macaskill to the Fifth International Enoch Seminar found earlier in this volume.

[2] The presence of a fragment of 2 Enoch in Coptic among the manuscripts from Nubia was reported to the Fifth International Enoch Seminar by Joost L. Hagen.

and, thus, preferred.[3] It is generally agreed that deletions and interpolations exist in both. Moreover, Christian interpolations in the Melchizedek narrative of the longer recension have been identified in 71:32–37 and 72:6–7; these do not preclude the use of the rest of the narrative to understand Jewish ideology.[4] Although a few have argued that 2 Enoch is of Christian provenance, more conclude that it is a Jewish document which was later adapted by Christians.[5]

The challenges presented by this sorted textual history must not be ignored or underestimated. Those who use 2 Enoch need to acknowledge that its textual history renders their research more tentative and their conclusions less certain. In spite of these challenges posed by the text, most scholars date the original composition of 2 Enoch, including the Melchizedek narrative in chapters 69–73 (minus the Christian interpolations), to pre-70 first century C.E.[6] The scholarly study and use of 2 Enoch has also grown in the past three decades, due in part to the textual work

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[3] This study quotes from the two recensions in English translation presented by Andersen in *OTP* 1:102–213. The Italian edition attempted to assemble more of a critical edition of 2 Enoch; see P. Saachi, *Apocrifi dell'Anticio Testamento I–II* (Turin: Union Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1969), 1:102–213. Sacchi argued that the shorter recension is closer to the original, but that it also contains some additions (see esp. 493–495). C. Böttrich has given the strongest defense to date for accepting the longer recension as older; see *Weltweisheit—Menschheitsethik—Urkult: Studien zum slavischen Henochbuch,* WUNT II.50 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 59–107. He notes that evidence for the secondary character of the shorter recension is found especially in 28:1–33:2; see 86–88.

[4] Böttrich, *Weltweisheit—Menschheitsethik—Urkult*, 118–125, and Böttrich, "The Melchizedek Story of 2 (*Slavonic*) *Enoch*: A Reaction to A. Orlov," *JSJ* 32 (2001): 452–455.

[5] J. T. Milik proposed, with very little evidential support, that it was a 9th or 10th century Christian document reflecting the context of Byzantine monasticism; see *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), 110–115. J. R. Davila has more recently argued for Christian provenance of some "Jewish" Pseudepigrapha but does not discuss 2 Enoch; see *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha: Jewish, Christian, or Other?*, JSJSup 105 (Leiden: Brill, 2005). For support of a Jewish provenance of 2 Enoch, see the contributions by C. Böttrich, G. Macaskill, and A. Orlov to the Fifth International Enoch Seminar found in this volume.

[6] Andersen dates 2 Enoch as late first century; see *OTP* 1:91, and Andersen, "Enoch, Second Book of," 522. Saachi asserts that the ideology and the content of 2 Enoch affirms that the document was written before the destruction of the Jerusalem temple in 70 C.E. and that its Melchizedek tradition pre-dates Hebrews; see *Apocrifi* 2:498–507. A pre-70 C.E. date is also recognized due to the significance of sacrifice at Akhuzan which is Jerusalem (e.g., 2 Enoch 64:2; 68:5; 69:3; 70:17; cf. Ezek 48:20–21) and that the celebration at Tammuz 17 in 2 Enoch 68:5–69:19 shows no evidence of it being regarded as the day Titus conquered Jerusalem as it was since the second century C.E.; see Böttrich, *Weltweisheit—Menschheitsethik—Urkult*, 20–54, and Böttrich, "The Melchizedek Story of 2 (*Slavonic*) *Enoch*," 451–452.

of Andersen.[7] Research on Melchizedek is also using 2 Enoch 69–73 with greater frequency than in the past.[8]

Another hurdle hindering the study of 2 Enoch is that the Melchizedek narrative in chapters 69–73 has over the past century been regarded by readers of Second Temple Jewish texts as "an appendix" or "later addition" that is not an integral part of the document, especially due to the influential characterization of these chapters as such by R. H. Charles in the early 20th century.[9] Already in the mid-20th century, however, Vaillant argued for an integrated relationship between the Melchizedek narrative and the rest of 2 Enoch.[10] Subsequent research by Christfried Böttrich has led to a similar conclusion: "Therefore there can be no doubt, the Melchizedek story belongs to the original corpus of *2 En*."[11] The Melchizedek narrative is found in all the important extant manuscripts, and no evidence has been found that it existed as an independent unit prior to this document.[12] This research has caused more recent interpreters not to isolate the Melchizedek narrative from the rest of the document but to read it in

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[7] Volume 1 of *OTP* was published in 1983 and made this work more widely available for study.

[8] For example, two of the major 20th century comprehensive studies of Melchizedek traditions give only cursory mention of the traditions in 2 Enoch due to questions about its textual history; see F. L. Horton Jr., *The Melchizedek Tradition: A Critical Examination of the Sources to the Fifth Century AD and in the Epistle to the Hebrews,* SNTSMS 30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 81, and C. Gianotto, *Melchisedek e la sua tiplogoia: Tradizioni guidaiche, cristiane e gnostische* (Brescia: Paideia Editrice, 1984), 45–46, n. 1. The situation seems to be changing; e.g., B. A. Pearson, "Melchizedek in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Gnosticism," *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible*, ed. M. A. Stone and T. A. Bergen (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1998), 176–202 (esp. 184).

[9] Orlov notes the late 19th century opinions of R. H. Charles and W. R. Morfill, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896) as well as G. N. Bonwetsch, *Das slavishe Henochbuch,* AGWG 1 (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1896); see *Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism,* 425. The Melchizedek narrative was even excluded from the translation of 2 Enoch in R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913) because it was thought to be a later document composed by Melchizedekians. More recently, Pieter van der Horst argues that chapters 69–73 are not original. See "The Provenance of 2 Enoch 69–73: Jewish or Christian?" in *Enochic Traditions and Mediatorial Figures in Second Temple Judaism and Their Legacy in Early Christianity, Rabbinic Judaism, and Islam*, ed. J. M. Zurawski, *Hen* 33 (2011): 97–101.

[10] A. Vaillant, *Le Livre des secrets d'Hénoch: Teste slave et traduction française,* Textes publicés par l'Institut d'études slaves 4 (Paris: Institut d'études slaves, 1976 [1952]).

[11] Böttrich, "The Melchizedek Story of *2* (*Slavonic*) *Enoch*," 447. His numerous publications that present research supporting this conclusion are listed on 445–446 n. 4; see esp. Böttrich, *Weltweisheit—Menschheitsethik—Urkult*. Based upon content, style, and vocabulary, Sacchi argued that 2 Enoch 69–73 was written by a different, yet contemporary, Jewish author who sought to assimilate the priestly mediator Melchizedek into the Enochic tradition represented by 2 Enoch 1–68; see *Apocrifi dell'Anticio Testamento*, 2:495–507.

[12] Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," 92, and Böttrich, "The Melchizedek Story of *2* (*Slavonic*) *Enoch*," 447.

continuity with the earlier chapters. This study, therefore, will approach the text of 2 Enoch in like manner.

The Ideology of 2 Enoch: Evil Establishes the Need for Supra-Human Priestly Mediators

2 Enoch continued, built upon, and expanded the apocalyptic traditions and ideas expressed in much of 1 Enoch.[13] It purports to be a record of Enoch's travels through various realms, his ethical exhortations to his family, and the subsequent development of an antediluvian priesthood centered on his ancestor Melchizedek. The section about Melchizedek, chapters 69–73, comes at the conclusion of 2 Enoch. In spite of obvious differences between chapters 1–68 and 69–73 due to their chronological place in primeval history with a focus on Enoch (1–68) and his descendents (69–73), these chapters appear to have existed as the conclusion of the document from its earliest history.

One reason for this may be the ideological continuity present in the common concern for deliverance from evil that pervades the entire document. Chapters 1–68 are characterized by a focus on the origin of evil (angelic sin is discussed in 18, Satan's fall in 29, Adam's free will and Eve's fall are discussed in 30, and Satan's temptation of Eve is explained in 31), the consequences of evil (7, 10, 32, 34), deliverance from evil (8, 9, 22–23, 33, 35), the orderliness of creation (4–6, 11–17, 19, 24–28, 30), and Enoch's teaching to his family that touch on all these themes in ethical tones (39–68). Because these chapters assume the content of 1 Enoch, there is often less detail in recording various ideas than is present in earlier Enochic literature.

The concern for deliverance from evil in 2 Enoch is heightened by a strong emphasis on the degeneration of history. Absolutely nothing is said

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[13] This analysis expands on some of my earlier work in "The Different Functions of a Similar Melchizedek Tradition in 2 Enoch and the Epistle to the Hebrews," *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals*, ed. C. Evans and J. A. Sanders, SSEJC 5 and JSNTSup 148 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 364–379 (esp. 366–371). For surveys of Enochian traditions in 1 Enoch, see J. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, CBQMS 16 (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association, 1984), J. VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations, Studies on Personalities of the Old Testament* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), and G. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36*, Hermenia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 81–108.

of the future covenant relationship with Israel through the events that happened after the flood; there are no allusions to future blessings through Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Instead, the primeval history of antediluvian times and the imminent end-time are all important in 2 Enoch 1–68. God identifies himself as the "God of your father Enoch" (69:5). There is no remedy for sin except the destruction and deliverance at the end-time (41) in which Melchizedek plays an important role (71:33–34).[14]

2 Enoch 69–73 focuses on Enoch's antediluvian descendents, primarily Methusalah and Melchizedek. In contrast to the visionary content 1–68, the presentation of 69–73 is principally historical narrative. The generative idea of these chapters is the need for a supra-human priestly mediator to provide deliverance from the grip of evil and purity from the stain of sin. In 2 Enoch 69–73, therefore, one finds the beginning and continuation of an antediluvian priesthood growing from the priest Melchizedek who was preserved during the flood. The major elements of continuity between 1–68 and 69–73 are the continuation of primeval history and the concern for deliverance from sin. The major element of discontinuity is the shift from a focus on Enoch's prophetic warnings about the imminent end-time in 1–68 to a focus on the priestly deliverer who will be hidden until the end-time according to 69–73.

How does 2 Enoch fit into the various Jewish apocalyptic systems of thought?[15] As noted above, 2 Enoch 1–68 certainly assumes the contents of 1 Enoch and can best be described as a recasting of the divergent ideas found in that earlier work. Chapters 1–68 follow the pattern of the Epistle of Enoch with their ethical tone (1 Enoch 91–107). 2 Enoch 69–73 should be understood as a narrative growing out of 1–68 that addresses the evil of the postdiluvian situation through a supra-human priestly mediator. This need for a supra-human mediator like Melchizedek is a similar development to the need for a supra-human mediator figure present in the Book of the Parables (1 Enoch 37–71).[16] Such exalted mediator figures

[14] The only possible exception to this perspective is found in 2 Enoch 64:5 where Enoch is called "the one who carries away the sin of mankind." 2 Enoch, however, does not appear to assign the role of atonement to Enoch elsewhere (cf. 2 Enoch 53:1–4) but affirms Enoch's role as recorder and revealer of divine mysteries (2 Enoch 23:1–6).

[15] For a fuller discussion of the various Jewish apocalyptic systems of thought, see G. Boccaccini, "Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition: The Contribution of Italian Scholarship," *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Colloquium*, ed. J. J. Collins and J. H. Charlesworth, JSPSup 9 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 38–58.

[16] See the essays in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables*, ed. G. Boccaccini (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007).

were developed in an effort to inspire hope and assurance in a being who would carry out God's planned deliverance. It should be noted, however, that the deliverance in 2 Enoch 69–73 implies a concern for the purity of God's people secured through the priest Melchizedek, whereas the deliverance presented in the Parables is gained by the Elect One/Son of Man casting down all the powerful suppressors (1 Enoch 46:4–6).

2 Enoch is seeking to answer a similar question that other Jewish apocalyptic documents of this period sought to answer: How will evil be overcome and the righteous delivered? In its answer, 2 Enoch reflects the pre-70 C.E. period in Jewish apocalyptic literature since it neither acknowledges the catastrophic destruction of Jerusalem nor focuses on the role of the law in future deliverance.[17] 2 Enoch still reflects some concern for the Jerusalem temple cult and priesthood as a means for dealing with evil. Such a concern quickly diminished after the destruction of the temple in 70 C.E. 2 Enoch, especially the Melchizedek narrative in 69–73, is characteristic of the pre-70 C.E. period in Jewish apocalyptic literature when supra-human mediator figures—and not the law—were the source of deliverance from sin.

Why Melchizedek? The Influence of Psalm 110

Why was Melchizedek chosen to play for such an important role in a document that is dominated by the figure of Enoch? It is possible that 2 Enoch was written in response to competing traditions within Enochic groups. For example, 1 Enoch 106–107 presents a similar post-Enoch tradition involving Methusalah and Oah. There Noah is the one born miraculously and plays the important role in the postdiluvian period. Furthermore, the author(s) of the Melchizedek narrative may have disagreed with the central role in the end-time deliverance given to the messianic Son of Man/Elect One who is identified with Enoch in the Book of the Parables (1 Enoch 37–71), or to the Righteous One who will awake according to the Epistle of Enoch (1 Enoch 91:10; 92:3–4). 2 Enoch may reflect both some traditional reverence for the role of Enoch in end-time deliverance (e.g., 2 En 64:5) and also evince the need for someone else who could meet the

[17] Orlov's research has uncovered some of the polemics in 2 Enoch against the mediatorial roles of Adam, Moses, and Noah among some Jewish groups; see *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 221–336.

need for end-time deliverance (e.g., Melchizedek). It is almost certain that this narrative is not a response to the Christian use of Melchizedek, as visible in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

It seems most probable that 2 Enoch, including chapters 69–73, was written by a group that sought a solution for the impurity of the Levitical priesthood. Such impurity is acknowledged in the Dream Visions of 1 Enoch 89:54–56:

> Thereafter I saw that, when they abandoned the house of the Lord and his tower, they went astray completely, and their eyes became blindfolded . . . I saw how he left that house of theirs and that tower of theirs and cast all of them into the hands of the lion—(even) into the hands of all the wild beasts—so that they may tear them into pieces and eat them.[18]

The vicious attack against the impurity of the wealthy that is leveled in the Epistle of Enoch (1 Enoch 91–104) may reflect attitudes towards the priestly class since they also were landowners and had wealth. 1 Enoch is by no means alone in signaling the need for a new or renewed priesthood. The group responsible for 2 Enoch clearly desired to depart entirely from the Levitical priestly lineage but not from the priesthood, especially with the presentation of Melchizedek and a priestly order that proceeds from him.

Where did Jewish groups find authoritative support in their Scriptures for moving to a different priestly lineage? Several scholars have pointed to the importance of the foundational account about Melchizedek's interaction with Abram in Gen 14:17–20 and the subsequent lively Jewish interpretation of this account.[19] Genesis 14 states:

> [17] After his [Abram's] return from the defeat of Chedorlaomer and the kings who were with him, the king of Sodom went out to meet him at the Valley of Shaveh (that is, the King's Valley). [18] And Melchizedek king of Salem brought out bread and wine; he was priest of God Most High. [19] And he blessed him and said, "Blessed be Abram by God Most High, maker of heaven and earth; [20] and blessed be God Most High who has delivered your enemies into your hand!" And Abram gave him a tenth of everything.

This text presents Melchizedek as *both* the king of Salem—later known as Jerusalem—and a priest of God Most High (Gen 14:18). The significance

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[18] See also 1 Enoch 80:73–75 and 93:8. For the hope of a new heavenly temple, see 90:28–36.

[19] See especially Horton, *The Melchizedek Tradition,* and Gianotto, *Melchisedek e la sua tiplogoia.*

of the high priest was elevated during the Second Temple Period, partly due to the political circumstances.[20] Interest in finding a combination of political and priestly leadership within the Scriptures probably grew after the Hasmonean leader Jonathan co-opted the position of high priest (1 Macc 10:18–21). The depiction of the interaction between Abram and Melchizedek was also intriguing to ancient interpreters of Gen 14:17–20. After Melchizedek blesses Abram, this father of the Israelite people renders a tithe of his spoils to Melchizedek.

Even though Genesis 14 is foundational for all later Melchizedek traditions, its significance for the growth of later Melchizedek traditions is limited when compared to Psalm 110.[21] It is difficult to overstate the impact of Psalm 110 on later interest concerning the identity of Melchizedek.[22] Here the union of king and priest in Melchizedek becomes the model for the Davidic Messiah. In addition to the theme of enthronement and universal kingship over the nations following divine judgment, Psalm 110 also speaks of this king as "a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek":

> [1] The LORD [*YHWH*] says to my Lord [*Adonai*]: "Sit at my right hand till I make your enemies your footstool." [2] The LORD [*YHWH*] sends forth from Zion your mighty scepter. Rule in the midst of your foes! [3] Your people will offer themselves freely on the day you lead your host upon the holy mountains. From the womb of the morning like dew your youth will come to you. [4] The LORD [*YHWH*] has sworn and will not change his mind, "You are a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek." [5] The Lord [*Adonai*] is at your right hand; he will shatter kings on the day of his wrath. [6] He will execute judgment among the nations, filling them with corpses; he will shatter chiefs over the wide earth. [7] He will drink from the brook by the way; therefore he will lift up his head.

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[20] Note the kind of reverence given to Simon ben Onias in Sirach 50; see C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, "*The Worship of Divine Humanity as God's Image and the Worship of Jesus*," in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus*, ed. C. Newman, J. Davila, and G. Lewis (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 112–128. For this interest in the priesthood at Qumran, see C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls,* STDJ 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

[21] The various traditions stemming from Genesis 14 are discussed extensively by Horton, *The Melchizedek Tradition,* and Gianotto, *Melchisedek e la sua tiplogoia*. See also A. Aschim, "Melchizedek the Liberator: An Early Interpretation of Genesis 14?" *SBLSP* 35 (1996): 242–258, and the contribution by E. Mason to the Fifth International Enoch Seminar included in this volume.

[22] For the influence of this psalm among early Christians, see D. Hay, *Glory at the Right Hand: Psalm 110 in Early Christianity* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1973), and M. Hengel, *Studies in Early Christology* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1995), 119–226.

In his study of the relationship between Melchizedek traditions and the Epistle to the Hebrews, Anders Aschim notes that the Hebrew text of Psalm 110:4 that is often translated "according to the order of Melchizedek" is obscure due to the *hireq* in this phrase that could have been understood in three different ways, any of which would contribute to the exalted status of Melchizedek.[23] First, the LXX and most modern translations construe the phrase as a construct relationship: "according to the order of Melchizedek." Second, the *hireq* could be understood as a first singular pronominal suffix with Melchizedek in apposition: "According to my, Melchizedek's, order." This interpretation renders Melchizedek speaking as YHWH in this psalm. Third, another way to render this phrase if the *hireq* is understood as a first singular pronominal suffix is to interpret "Melchizedek" as a vocative: "according to my order, O Melchizedek." In this interpretation, Melchizedek becomes the "you" throughout the psalm to whom YHWH speaks.

Especially significant among the texts that developed from reflections on Melchizedek in light of Psalm 110 is the Qumran fragment 11QMelchizedek. Aschim argues that this fragment is an example of how some were reading Psalm 110 as YHWH speaking to Melchizedek, the third option just presented.[24] He also shows how the ideas of Psalm 110 are taken up in 11QMelchizedek.[25] This fragment portrays Melchizedek as an angelomorphic priest who is the divine rescuer that will bring eschatological judgment against the forces of Belial. The application of the divine names to Melchizedek through the quotation of psalms in portions of this fragment is very noteworthy:

> [II.7–14] And the day of atonement is the end of the tenth jubilee in which atonement will be made for all the sons of God and for the men of the lot of Melchizedek. And on the heights he will declare in their favor according to their lots; for it is the time of the "year of grace" for Melchizedek, to exalt in the trial the holy ones of God through the rule of judgment, as it is written about him in the songs of David, who said, "God [*Elohim*] will stand up in the assembly of God [*El*], in the midst of the gods he judges" [Ps 82:1]. And

[23] A. Aschim, "Melchizedek and Jesus: 11QMelchizedek and the Epistle to the Hebrews," in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus*, ed. C. Newman, J. Davila, and G. Lewis (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 127–147 (esp. 136–137).

[24] Aschim, "Melchizedek and Jesus," 137.

[25] Aschim notes that Melchizedek is close to God in heaven (Ps 110:1; 11QMelch II.9–14), he rules from Zion (Ps 110:2; 11QMelch II.23–25), he battles (Ps 110:3–5; 11QMelch II.13–14), and he judges (Ps 110:6; 11QMelch II.9–13, 23); see "Melchizedek and Jesus," 136.

> about him he said: "Above it return to the heights, God [*El*] will judge the peoples" [Ps 7:8–9]. As for what he said: "How long will you judge unjustly and show partiality to the wicked? *Selah*" [Ps 82:2]. Its interpretation concerns Belial and the spirits of his lot, who were rebels all of them turning aside from the commandments of God to commit evil. But Melchizedek will carry out the vengeance of God's judgments on this day, and they shall be freed from the hands of Belial and from the hands of all the spirits of his lot. To his aid shall come all the gods of justice; he is the one who will prevail on this day over all the sons of God, and he will preside over this assembly.[26]

The role of Melchizedek as high priest is clear from the context of "the Day of Atonement." His function as the eschatological judge and the application of divine titles to him from Psalms 82 and 7 both indicate that he was considered to be divine in some sense. Furthermore, 11QMelch II.15–16 quotes Isa 52:7 and interprets the referent of "Your *Elohim* is King" to be Melchizedek. This exalted status leads one to wonder why there are not more references to Melchizedek in the Qumran literature. This question can be answered by the evidence that suggests Melchizedek should be identified with Michael who is also known as "the Angel of Light" or "the Prince of Light" in the Qumran literature. If so, there is additional evidence that the Qumran community understood Melchizedek to be an angelomorphic figure of the highest rank, even divine.[27]

The Epistle to the Hebrews is another first-century document that shows the profound influence of Psalm 110 on interest in Melchizedek, explicitly quoting this psalm on at least four occasions (Heb 1:13; 5:6; 7:17, 21) and alluding to it several other times (Heb 1:3; 5:10; 6:20; 7:3, 11, 15; 8:1, 10, 12).[28] The primary assertion that the author of this epistle makes about Melchizedek in his efforts to set forth Jesus as the divine priestly mediator concerns the eternal nature of Melchizedek's priesthood: "Without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life, but who was made like the Son of God, he remains a priest forever" (Heb 7:3). That this statement implies the eternal nature or immortality of Melchizedek and his priesthood is substantiated by Heb

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[26] This presents a reconstruction of the fragmentary text; see the critical edition of the text in P. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchiresa,* CBQMS 10 (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981), or the translation in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated,* ed. F. García Martinez (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 139–140.

[27] See C. A. Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence*, AGJU 42 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 171–173.

[28] For an analysis of the Melchizedek traditions within this epistle and related bibliography, see Gieschen, "The Different Functions of a Similar Melchizedek Tradition," 371–379, and Aschim, "Melchizedek and Jesus," 128–147. For the relationship of Hebrew's Christology to angelomorphic traditions, see Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology*, 294–314.

7:8 ("tithes are received . . . by one of whom it is testified that he lives") and 7:15–16 ("Another priest arises, according to the likeness of Melchizedek, one who has become a priest . . . through the power of an indestructible life"). This reciprocal relationship between Melchizedek and Jesus can be summarized as follows: Melchizedek *was made like* the firstborn son (Heb 7:3), thus the fleshly high priest Jesus *is according to the likeness* of Melchizedek (Heb 7:15). Even though Melchizedek is by no means the primary focus or figure of Hebrews, this epistle reflects an acute awareness of additional traditions about Melchizedek beyond Genesis 14, primarily due to how Psalm 110 was being interpreted.

Enoch's Transformation to a Supra-Human Priestly Mediator in 2 Enoch

In order to understand the presence of Melchizedek in a document that is dominated by Enoch as in 2 Enoch, it is important to examine the description given of both figures, looking at commonalities as well as differences. It will be demonstrated that one of the primary shared characteristics of Enoch and Melchizedek is the depiction of both as supra-human priestly mediators. The significance of Enoch as a priest has undergone some development in 2 Enoch, which Orlov explains as follows:

> In comparison with early Enochic writings which do not mention the liturgical dimension of the patriarch's deeds and depict him solely as a priest, the Slavonic apocalypse, like the later Merkabah lore, seeks to encompass both sacerdotal dimensions, priestly and liturgical. Further, the early sacerdotal imagery of Enoch also undergoes a substantial development in this pseudepigraphon. References to the priestly office of the seventh antediluvian patriarch in the Slavonic text show a marked difference in comparison with the testimonies found in the *Book of the Watchers, the Book of Dreams*, and *Jubilees*. Unlike these Enochic writings, 2 Enoch does not associate the translated patriarch with any celestial structure that might remotely resemble the descriptions found in 1 Enoch 14 and 87. It is also puzzling that the Slavonic text is reluctant to directly portray Enoch as the celestial high priest. Despite the absence of such explicit imagery, the Slavonic text contains a number of other indirect testimonies that demonstrate that the authors of this apocalypse appear to be cognizant of the patriarch's priestly functions.[29]

The most logical place to focus a discussion of the presentation of Enoch as a supra-human priestly mediator is on 2 Enoch 22, which speaks

[29] Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 200–201.

of Enoch's transformation after Michael brings him before the divine throne:

> [5] And the Lord, with his own mouth, called to me, "Be brave, Enoch! Don't be frightened! Stand up, and stand in front of my face forever." [6] And Michael, the Lord's greatest archangel, lifted me up and brought me in front of the face of the Lord. And the Lord sounded out his servants. The Lord said, "Let Enoch join in and stand in front of my face forever!" [7] And the glorious ones did obeisance and said, "Let him come up!" [8] The Lord said to Michael, "Take Enoch, and extract (him) from the earthly clothing. And anoint him with the delightful oil, and put (him) into the clothes of glory." [9] And Michael extracted me from my clothes. He anointed me with the delightful oil; and the appearance of that oil is greater than the greatest light, its ointment is like sweet dew, and its fragrance like myrrh; and its shining like the sun. [10] And I gazed at all of myself, and I had become like one of the glorious ones, and there was no observable difference.

Martha Himmelfarb, Crispin Fletcher-Louis, and Orlov have each called attention to the priestly details of this account, especially noting Enoch's change of clothing (cf. Zech 3:7) and anointing with oil (cf. Exod 30:22–23).[30] What is also very significant is the command "Stand up, and stand in front of my face forever" (2 Enoch 22:5). Since standing is the typical posture of angels, it is reasonable to conclude that this detail is another indication that Enoch is depicted as being transformed into an angelic being.[31] More, however, is being communicated by the standing position that Enoch is given in front of the face of the Lord and his anointed appearance that "is greater than the greatest light" (2 Enoch 22:9). These details indicate that Enoch was given the privileged position of a principal angel, probably even above Gabriel ("the archangel" in 2 Enoch 21:2) and Michael ("the Lord's greatest archangel" in 2 Enoch 22:6). This privileged position is reiterated several times in 2 Enoch:

> [21:3] And the Lord sent one of his glorious ones, the archangel Gabriel. And he said to me, "Be brave, Enoch! Don't be frightened! Stand up, and come with me and *stand in front of the face of the Lord forever*."

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[30] M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 40; Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam*, 23–24; and Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 200–201.

[31] Orlov sees this as a polemic against Moses who was known as "the Standing One"; see *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 286. In Philonic and Samaritan literature, God has the title "the Standing One" and angels are called "the Standing Ones"; see evidence in Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology*, 31.

> [22:6] And the Lord, with his own mouth, called to me, "Be brave, Enoch! Don't be frightened! Stand up, and *stand in front of my face forever*."
>
> [36:3] "Because a place has been prepared for you, and *you will be in front of my face from now and forever*."
>
> [67:2] And the angels hurried and grasped Enoch and carried him up to the highest heaven, where the Lord received him and *made him stand in front of his face for eternity*.

The position of standing in front of the divine face indicates Enoch's very exalted, even divine, status as heavenly priest. *Testament of Levi* 2:10 states, "And when you have mounted there [i.e., the highest heaven], you shall stand near the Lord. You shall be his priest and you shall tell forth his mysteries to men." A ranking of the angels who serve before the face of God is apparent in the *Prayer of Joseph*. There Jacob—who is also the Angel Israel—declares: "Am I not Israel, the first minister before the face of God?" (line 8). The privileged position of Enoch is also indicated by the use of the title "servant of the face."[32] Enoch continues to appear glorious during his return to earth for one month after his transformative ascent (2 Enoch 37:2) and lives without food or sleep (2 Enoch 56:2). Both details affirm that Enoch has been transformed into an angelomorphic being. As Orlov concludes: "Yet, in 2 Enoch the patriarch is depicted not simply as a visitor who has only temporary access to the divine Presence but as an angel permanently installed in the office of the *sar happanim*."[33]

There is a discernable line of development from the early traditions about Enoch's ascent in the Book of the Watchers of 1 Enoch, to those in the Book of the Parables of 1 Enoch, to those in 2 Enoch, to those in 3 Enoch. Enoch's role as the priestly mediator develops in each of these texts. In 3 Enoch, Enoch becomes Metatron who is known as the "Prince of the Divine Presence," even "the Lesser YHWH" who is the visible image of YHWH (3 Enoch 12:5; cf. Exod 23:20–21). The polemic against Metatron's enthronement found in 3 Enoch 16:1–5 presupposes the tradition that he is the enthroned Glory of YHWH (cf. Ezek 1:26–28).

The Enoch of 2 Enoch, however, is not the Metatron of 3 Enoch. In spite of a significant development towards Enoch's priestly role that is visible in 2 Enoch, he primarily functions in this document as a revealer of heavenly mysteries through his scribal activity.[34] Immediately following his

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[32] See discussion in Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 153–156.

[33] *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 156.

[34] For Enoch's role as scribe in 2 Enoch, see 23:1–6, 36:3, 53:2–3, and 64:5. Böttrich dis-

transformation, he writes 366 books about the mysteries of the heavens and individual people (2 Enoch 23:1–6). He is seated/enthroned at the *left* side of the LORD with Gabriel—not on the *right* with the highest archangel Michael—and does not appear to exercise kingly rule (2 Enoch 24:1).[35] This event appears to anticipate that another will come later in the narrative to whom the LORD will say, "Sit at my *right* hand," fulfilling the hope of Psalm 110. These details make it clear that the role of eschatological priestly deliverer who will also be king in 2 Enoch is held by Melchizedek, not Enoch.

Melchizedek as the Eschatological Supra-Human Priestly Mediator of 2 Enoch

Although Melchizedek does not dominate the content of 2 Enoch as a whole, he is the major focus of chapters 69–73. There one finds a grave concern for a priestly mediator between God and humans, as is visible in the basic plot of these chapters. After Enoch is gone, Methusalam (that is Methuselah) asks God to raise up a priest (69:5). He is then miraculously shown to be God's choice as priest, and he responds by offering animal sacrifices (69:15–17). The priesthood is then passed on to Nir, Methusalam's grandson. Nir functions as a prince/leader (70:14) and a priest (70:20). The evil that would eventually necessitate the worldwide flood, however, once again grows during this period (70:23).

As 2 Enoch progresses, hope is restored through the birth of a unique priest, Melchizedek. Several details highlight the miraculous nature of this birth and the supra-human status of Melchizedek. First, Nir's wife is pregnant in her barren old age even though her husband has been celibate for years as a priest and she had no sexual contact with a man (71:2). Second, the child delivers himself after his mother dies; his mother contributes minimally to the entire conception and birth experience (71:17). These two details are included to emphasize both the divine origin and purity of this child. He is not the normal impure human resulting from a sexual union; he is a pure supra-human priest who is able to address sin and evil in a manner unlike any other earthly priest. Third, the child appears on the

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agrees that 22:8–10 is a priestly investiture and focuses exclusively on his scribal role; see "The Melchizedek Story of *2* (*Slavonic*) *Enoch*," 456–457.

35 This observation is made by C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis in his contribution to the Fifth International Enoch Seminar found in this volume.

scene as a fully developed and speaking three year old boy (71:8). This child is clearly no ordinary human priest of the Levitical line.

A fourth detail in this narrative shows this child is supra-human, even divine in some sense. The child has "the badge of the priesthood on his chest, and it was glorious in appearance" (71:19). It is clear that this "badge of the priesthood" was not any of the typical priestly garments since the narrative goes on to state that the boy is subsequently washed and dressed "in garments of priesthood" (71:21). One important marker of the high priest was the divine name that was mounted on his turban (Exod 28:36). In this way, the high priest reflected YHWH's visible manifestation, the angel/messenger who had the divine name "in him" (Exod 23:20–21). By stating that this "badge of the priesthood" is "on his chest," 2 Enoch may be depicting Melchizedek as a divine priest who inherently possesses the divine name, not a human priest who wears it on a turban as part of his priestly garb. Contemporary Jewish and Christian literature, including Enochic literature, shows great interest in mediator figures who share the divine name YHWH.[36] Furthermore, if "the badge of the priesthood" is indeed the divine name, it is understandable that "it was glorious in appearance." For example, 3 Enoch 14:5 sets forth this reaction of the heavenly hosts to Metatron, especially the crown on his head that bore the divine name: "They all fell prostrate when they saw me and could not look at me because of the majesty, splendor, beauty, brightness, brilliance, and radiance of the glorious crown which was on my head."

In response to Nir's concerns about the possible future destruction of this child with the impurity in this world, the Lord appears to Nir in a night vision and promises to send Michael who will remove and protect Melchizedek during the destruction of the deluge: "Melchizedek will be the priest to all holy priests, and I will establish him so that he will be the head of the priests of the future" (71:29, Rec. J).[37] This teaching about the existence of Melchizedek in heaven and the establishment of a distinct priestly group of which Melchizedek will be "the priest to all holy

[36] See C. A. Gieschen, "The Divine Name in Ante-Nicene Christology," *VC* 57 (2003): 115–158 (esp. 121–127). In Enochic literature, there is interest in the divine name of the Son of Man/Elect One in the Book of the Parables (e.g., 1 Enoch 69:16–28) and the divine name of Metatron in 3 Enoch (e.g., 3 Enoch 12:1–13:2); see C. A. Gieschen, "The Name of the Son of Man in the Parables of Enoch," *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man: Revisiting the Book of Parables*, ed. G. Boccaccini (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 238–249.

[37] Böttrich notes the possible confusion implied in Andersen's translation "the head of the priests of the future," which he translates "the head of the priests before him"; see "The Melchizedek Story of *2* (*Slavonic*) *Enoch*," 460.

priests" probably has its origin in Psalm 110 ("the order of Melchizedek"). Melchizedek, however, is "the head" of priests, not the first in a new priestly line. Nir responds: "Blessed be the Lord, the God of my fathers, who has told me how he has made a great priest in my day in the womb of Sapanim, my wife" (71:30, Rec. J). Melchizedek is not a divinely conceived and miraculously born human who will later be made into a priest; he was divinely made a priest already in his mother's womb. Böttrich summarizes this depiction with the following words: "One may therefore understand the Melchizedek-child as the prototype of the earthly priesthood, belonging himself to the divine world. In this prototype, also the earthly image has existence. Despite the threat of the flood and all the distress of the future there is 'care' of the priesthood before God, and eternal source of renewal."[38]

The continuing narrative makes it clear that this priest is not a temporary head of a short-lived earthly priesthood. In a tradition that has some similarity to Rev 12:1–6, Michael descends 40 days after Melchizedek's birth and takes him away to the paradise of Eden for protection during the flood (72:9). The inference is that he will be hidden in the heavenly realm until the proper moment of his revelation as the priestly deliverer. Such a theme is present in other apocalyptic literature, such as with the Son of Man/Elect One of the Book of the Parables (1 Enoch 48:6–7).

As can be seen from this content, the generative idea of 2 Enoch 69–73 is the need for a priestly mediator to provide deliverance from the grip of evil and offer atonement for sins. These chapters catalogue the divine origin and birth of a supra-human priest who will deal with evil and make atonement for sin. A very degenerative view of the Levitical priesthood is presented here. This indicates that it was probably still functioning at the time when this document was written. This view, however, does not diminish an ongoing interest in Jerusalem as the cultic site. It is noteworthy that Melchizedek, in spite of being a *postdiluvian* person in Genesis 14, has an *antediluvian* origin—like Enoch—in this document. He precedes both Abraham and the priesthood that developed in the history of Israel.

How Can Enoch and Melchizedek Peacefully Co-Exist in 2 Enoch?

A natural question that arises after one reads the closing chapters of 2 Enoch: How can two priestly mediators of very exalted status like Enoch

[38] Böttrich, "The Melchizedek Story of 2 (*Slavonic*) *Enoch*," 460.

and Melchizedek share the stage in this document? What may be difficult for the modern scholar to grasp probably was not a difficulty for the first-century groups that used Enochic literature. For example, in the Qumran literature one finds co-existing interests in the messiahs of Israel and Aaron, Melchizedek, Michael, and the Angel/Prince of Light. Having more than one supra-human figure who has a mediatorial role in the life of a Jewish group is not an oddity. For the groups who wrote or used 2 Enoch, the continuity between the reverence shown for Enoch and Melchizedek is found in their roles as supra-human priestly mediators to whom people looked in hope.

It is important to emphasize, as noted above, that there are significant distinctions between the mediatorial roles given to Enoch and Melchizedek in 2 Enoch. Unlike Enoch's primary role as the *revealer of divine mysteries*, Melchizedek is the *eschatological deliverer* from evil. Unlike Enoch's transformational ascent to his supra-human priestly role in heaven (2 Enoch 22), Melchizedek is divinely conceived and miraculously born a supra-human priest on earth (2 Enoch 71). The expectations for deliverance in 2 Enoch are squarely grounded in the priestly cult, as the narrative of chapters 69–73 makes clear. Although Enoch has priestly characteristics, Melchizedek will be "the priest to all priests" and their "head" (2 Enoch 71:29).

While recognizing that the textual history of 2 Enoch conditions what can be concluded from the text that we currently possess, it appears that this document offers a unique glimpse into the significant way that Psalm 110 impacted hopes for deliverance within a first-century Jewish group that revered Enoch. As exalted as Enoch becomes in this document, he is not depicted and looked upon as a messianic deliverer. The group that produced 2 Enoch could, therefore, both revere Enoch and also place their hope for end-time deliverance from evil in Melchizedek, the supra-human who as both priest and king would bring the deliverance promised in Psalm 110. To return to the theatre analogy: although Enoch spends much time on stage setting up the drama, he exits to heaven before Melchizedek has the stage for the climatic scene and the dramatic final bow.

MELCHIZEDEK IN SOME EARLY CHRISTIAN TEXTS AND 2 ENOCH

Harold W. Attridge

In my attempt, twenty-five years ago, to understand the figure of Melchizedek in the Epistle to the Hebrews,[1] I noted some intriguing parallels with the account of Melchizedek in 2 Enoch. I did not, however, attempt to analyze the relationship between the two texts. In re-examining the Melchizedek tradition for this seminar, I detected, somewhat to my surprise, a pattern in the parallels between them that suggests that there was more than casual contact. This paper will argue that the (or an) author of 2 Enoch knew Hebrews' version of the tradition and offered an alternative tale about Melchizedek. Later Christian scribes found the basic story wanting and offered at least two corrections. Before proceeding to Melchizedek in 2 Enoch, the larger picture is worth revisiting, to see the quite distinctive points of contact between Hebrews and 2 Enoch.[2]

The basic facts of the tradition are clear enough. The figure of Melchizedek appears in two biblical passages, Genesis 14 and Psalm 110, texts which contain traditions, perhaps very early, from pre-exilic Israel. One plausible reconstruction of the origins of the Melchizedek tradition is that memory of a prominent Canaanite king-priest, whose theophoric name meant "My God is Zedek,"[3] was cited by a poet celebrating an early Davidic king (Psalm 110) as a precursor to the royal and priestly status of the Davidic monarch. Genesis 14:1–24 contains a narrative, the source of which is not easily identified, that recounts Abraham's military prowess and its recognition by the priest-king of Salem, Melchizedek.[4]

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[1] See H. W. Attridge, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: A Commentary,* Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1989), 189–95.

[2] The standard general survey of this material is F. Horton, *The Melchizedek Tradition: A Critical Examination of the Sources to the Fifth Century A.D. and in the Epistle to the Hebrews,* SNTSMS 30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), but he does not include 2 Enoch because of what he took to be weak and late attestation.

[3] For the Canaanite deity involved, see H. W. Attridge and R. Oden, *Philo of Byblos, The Phoenician History*, Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series 9 (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association, 1981).

[4] Source criticism for this pericope remains problematic. Most scholars see it as a late addition to the narrative, not clearly related to the strands of major source material. For recent discussion see O. Margalith, "The Riddle of Genesis 14 and Melchizedek," *ZAW* 112

After his cameo appearances in those two biblical passages, the figure of Melchizedek goes underground, to resurface as a subject of speculation in the second temple period. That resurfacing seems to result from exegetical speculation rather than transmission of traditional lore, and each stage of the speculation pushes the boundaries of Melchizedek's status and function in new and intriguing directions.

Melchizedek in the Jewish Historians

The earliest post-biblical report about Melchizedek appears in the fragments of an historian writing in the second century B.C.E., now known as Pseudo-Eupolemus.[5] This apologist, writing in Greek and probably using a version of the LXX, offers a simple report about a human being who functioned as priest and king in the time of Abraham. "Abraham was treated as a guest by the city in the temple Argarizin, which means 'mountain of the Most High.' He received gifts from Melchizedek, its ruler and priest of God." Neither the silences of the text of Genesis or the associations of Psalm 110 disturb the rationalist historian.

The simple and straightforward treatment in Genesis of Melchizedek as a historical figure appears again, some two centuries later, in the writing of Josephus, who says of Jerusalem, "Its original founder was a Canaanite chief, called in the native tongue, "Righteous King" for such indeed he was."[6] Later in the *Antiquities*, he expands his account:

> So Abraham, having rescued the Sodomite prisoners, previously captured by the Assyrians, including his kinsman Lot, returned in peace. The king of the Sodomites met him at a place which they call the "royal plain," there he was received by the king of Solyma, Melchisedek; this name means "righteous king," and such was he by common consent, insomuch that for this reason he was moreover made priest of God; Solyma was in fact the place afterwards called Hierosolyma. Now this Melchisedek hospitably entertained Abraham's army, providing abundantly for all their needs, and in the course of the feast he began to extol Abraham and to bless God for having delivered

(2000): 501–508 and B. Ziemer, *Abram-Abraham: Kompositionsgeschichtliche Untersuchugen zu Genesis 14, 15, und 17*, BZAW 350 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005). I am grateful to my colleague Joel Baden for the references.

[5] See R. Doran, "Pseudo-Eupolemus," in J. H. Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985), 2:873–882 (esp. 880) (= Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 9.17.5–6).

[6] *JW* 6.438. Trans. LCL.

> his enemies into his hand. Abraham then offered him the tithe of the spoil, and he accepted the gift.[7]

All this is a pretty straightforward account of the righteous king of Solyma.

Melchizedek at Qumran

While historians, addressing a wider cosmopolitan community, could read the biblical text in such a straightforward way, others came to different conclusions. The earliest bit of speculative Melchizedekiana is the fragmentary Qumran midrash, 11Q Melchizedek. The fragment interprets the Jubilee year of Leviticus as the eschatological release of the captives of Belial. The agent of this release is Melchizedek, who combines royal and priestly functions in achieving eschatological deliverance: "And Melchizedek will exact the ven[geance] of E[l's] judgments [and he will protect all the sons of light from the power] of Belial and from the power of all [the spirits of] his [lot]."[8] Dispensing justice in that fashion would be expected of a king. The priestly function appears in Melchizedek's providing expiation for sin: "(Melchizedek) will restore them and proclaim liberty to them, relieving them [of the burden] of all their iniquities."[9]

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[7] *Ant*. 1.179–82. Trans. LCL.

[8] 11Q Melch ii.13; P. J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša* (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association, 1980), 8. Several papers in this Enoch Seminar treat the text. See J. Harold Ellens, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Son of Man, An Assessment of 11Q13(Mel)," and L. Guglielmo, "11Q13, Malchi Şedek, Co-reference and Restoration of ii 18," in *Enochic Traditions and Mediatorial Figures in Second Temple Judaism and Their Legacy in Early Christianity, Rabbinic Judaism, and Islam*, ed. J. M. Zurawski, *Hen* 33 (2011): 3-144. See also E. F. Mason, "Melchizedek at Qumran and Early Judaism" in the present volume.

Other relevant recent literature includes A. Aschim, "Melchizedek and Jesus: 11QMelchizedek and the Epistle to the Hebrews," in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus*, ed. C. C. Newman, J. R. Davila, and G. S. Lewis, JSJSup 63 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 128–47; M. J. H. M. Poorthuis, "Enoch and Melchizedek in Judaism and Christianity: A Study in Intermediaries," in Poorthuis, ed., *Saints and Role Models in Judaism and Christianity* (Leiden: Brill, 1004), 97–120; E. F. Mason, *'You Are a Priest Forever': Second Temple Jewish Messianism and the Priestly Christology of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, STDJ 74 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), and I. Knohl, "Melchizedek: A Model for the Union of Kingship and Priesthood in the Hebrew Bible, 11QMelchizedek, and the Epistle to the Hebrews," in *Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity*, ed. R. A. Clements and D. R. Schwartz, STDJ 84 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 255–66.

[9] 11Q Melch ii.6. As Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 66–77 notes, other messianic figures exercise priestly functions as well.

This priestly-royal figure also seems to have a heavenly status and Psalm 82:1 is applied to him as one who "stands in the assembly of El and judges in the midst of the Elohim." The precise relationship between the "heavenly" figure and the Melchizedek encountered in Genesis 14 is not clear. It is possible that the language is applied in some metaphorical fashion to a human being whose status is so exalted that it reaches to the heavens. Or the midrashist may have understood the eschatological priest and king Melchizedek to be literally a member of that divine assembly, perhaps to be identified with a named "angelic" figure such as Michael, who displays similar functions in other Qumran texts.[10] The options of exalted human being or "divine being" come to earth parallel the tracks on which forms of early Christological speculation developed. The fragmentary nature of 11Q Melchizedek prevents a final determination of how the "divine" status of Psalm 82 was applied to Melchizedek in this text, but the tendency to attribute exalted status to him seems clear enough.

If we want to trace some "trajectory" of thinking about the status of Melchizedek, the juxtaposition of Eupolemus-Josephus with the Qumran fragment suggests that there were two general ways of understanding the biblical references. One was exoteric and treated the texts as relatively simple historical references to a human character. Another line of analysis is esoteric, finding in the biblical character a reference to some other, extraordinary figure. In the case of Qumran, this is an eschatological deliverer, perhaps of divine or heavenly origin.

Melchizedek in Philo

Two texts from the first century C.E. play in different ways with the tension between the esoteric and exoteric understandings of the figure of Melchizedek. For Philo, the historical Melchizedek is quite irrelevant. The biblical character is simply a cipher for another reality. For the philosophical exegete the words of Scripture may refer to a person or event of the past, but that is incidental to their primary function, which is to be a sign of some truth present to the reader.

For Philo textual symbols are polyvalent, and may signify a variety of ideal entities in the reader's world, and so it is with Melchizedek, who

[10] For the identification of Melchizedek with Michael, see Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 59–62. For other earlier literature, see Attridge, *Hebrews*, 193, n. 58.

may point to the ideal of a "righteous king," an obvious play on the etymology of the name, at least to a Greek speaker. Apart from a pair of passing references,[11] Philo's major treatment appears in the *Allegory of the Laws*: "For he is entitled 'righteous king,' and a 'king' is a thing at enmity with a despot, the one being the author of laws, the other of lawlessness" (*LA* 3.79).

The figure of Melchizedek may also have anthropological significance, referring to the controlling element of human self, the mind, which should be a righteous king over the soul and body:

> For he is called a just king, and a king is the opposite of a tyrant, because the one is the interpreter of law, and the other of lawlessness. (80) Therefore the tyrannical mind imposes violent and mischievous commands on both soul and body, and such as have a tendency to cause violent suffering, being commands to act according to vice, and to indulge the passions with enjoyment. But the other, the kingly mind, in the first place, does not command, but rather persuades, since it gives recommendations of such a character, that if guided by them, like a vessel, will enjoy a fair voyage through life, being directed in its course by a good governor and pilot; and this good pilot is right reason. (81) We may therefore call the tyrannical mind the ruler of war, and the kingly mind the guide to peace, that is Salem. And this kingly mind shall bring forth food full of cheerfulness and joy; for "he brought forth bread and wine," which the Ammonites and Moabites were not willing to give to the beholder, that is Israel; by reason of such unwillingness they are shut out from the companionship and assembly of God.[12]

Finally, for Philo, Melchizedek may point to an ontological reality, the Logos or Word of God, who, like a priest, is fully focused on God: "For he is a priest, even Reason, having as his portion Him that is, and all his thoughts of God are high and vast and sublime" (*LA* 3.82).

For Philo the biblical symbol is a window not onto the world of the past or the future, but a key to the eternal realities of human existence. Like a many-faceted gem, the complexity of the written word points to ideal realities of the moral/political, psychological, and ontological realms, all of which are mutually implicative and reinforcing. Like the midrashist whose fragment survives among the Dead Sea Scrolls, Philo understands

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[11] See *Congr*. 99, an autodidact priest, who received a metaphorical tithe, the right use of sense, speech, and reason, and *Abr*. 235, in which Melchizedek appears in his exoteric mode, as simply a figure of biblical history, who celebrates Abraham's victory illustrating the principle that "the belongings of friends are held in common." Philo goes on to offer an allegorical reading, explicitly contrasted with the simple history (*Abr*. 236), but the interpretation does not focus on Melchizedek.

[12] *LA* 3.80.

the biblical text to have an esoteric meaning, but the framework shaping that meaning is not eschatological hope or a mapping of the world of heavenly beings, but the truths of philosophy.

Melchizedek in the Epistle to the Hebrews

The second example of speculation on Melchizedek from the first century C.E. is the early Christian homilist responsible for the Epistle to the Hebrews. The logic and rhetorical function of the homilist's appeal to Melchizedek is clear enough. One of his underlying premises is that Psalm 110:1, "Take a seat at my right hand until I make your enemies a footstool for your feet," was addressed to the resurrected and exalted Christ, now enthroned at the right hand of the Majesty on high (Heb 1:13; 8:1; 10:12). He was not alone in that assumption, since the New Testament attests that other Christians as well used the psalm in precisely that way.[13] But if Psalm 110:1 is addressed to the exalted Christ, so too was v. 4: "You are a priest forever, according the order of Melchizedek." So the exegetical task would be to explain what that verse means.

It remains unclear whether the whole conceit of the homily was *generated* by this exegetical logic. It may be that the clever exegesis was in fact a solution to another conceptual problem. For another premise of the homilist's argument is that the death of Christ is an atoning sacrifice, a premise that, like the use of Psalm 110, also seems to have been traditional in some early Christian circles.[14] But if there was a sacrifice, then there must have been a priest, and since Christ was not a Levite, as Heb 7:13 acknowledges, he could not qualify for the position in ordinary terms. The "order of Melchizedek," duly explained, solved that problem: Christ was a "heavenly and eternal" high priest (Heb 7:3, 8, 16, 24–25), seated as intercessor forever (*eis ton aiôna*) at God's right hand.

While the exegetical and ritual logic is clear enough, however fanciful the interpretive moves, it remains an open question whether there lurks in the background one or another of the esoteric interpretations

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[13] Cf. Acts 2:34; Eph 1:20, 1 Pet 3:22, and see D. M. Hay, *Glory at the right hand: Psalm 110 in early Christianity* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1973).

[14] See especially Rom 3:25–27. Interpreters debate whether the *hilasterion* mentioned in v 25 is an allusion to the "mercy seat" atop the ark of the covenant, as at Heb 9:5, or a more generic term for a sacrifice. See R. Jewett, *Romans*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), ad loc.

of Melchizedek in evidence in the Scrolls and in Philo. The quest for the religio-historical background to Hebrews in general and to the interpretation of Melchizedek in particular has been long, and generally inconclusive.[15] It would certainly be understandable if the homilist was inspired to develop his creative exegesis by a belief that the biblical character of Melchizedek was a cipher for another reality, an angel, an eschatological Messiah, or some even quasi-Platonic form or psychological reality. Modern exegetes can find hooks in the text of Hebrews for any one of these possibilities. The etymologizing that begins Hebrews' exegesis (Heb 7:2) closely parallels that of Philo. The scriptural testimony that "he (scil. Melchizedek) lives" (Heb 7:8) hints that Melchizedek, like his counterpart at Qumran, is understood to be among the supernal beings. Furthermore, a whiff of angelomorphic Christology[16] might add a polemic edge to the argument of Chapter 1 that Christ is superior to the angels.[17]

Yet none of the major proposals for identifying the religio-historical background of Hebrews at this point has won wide assent. The homilist, it would appear, is careful not to make a commitment to any particular way of understanding the deeper meaning or esoteric referent of the biblical figure of Melchizedek, except for his claim that Melchizedek points to the eschatological high priest, Christ. It is significant that the fundamental impulse looks generically similar to the types of interpretation that I have labeled "esoteric." Our homilist assumes that there is a meaning to the text not anchored in the historical reality of a Canaanite priest or king. The meaning, both in terms of sense and reference, resides in the words themselves and how they relate to each other.

The author of Hebrews is a sophisticated rhetorician and exegete. He (or she) may even be aware of a variety of esoteric interpretations of biblical figures in the community that he addresses. He adds his own, one that gestures toward other possibilities, but commits to none, in order to focus on the novel element, the pointer to Christ.

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[15] For reviews of the discussion, see Attridge, *Hebrews*, and C. Koester, *Hebrews*, AB 36 (Garden City: Doubleday, 2001).

[16] For the term, see C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts, Angels, Christology, and Soteriology* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1997) or C. A. Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 1998).

[17] For some who have taken that approach, see R. Jewett, *Letter to Pilgrims: A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (New York: Pilgrim, 1981). Telling against it is the lack of explicit polemic and the rhetorical convention of *synkrisis*, or comparison of the subject of an encomium to people or entities that are highly valued.

One final observation about Hebrews' manipulation of the figure of Melchizedek is in order. The other interpretations, both exoteric and esoteric, took the data of the scriptural account that Melchizedek was both priest and king and made something of them. The midrash in Hebrews begins by acknowledging both elements (Heb 7:2–3) of the identity of Melchizedek, but quickly drops the "royal" dimension and focuses on the "priestly." All that is left, hanging in the air, is the standard etymological play on *basileus Salēm*, as "king of peace" (Heb 7:2). By moving in this direction, our homilist may be tacitly acknowledging what several recent critics have suspected, that the context in which this homily develops is a distinctly Roman one.[18] In that environment, claims about the royal status of the Christian Messiah could have been problematic.

Melchizedek in 2 Enoch

Further evidence of flourishing speculation about Melchizedek appears in non canonical Jewish and Christian literature from the first century onward. Most intriguing is the testimony of 2 Enoch, generally dated to the first century, although the manuscript attestation of its complicated textual history is much later, with the earliest witness dating to the medieval period.[19] It is also generally assumed that the original milieu was Jewish of some sort, although, like many other pseudepigrapha, it owes its survival to Christian tradents.

The work survives in two major recensions, the longer of which contains unique legendary material about Melchizedek, although a portion of the material, the story of the birth of Melchizedek, is found in manuscripts of both recensions. While some earlier scholars suspected that all of this material is secondary, most now agree that the Melchizedek legend in some form is integral to 2 Enoch.[20] Whether all of the Melchizedek material merits that confidence is, it seems to me, an open question.

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[18] See the essays in G. Gelardini, *Hebrews: Contemporary Methods, New Insights* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).

[19] For an overview of the issues, see Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," *OTP,* 1:91–100. The newly discovered Coptic fragments, which came to my attention as the paper was being written for the 2009 Enoch seminar, do not contain material relevant to the Melchizedek legend.

[20] For earlier scholarship on the passage and a review of the critical issues, see A. Orlov, "Melchizedek Legend of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch," in Orlov, *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism: Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, JSJ 114 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 423–39. One

The legendary material has several components that seem to resolve some of the exegetical difficulties that the earlier stages of the "Melchizedek tradition" wrestled with. It also makes room for most of the roles of Melchizedek that surfaced in previous materials. The legend at first sight has the character of a midrashic compendium of Melchizedekian affirmations, attempting to reconcile them into a coherent whole, but tensions lurk within the narrative.

Melchizedek, Miraculously Born, and Translated

The story begins with the parentage of Melchizedek. Sopanim, wife of the great-grandson of Enoch and younger brother of Noah, the priest Nir, miraculously conceives a child in her old age (2 Enoch 71:2). Unlike other aged mothers of the biblical tradition, Sarah, Hannah and Elizabeth, but perhaps just a bit like the Virgin Mary,[21] her husband is distressed by this turn of events and tries to dismiss her (71:8). Sopanim takes Nir's reaction to her pregnancy rather poorly and dies on the spot (71:9). Her son, Melchizedek, is then mysteriously born from his mother's corpse (71:17). Melchizedek is a true *Wunderkind*, "fully developed physically, like a three-year old" (71:18).[22] He is marked as a priest from birth, with "the badge of priesthood on his chest . . . glorious in appearance" (71:19).[23] In the face of rising immorality, Noe worries about the life of the child but leaves the scene. Nir, equally worried, is comforted by a night vision from the Lord (71:27–28), who promises that a heavenly assistant, "archistratig" Michael in the long recension, archangel Gabriel in the short, will spirit Melchizedek away to Paradise, where Adam had lived for seven years. This heavenly rapture by what 11Q Melch might designate Elim, serves an

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essay in this Enoch seminar treats the Melchizedek legend in 2 Enoch at some length, with an interpretation that differs markedly from the suggestions of this paper. See C. Gieschen, "Enoch and Melchizedek: The Concern for Supra-Human Priestly Mediators in *2 Enoch*," in the present volume.

[21] How much this account of a special birth is dependent on any biblical precedent is a matter of debate. Andersen, "2 Enoch," 204 n. c, notes the expected parallels and the differences between this story and its generic counterparts. He also notes similarities to the birth of Noah in 1 Enoch 106, and the account of the birth of Mary in the *Protoevangelium Jacobi*. There are also similarities to the birth of Noah in the Genesis Apocryphon from Qumran. See Orlov, "Melchizedek Legend," 432. Those similar accounts, however, lack the tale of the pre-natal death of the Wunderkind's mother, prominent in the Melchizedek legend in 2 Enoch.

[22] The description could be problematic, depending on how the physical development of a three-year old is understood. The shorter recension lacks the reference to age.

[23] Presumably an ephod.

eschatological purpose. The longer recension reports the words of the Lord that "Melchizedek will be the priest to all holy priests, and I will establish him so that he will be the head of the priests of the future" (71:29). The shorter recension has a slightly different promise: "Melchizedek will be my priest to all priests, and I will sanctify him and I will change him into a great people who will sanctify me."

The emphasis on genealogical lineage is strong throughout this story. Just after Nir and Noe discover the miraculously born Melchizedek, Nir says, "Behold, God is renewing the priesthood from blood related to us, just as he pleases." Later Nir prays: "Blessed be the Lord, the God of my fathers, who has told me now he has made a great priest in my day, in the womb of Sopanim, my wife. Because I had no child in this tribe who might become the great priest, but this my son and your servant, and you are the great God." (71:30–31)[24]

The narrator explains the lineage of which Melchizedek is a part, and which he will, in some fashion, continue. Long and short recensions differ slightly here, as they did in the promise about the eschatological role of Melchizedek. In the long recension, Nir asks God to honor Melchizedek "together with your servants and great priests, with Sit (=Seth), Enos, and *Rusi*, and *Amilam*, and Prasicam, and Malaleil, and *Serokh*, and *Arusan*, and Aleem, and *Enoch*,[25] and *Methusalam*,[26] and *me*."[27] The short recension, which, as noted, embeds a reference to priesthood close to the start of Nir's prayer, asks God that Melchizedek assume the role of Nir's descendants, counted among God's servants, "Sonfi, Onokh, *Rusi, Milam, Serukh, Arusan*, Nail, *Enoch, Methusail*, and *Nir*" (71:32).

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[24] So MS J, the "long recension." A, representing the short recension, adds after the first clause: "who has not condemned my priesthood and the priesthood of my fathers," emphasizing even more strongly the priestly genealogy involved. See C. Böttrich, *Das slavische Henochbuch*, JSHRZ 5,7 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1995).

[25] A different genealogy appears at 33:10, more complete in the longer recension: Adam, Sith, Enos, Kainan, Maleleil, Ared, Enoch, which is closer to the antedeluvian genealogy of Gen 5:1–32: Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech, Noah.

[26] In 2 Enoch at least Methusalam exercises a priestly function. See 69:3, 4, 9, 18, 70:1.

[27] On Nir's investiture as priest, see 70:4, 13. Elements clearly common to the two recensions are in *italics*. Prasicam and Malaleil and Aleem are unparalleled in the short recension. Sit and Enos of the long recension are replaced by Sonfi and Onokh in the short The latter may be confusion with Enos, but Sonfi for Sit (Seth) is mysterious, unless there is some anti-Sethian concern. According to 2 Enoch, Nir is the grandson of Methusalam, Noah's younger brother (70:4), but Nir's father, Lamekh, does not appear in the priestly genealogy.

As noted, the long and short recensions differ in the precise understanding of Melchizedek's eschatological function, the longer emphasizing somewhat more the priestly character of the Melchizedek's later role; the shorter suggesting more vaguely that Melchizedek would inaugurate a new "people who will sanctify" the Lord. Let us label the whole story of Melchizedek thus far, which, despite the recensional differences, has a certain inner coherence and apparent logic, Melch A.

Another Melchizedek and an Eschatological High Priest

The long recension, in a passage lacking any counterpart in the shorter, specifies the contours of the eschatological priesthood more precisely. Picking up on the antecedent genealogy, it affirms that Melchizedek will "be the head of the 13 priests who existed before." What follows merits full citation. We shall call this Melch B:

> And afterward, in the last generation, there will be another Melchizedek, the first of 12 priests. And the last will be the head of all, a great archpriest, the Word and Power of God, who will perform miracles, greater and more glorious than all the previous ones. He, Melchizedek, will be priest and king in the place Akhuzan, that is to say, in the center of the earth, where Adam was created and there will be his final grave. And in connection with that archpriest it is written now he also will be buried there, and where the center of the earth is, just as Adam also buried his own son there—Abel, whom his brother Cain murdered; for he lay for 3 years unburied, . . . and [after the flood] there will be another Melchizedek, the head of priests reigning over the people, and performing the liturgy for the Lord. (71:37)[28]

The second Melchizedek, whom we meet in the second verse of the passage, does not seem to have any direct relationship to the Melchizedek deposited in Paradise by Michael/Gabriel. The core story (Melch A: 71:29) envisioned the first Melchizedek as the figure who would "be head of the priests of the future."[29] The function of the current story then appears to be to explain how it will happen that there will be a new lineage of priests. At the same time the current story corrects the impression left by Melch A that the Melchizedek translated to Paradise would return.

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[28] The last phrase is paralleled in the short recension. It seems to repeat the basic point of the passage and may be the core from which the whole was constructed.

[29] So the long recension; the short, simply has "will be my priest to all priests, and I will sanctify him and I will change him into a great people who will sanctify me."

The relationship between the new Melchizedek and the last of the priests in his lineage is also somewhat ambiguous. After introducing the head of the new priestly line, the story refers to its culmination in the miracle-making Son and Word of God, who bears a striking resemblance to Jesus Christ. The next verse refers again to Melchizedek, who is said to be a priest and king in Akhuzan, the *omphalos kosmou* where Adam lived. It was also the place of Enoch's final instruction to his sons before departing for heaven (54:3) and where Methusalam constructed an altar (68:5) and died (70:17). A quick reading might lead to the identification of the eschatological high priest as yet another Melchizedek, and it might be possible to think of the remarks about him dying and being buried in Akhusan[30] where Abel was murdered, as a reference to the death of Christ in Jerusalem. I suggest that the text was in fact read that way at some point in its history, leading to the development of the next Melchizedek legend, but that such was not its original intent.

The subject of the sentence in 71:35 is not the archpriest who is the Word and Power of God in 71:34, but the subject of the previous sentence, the Melchizedek who inaugurated the lineage of priests culminating in the Word and Power of God. What is said about his death and burial, utterly unscriptural details, renders the second Melchizedek a thoroughgoing mortal, not someone who in any sense could be counted among divine or semi-divine beings.

The final mention of Melchizedek in the passage, "the head of priests reigning over the people," is also problematic. I suggest that it is simply a summary reference to the Melchizedek mentioned at the start of the pericope, but it could refer to yet another homonymous figure.

Melchizedek at Salem

The narrative about Melchizedek continues in 2 Enoch 72, or rather it reverts to the episode of Melchizedek's translation to heaven. The chapter provides details about the angelic visitation and Melchizedek's removal, but it focuses on Nir's reaction, which was one of grief, at least in the long recension.[31] When Nir passed away, there was "great confusion . . . on the earth," and the stage is set for the Deluge, and for the end of the book.

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[30] Is it possible that this place name is a deformation of the Argarizim mentioned in Pseudo-Eupolemus?

[31] The short recension's note that when Nir found that the child was gone "there was great joy and grief for Nir because he had the child in the place of a son," looks to be an

Embedded in this chapter is an account found only in the long recension, after the prediction by the angel that Melchizedek would be placed in Paradise "forever" (72:5). That passage also merits special attention. We shall call this Melch C:

> And when the twelfth generation shall come into being, and there will be one thousand and 70 years, and there will be born in that generation a righteous man. And the Lord will tell him that he should go out to that mountain where stands the ark of Noe, your brother. And he will find there another Melchizedek, who has been living there for 7 years, hiding himself from the people who sacrifice to idols, so that they might not kill him. He will bring him out, and he will be the first priest and king in the city Salim in the style of this Melchizedek, the originator of the priests. The years will be completed up to that time—3 thousand and 4 hundred and 32—from the beginning and the creation of Adam. And from that Melchizedek the priests will be 12 in number until the Igumen, that is to say, Leader, will bring out everything visible and invisible. (72:6).

Relationship of Melchizedeks A, B, and C

What are we to make of these various Melchizedeks, their relationship with each other and with the larger tradition? Let me suggest a hypothesis. The basic story of the antediluvian Melchizedek, son of Nir (Melch A), lies at the basis of the tradition and is a Jewish answer to the Christian appropriation of the figure of Melchizedek in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The story of an eschatological Melchizedek (Melch B) could have been based on a Jewish story like that of Melch A, but in its current form it exhibits traits that clearly indicate Christian allegiance. It is part of the redactional activity that makes 2 Enoch very much at home in a Christian environment. Its basic function is to reconcile the first story with Christian affirmations about the relationship between Melchizedek and Christ, while indicating that Melchizedek is definitely a human being. The last Melchizedek story (Melch C), like Melch B found only in the long recension, offers a reconciliation of the Melch A and B stories with the biblical datum that there was a Melchizedek in the time of Abraham, a priest and king of Salim (Salem). Melch C, with its use of the term Igumen, presupposes the eschatological scenario of Melch B and is, therefore, probably part of the Christian redaction of 2 Enoch.

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erroneous construal of the text found in the longer version: "And there was instead of joy very great grief, because he had no other son except this one. Thus Nir ended his life." (72:10–11).

In order to understand the tendency of the basic story, Melch A, comparison with the midrash in Hebrews is instructive. On the one hand, the Enochic account seems to contradict directly the premise of Heb 7:3, that Melchizedek was "without father, mother, or genealogy." While insisting on the fact that Melchizedek had a genealogy and was destined to start another, this legend nonetheless paradoxically affirms the first two of the epithets of Hebrews. The miraculous conception makes Nir as much a father to Melchizedek as Joseph was to Jesus.[32] Moreover, Melchizedek's birth from the mother's corpse means that Melchizedek was "motherless" both *in partu* and *post partum*, to borrow terms from the traditions about another famous virgin mother, beliefs already attested in the Marian legends of the second century.[33] This detail of the Melch A account in 2 Enoch is particularly important. Other parallels may account for the motif of a virginal (or at least extraordinary) conception, but why make the mother die before his birth? This is not a standard part of "special conception" stories. Its function, however, makes perfectly good sense as a rational way of dealing with the claim that Melchizedek was "without mother." That is a claim made only, as far as I know, by the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The collection of motifs in this first episode of the Enochic Melchizedek legend hints at the way in which this Melchizedek legend was developed. The author of this legend may well have known the New Testament and the stories that were in circulation in the second century about the birth of Christ, although other narratives of miraculous births could also have influenced his story. More importantly, this storyteller knew of the attempt by the homilist of Hebrews to connect Melchizedek and Christ and he wanted to tell an alternative tale.

Another feature of Melch A, its obsession with Melchizedek's priestly lineage may help to explain the line in Ps 110:4, "according to the order of Melchizedek." Hebrews had exploited that verse in a way that stood in some tension with its simple meaning. Perhaps playing on Platonic categories, Hebrews envisioned the "order" (*taxis*) not a succession of priests but as level of reality, "eternal" and "permanent." 2 Enoch takes the expression more literally, although the antecedent order of "priests" is somewhat

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[32] 71:2: "She conceived in her womb, but Nir the priest had not slept with her."

[33] Cf. the story of Salome the midwife and her test of Mary *post partum, Protoevangelium Jacobi*, 20.1. See J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 65. Exactly how Melchizedek exited the womb of Sopanim (2 Enoch 71:17) is as much a mystery as the birth of Jesus.

limited, with only Methusalam and Nir functioning in a priestly way in 2 Enoch. The narrative of Melch A would in effect say that the royal figure addressed in Psalm 110 is a priest "according to the order of Melchizedek" if he acts as did the priests in the ancestry of the first Melchizedek, called by God, approved by the people, offering bloody sacrifices for all the appropriate reasons.[34]

Despite the stated intent of reserving Melchizedek to continue a priestly lineage, his rapture to heaven, no doubt imitating that of Enoch, prevents the lineage from continuing in any direct physical way. The rapture of Melchizedek by an archangel, either Michael or Gabriel (2 Enoch 71:28, 72:3), also takes account of those traditions, like that of 11Q Melchizedek, that understood him to be a heavenly figure, counted among the Elim of Psalm 82. The guarantee that he would remain in Paradise "forever," offers an explanation of another element of Psalm 110:4, the promise that the addressee would be a priest "*eis ton aiôna*." The contrast with the handling of that phrase in Hebrews is again striking. The Melchizedekology of Melch A is very definitely "exaltationist." This Melchizedek is one who will be a priest forever by special divine dispensation. One could say, in the language of Heb 7:8, that "he lives." Yet he is not, like the ultimate referent of the textual symbol of Melchizedek in Hebrews, one who, as the "imprint of the very being of God," was the instrument, "through whom" God "made the aeons" (Heb 1:2–3).

There are tensions in Melch A's legend of Melchizedek. He stands in an earthly priestly lineage, which he is to continue, but he has been transported to a paradisical state, "forever." Hence, how he will continue the lineage remains obscure. Such tensions seem to arise in part at least because the author of this story is concerned to give a reading to each part of the biblical mosaic that makes up the picture of Melchizedek. Each rereading stands in tension with the thrust of another reading of those tessera, precisely the one found in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The connection of Melchizedek with a Sethian priesthood, at least in the wording of the long recension, is a two-edged sword. It anchors his priesthood in a lineage of flesh and blood, but it also suggests that there is a priestly lineage other than that of the Aaronid/Levite/Zadokite type that provided the leadership for the temple at Jerusalem in pre-Hasmonean times. Such an affirmation could serve the interests of various alternative forms of Judaism or its offshoots, including Christians and those

[34] See the description of Methusalam's priestly actions: 69:3, 4, 9, 18, 70:1.

speculative exegetes, known to us from the Nag Hammadi corpus, who saw themselves in some relationship to Seth.[35] The eternal lodging of the first Melchizedek in heaven might tell against seeing any connection with "Sethians," who traced their *genos*[36] to Seth, although Melchizedek's earthly counterpart will inaugurate some sort of lineage.

What I have labeled Melch B in 2 Enoch clearly posits two individuals, the translated, heavenly Melchizedek, son of Nir, and an earthly bearer of the same name. How they relate to one another remains a mystery. Is the earthly an apparition or incarnation of the heavenly? Is he, in Platonic fashion, a copy of a heavenly model? The text is silent. The story resolves one set of problem (How many Melchizedeks? What about the Melchizedek of Genesis 13?), but there is nothing like solutions to create more problems.

It is intriguing to entertain the possibility that this midrashist assumed a principle embedded in what appears to be his critiqued intertext, the Epistle to the Hebrews. There, the principle of heavenly model and earthly copy was invoked, in Platonic fashion (Heb 8:5; 9:11), only to be cleverly subverted by rereading the model-copy relationship temporally and finding the model not in heaven but embodied on earth (Heb 10:1–10). A similar bi-polarity seems to operate in this portion of 2 Enoch, but in a more wooden, less supple and sophisticated fashion. So, the "heavenly" Melchizedek serves as some sort of model for the earthly Melchizedek, and at the same time relates as prototype to an eschatological high priest, who is the ultimate reality on which the prototypes are based.

In Melch B an *earthly* Melchizedek, not the "heavenly" one, will inaugurate a lineage of priests that will culminate in an eschatological savior, designated the "word and power of God" (71.34). His role is not spelled out in the fashion of either 11Q Melch (liberating, atoning) or Hebrews (expiating, interceding). He will, however, perform great miracles (71:35, 37).

Despite the paucity of messianic functions, the titulature evokes ways of speaking about Christ found in early Christian circles. The "word" is certainly familiar from the Fourth Gospel, but one could also construe Hebrews to have a "word" Christology, not because of a somewhat forced Christological reading of Heb 4:12–13, but because of the focus on Christ as the effective spokesperson for God (Heb 1:2). Christ is the "power" of

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[35] See J. Turner, *Sethian Gnosticism and the Platonic Tradition* (Louvain, Paris: Peeters, 2001) and B. Pearson, *Ancient Gnosticism: Traditions and Literature* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007).

[36] Note the prominence of the term in the *Gospel of Judas*.

God in 1 Cor 1:18, but also in Hebrews he is the one who "bears all things by his powerful word" (Heb 1:3).

The legend of Melch B thus attempts to reconcile the story of Melch A with Christian affirmations. Yet the solution creates two major problems. The story is framed within the context of the conceptual geography of the rest of 2 Enoch, with Akhuzan at the center of the world. There may be an assumption that Akhuzan = Salem = Jerusalem, but that assumption is not explicit. Hence, the reconciliation would not work for a transmitter of the tale committed to the biblical data. Furthermore, as noted in setting out the legend above, the wording of the passage is ambiguous. What was designed to keep the second Melchizedek very human, his death and burial, could be understood as a reference to the Word and Power of God, which would have the consequence of making that Word and Power yet another Melchizedek.

The legend of Melch C deals with the problems occasioned by Melch B. It focuses again on the information about Melchizedek found in Genesis 14, and the encounter between Abraham and the priest-king of Salem (76:2). The midrashist has to account for this datum and the question of how the now heavenly and the later earthly Melchizedek relate. The problem also surfaced in our reflections on 11Q Melchizedek, which was too fragmentary to yield a solution, and in Hebrews, which sidestepped the problem by focusing on the biblical Melchizedek as a textual symbol of the exalted Christ. The problem became acute within the Enochic scribal tradition because of the way in which Melch B was worded, which could have been read to posit yet a third Melchizedek, the eschatological high priest. By specifying when and where the Melchizedek who inaugurated the final high priestly line lived, Melch C makes clear the identification of Melchizedek with the biblical priest of Genesis 14. Melch C also clearly distinguishes this Melchizedek from the eschatological figure, now labeled the Igumen (72:7).

What exactly the messianic figure entitled the Igumen does is unclear, but once again Hebrews may provide a clue. The term obviously comes from the Greek *hegoumenos*, "leader," a title not found in our canonical sources of Christ, although the word is applied to human leaders of Christian communities (Acts 15:22; Heb 13:7, 17, 24). While the title is not attested for Christ, the notion that he is a new Moses or Joshua, who leads his people to the promised land of the kingdom of God, is certainly found in the New Testament, and most prominently in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where Christ is the *archegos* of faith (Heb 2:10; 12:2), who leads his human brothers and sisters to heavenly glory. Although the passage

and the motifs it deploys have been related to the construct of the Gnostic "Redeemed Redeemer,"[37] the sources of the imagery are closer to hand and better attested than the hypothetical proto-Gnostic myth, namely in the Hellenistic myths of heroes who descended to Hades to rescue special departed loved ones.[38]

Whatever the sources of the imagery in Hebrews, the depiction of Christ, the great high priest, who leads his brethren behind the veil (Heb 6:19–20; 10:19) into the realm of heavenly rest (Heb 4:1), had an afterlife in Christian tradition, and in Melch C.

To summarize then, what appears to be at work in 2 Enoch begins as a critical dialogue with the interpretation of the figure of Melchizedek found in Hebrews.[39] At each point where a perceived difficulty in the biblical record prompted Hebrews to develop a midrash that enables the homilist to see Melchizedek as a figure for Christ, the composer of Melch A offers an alternative. While the interpretation of Melchizedek pointedly differed from that of Hebrews, the eschatological hope it suggested, the coming of an eschatological priest, was less defined. The scenario of Melch A could be, and was, reread by Christian tradents of 2 Enoch as a veiled prophecy of the Christ whom they knew from their canonical scriptures to be a priest in the order of Melchizedek. In order to make that work, adjustments and corrections had to be made. Hence, the portions of the legend found in the long recension of 2 Enoch that I have labeled Melch B and Melch C.

It might, of course, be possible in the abstract to stand this analysis on its head and to see in 2 Enoch a text that represents the source on which Hebrews drew. What stands against that possibility, in addition to the generally accepted dating of the texts—2 Enoch might, after all, be reliant on more ancient sources—is the process of correction and refinement

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[37] Most notably, of course, by E. Käsemann, *The Wandering People of God: An Investigation of the Letter to the Hebrews* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984; ET of *Das Wandernde Gottesvolk*).

[38] See H. W. Attridge, "Liberating Death's Captives: Reconsideration of an Early Christian Myth," in *Gnosticism and the Early Christian World: in Honor of James M. Robinson*, ed. J. E. Goehring, C. W. Hedrick, J. T. Sanders, with H. D. Betz (Sonoma, CA: Polebridge, 1990), 103–15.

[39] Not all readers of 2 Enoch would agree. See, e.g., Charles Gieschen's essay in this collection, who maintains that "It is almost certain that this narrative is not a response to the Christian use of Melchizedek, as visible in the Epistle to the Hebrews." The certainty is baffling. What his position ignores is the peculiarities of the narrative in 2 Enoch (e.g., birth from a dead mother!) that correspond in an ironic, even parodic way to the distinctive affirmations of Hebrews.

of the tradition that I think is clear in the progression from Melch A to Melch B to Melch C.

Implications for Critical Issues of 2 Enoch

If the interpretation of the segments about Melchizedek in 2 Enoch is correct, there are some implications for the overall understanding of the text that are worth making explicit.

Recensions: This analysis of the Melchizedek traditions supports the finding that the long recension is secondary to the short recension. The foundational text on Melchizedek (*Melch A*) is found in both recensions, and that text appears to be a Jewish response to the interpretation of Melchizedek in Hebrews. The two additional texts on Melchizedek (*Melch B* and *Melch C*) are found only in the long recension and are fairly transparent Christian corrections to the underlying story. At least in this portion of the text, the long recension would therefore appear to be secondary.

Dating: If the reading of *Melch A* is correct, it appears to be an attempt to offer an alternative to the story about Melchizedek told in Hebrews, a reading that takes its exegetical moves (fatherless, motherless, without genealogy) seriously, but attempts to refute them. It is possible that "refutation" is not the intent of the rereading. Instead, it might be possible to imagine a midrashist trying to correct a misreading of Hebrews that made Melchizedek a heavenly figure.[40] Although I cannot exclude the latter possibility, the scales of probability tilt for me toward to the first alternative, a Jewish response to the claims advanced in Hebrews. The figure of Melchizedek that emerges from the retelling of the story remains very much part of a lineage of priests in a traditional mode, hardly the kind of figure who might serve as a type of Christ. The rereading, especially with its creative interpretation of how Melchizedek could be "motherless" seems specifically directed *against* that of Hebrews.[41]

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[40] Discussion at the Enoch seminar suggested one possible alternative: a late antique or medieval monastic environment concerned to take the data of Hebrews seriously but to give them an interpretation that would preclude any claims to angelic or heavenly status to Melchizedek.

[41] This position obviously goes against the grain of commentary on Melchizedek in 2 Enoch. See, e.g., Charles Gieschen's comment in his paper for this conference: "It is almost certain that this narrative is not a response to the Christian use of Melchizedek, as visible in the Epistle to the Hebrews." Such a judgment simply ignores the oddities of the birth legend of Melchizedek, which have a close relationship to the claims made uniquely

If that interpretation is correct, then this portion of 2 Enoch must be dated fairly early, but not prior to the composition of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Dating that document is subject to controversy, but a dating in the last third of the first century seems to be most likely.[42] If so, at least this portion of 2 Enoch, and if the Melchizedek strand is an integral element in the text, the whole of 2 Enoch, is probably not to be dated prior to the late first century C.E. It may, however, not be dated much later than that. The midrash *Melch A*, could have been a rather rapid response to the innovative reading of the Melchizedek tradition found in Hebrews, perhaps a response by a competitive homilist in the same general cultural environment, first-century Alexandria perhaps?

Melchizedek As a Heavenly Being

A bit of the later history of Melchizedek is worth recollecting in order to set the relationship of Hebrews and 2 Enoch into a larger context. While 2 Enoch in the various stages of its story of Melchizedek resolutely portrays Melchizedek as a mortal being or beings, some of whom may have been translated to heaven, another strand of speculation on Melchizedek in Christian sources insists on the heavenly or "angelic" status of the figure. One of these portraits may reflect elements of the figure of the Igumen who made a cameo appearance in 2 Enoch 72:7.

Melchizedek the Paralemptor

Melchizedek appears prominently in the *Pistis Sophia*, a rambling reflection on the process of salvation from the third century.[43] While recognizing caveats about essentializing Gnosticism[44] and assuming a fixed pattern of religious teaching or praxis, most scholars would recognize the soteriology of the text as typically "Gnostic." It describes the process by which the inner spiritual self is returned to the realm of spirit after its

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by Hebrews. Part of the problem with Gieschen's position may be an inability to see the uniqueness of 2 Enoch's story because it is too quickly assimilated to Enochic legends, particularly in 1 Enoch.

[42] See the discussion in Attridge, *Hebrews*, 6–9.

[43] See C. Schmidt and V. MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia*, NHS 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1978).

[44] See M. A. Williams, *Rethinking "Gnosticism": An Argument for dismantling a Dubious Category* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996) and K. L. King, *What is Gnosticism?* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003).

exile in the world of material delusion, a process begun by the acquisition of "knowledge."

As part of the general scheme there is an eschatological scenario in which souls of the enlightened are gathered in some sort of intermediate realm before being restored to the realm of spirit. The process of conveying the souls to their heavenly abode is the work of a heavenly being named Melchizedek, whose title is the Paralemptor, the "conveyor." His role is described as follows:

> And when the time came of the number of Melchizedek, the great Paralemptor of Light, he came to the midst of the aeons, and to all the archons which were bound in the sphere and in the Heimarmene, and he took away what is purified of the light from all the archons of the aeons, and from all the archons of the Heimarmene, and from those of the sphere, for he took away that which agitated them . . . . And Melchizedek, the Paralemptor of the Light, purified those powers, he carried their light to the Treasure of the Light and all their matter was gathered together by the ministers of all the archons.

The description recalls perhaps the depiction of Jesus as the *archegos* in Heb 2:10, although the process of leading folk on high derives from a different mythic tradition.

Melchizedek functioning in this way parallels other heavenly beings in various "Gnostic" texts, particularly of a "Sethian" character[45] which describe ascents of the soul, perhaps ritually enacted in a baptismal or other initiatory context. A prime example would be the Trimorphic Protennoia (NHC XIII,1).

> As for me, I put all of them on—but then (ⲁⲩⲉ) I stripped them off that person, donning radiating light, that is, the knowledge of the thought of paternity.
>
> 1. I delivered him unto those who give robes—Ammōn, Elassō, (and) Amēnai, and they enrobed him with a robe of light.
> 2. (Next), I delivered him unto the baptizers, Mikheus, Mickhar, and Mnēsimous, (and) they baptized him. Then (ⲁⲩⲉ) they purified him in the fountain of the water of life.
> 3. Next, I delivered him unto those who enthrone, Bariēl, Nouthan, (and) Sabenai, (and) they enthroned him with a throne of glory.
> 4. Then, I delivered him unto those that glorify, Ēriōm, Ēlien, (and) Phariēl, (and) they glorified him with the glory of paternity.

[45] See H. Attridge, "Valentinian and Sethian Apocalyptic Traditions," in *JECS* 8 (2000): 173–211.

> 5. And those who snatch away Kamaliēl, []anēn, (and) Samblō, great holy assistants of the luminaries, snatched (him) away, taking him to a luminous place of his paternity.
>
> And he (received) the five seals through the light of the mother, Protennoia . . .[46]

One final example of this strand of speculation is found in another rather fragmentary tractate from the Nag Hammadi collection, entitled Melchizedek (NHC IX,1). Traces of the epistle to the Hebrews are manifest in Melchizedek's self-description: "For I have a name: I am [Melch]izedek, the priest of [God] Most High. I [know] that I am [the image of] the true high priest of God Most High, and . . . the world."[47]

Although the text is quite fragmentary, this heavenly Melchizedek is involved in some sort of supernal baptism (7,25–8,4; 16,11–17), has resisted inimical powers (26,1–27,3), but ultimately foreshadows Jesus Christ (1,1).

Understanding these and other Sethian texts involving heavenly ascents is complicated by their relationship to ritual practices in Christian and neo-Platonic circles of the third century.[48] I have argued elsewhere that traces of an earlier stage of these traditions about "heavenly baptism" involving the role of "angels" may be found in the problem addressed in Colossians.[49]

Sorting out these traditions is beyond the scope of this paper. The only point that I want to make here is that the figure of Melchizedek in the *Pistis Sophia* is related to the general theme of the ascent of the soul in third-century literature in one or another strand of "Gnosticism." Here too, I suspect we might hear some echoes, more remote perhaps than

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[46] *Trimorphic Protennoia* 48.11–32.

[47] *Melchizedek* 15,7–14; translation from B. Pearson, "Melchizedek," in *The Nag Hammadi Scriptures: The International Edition*, ed. M. Meyer (San Francisco: Harper One, 2007), 603.

[48] A subject on which the work of Yale doctoral student Dylan Burns will soon make some significant contributions. I am indebted to Mr. Burns for sharing with me copies of two important papers, "Auto-angelification, Apocalyptic Baptism and the Problem of Theurgic Practice in Sethian Neoplatonism," delivered at Laval University in March, 2009, and "Apophatic Strategies in *Allogenes* (NHC XI,3)," *HTR* 103 (2010): 161–179. For other important studies, see the essays in J. Turner and R. Majercik, eds., *Gnosticism and Later Platonism: Themes, Figures, and Texts* (Atlanta: SBL, 2001).

[49] H. W. Attridge, "On Becoming an Angel: Rival Baptismal Theologies at Colossae," in *Religious Propaganda and Missionary Competition in the New Testament World: Essays honoring Dieter Georgi*, ed. L. Bormann, K. Del Tredici, and A. Standhartinger, NovTSup 74 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 481–98.

in the case of 2 Enoch, to the figure to whom Melchizedek points in Hebrews. The function of the figure is very much like that attributed to the Hebrews' *archegos*. Moreover, this function is not to be found in the Melchizedek tradition in the previous literature from Jewish authors of the second temple period. Although we did find, especially in 11Q Melch, a heavenly figure with the name of Melchizedek, the eschatological functions attributed to him were at home in more traditional Jewish messianic speculation.

Other early Christian sources also know of Melchizedek as a heavenly figure. A group labeled the "Melchizedekians" thought of him as a heavenly power who came upon Jesus in his baptism.[50] Others, including Origen, were inclined to think of him as an angel.[51]

Other Christian Traditions

I have tried to follow here some strands of speculation about Melchizedek that arose in the first Christian centuries and that, in one fashion or other, seem to be related to the exegetical *tour de force* of Hebrews. Other traditions abounded and space does not permit pursuing them, including the notion of a mysterious ascetical figure, found by Abraham,[52] which underlies some interesting late medieval art.

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[50] For traditions about the "Melchizedekians" see Hippolytus, *Ref*. 7.26; Ps.-Tertullian, *Adv. Haer*. 8.2 and Epiphanius, *Pan* 55.1.2–4, as well as G. Bardy, "Melchizedek dans la tradition patristique," *RB* 35 (1926): 496–509; 36 (1927): 25–45; H. Stock, *Die sogennante Melchizedekianer mit Untersuchungen über Quellen auf Gedankengehalt und dogmengeschichtliche Entwicklung*, Forschung zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur 9/2 (Leipzig: Deichert, 1928).

[51] Origen, according to Jerome, *Ep*. 73.2.

[52] Ps.-Athanasius, *Historia de Melchisedech*, in PG 28, 1894, coll. 523–530: 528–529; *La caverne des trésors. Les deux recensions syriaques*, ed. and trans. Su-Min Ri, Turnhout 1987 (CSCO 486–487—Syr. 207–208), II, 68. And see M. Simon, "Melchisédech dans la polémique entre juifs et chrétiens et dans la légende," *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 17 (1937): 58–93 (= Recherches d'Histoire Judéo-Chretienne, Paris 1962, 101–26); S. E. Robinson, "The Apocryphal Story of Melchizedek," *JSJ* 18 (1987): 26–39; H. M. von Erffa, *Ikonologie der Genesis. Die christlichen Bildthemen aus dem Alten Testament und ihre Quellen* (München & Berlin: 1989–95), 1:277–280, 2:66–67; J. Dochhorn, "Die Historia de Melchisedech (Hist Melch)—Einführung, editorischer Vorbericht und Editiones Praeliminares," *Le Muséon* 117,1–2 (2004): 7–48. I am indebted for these references to Prof. Ludovico Gaymonet.

Summary

The mysterious figure of Melchizedek invited esoteric readings of the sparse biblical data from the late second temple period onwards. Those readings tended increasingly to find in Melchizedek a reference to some heavenly figure. The most influential early Christian reading, that of the Epistle to the Hebrews, gestures toward such interpretations, but refuses to commit to them, focusing on the semiotic function of the biblical character as a type of Christ. Resistance to that reading is found in 2 Enoch, which in turn generated a series of corrections. Other Christian tradents followed the exegesis of Hebrews in a consistent fashion and found the biblical text pointing to one or another member of the class of Elim.

"MUCH TO SAY AND HARD TO EXPLAIN" MELCHIZEDEK IN EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, THEOLOGY, AND CONTROVERSY

Pierluigi Piovanelli

Περὶ οὗ πολὺς ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος καὶ δυσερμήνευτος, "about this (or 'him') we have much to say and it is hard to explain," this was already the opinion of the unknown author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (5:11) writing about Jesus' priesthood "according to the order of Melchizedek" near the end of the first century C.E.—a statement that the Christian ascetic Mark would repeat with approval more than three centuries later in his short treatise *On Melchizedek*.[1] We must confess that, after almost one hundred and thirty years of critical inquiries, this is also our feeling. This is in spite of some excellent overviews of Melchizedek's *Nachleben* in early Christian literature, theology, and, especially, controversy, and the relatively recent discoveries of at least two major ancient texts about the "king of Salem" and "priest of God Most High," i.e., the Qumran pesher *11QMelchizedek* (11Q13), in 1956,[2] and the Nag Hammadi apocalyptic tractate *Melchizedek* (NHC IX,1), in 1945.[3] Accordingly, the main goal of the present paper will

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[1] *On Melchizedek* 7 (bis), 8. A new critical edition of this and the other nine treatises traditionally attributed to Mark has been published by G. M. de Durand, *Marc le Moine. Traités*, 2 vols., SC 445 and 455 (Paris: Cerf, 1999–2000), 2:169–223. According to O. Hesse, "Markus Eremita und seine Schrift 'De Melchisedech'," *OrChr* 51 (1967): 72–77, Mark lived in Egypt in the years 385–412, while de Durand, *Traités*, 1:34–35, prefers to locate him in a small episcopal city in Asia Minor, between approximately 400–410 and 440.

[2] For bibliographical details, see E. F. Mason's contribution to the present volume.

[3] The *editio princeps* of the Coptic text was published by B. A. Pearson and S. Giversen, "NHC IX,1: Melchizedek," in *Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X*, ed. B. A. Pearson, NHS 15 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 19–85, and subsequently reedited by W. P. Funk, J. P. Mahé and C. Gianotto, *Melchisédek (NH IX, 1). Oblation, baptême et vision dans la gnose séthienne*, BCNH, Textes 28 (Québec and Leuven: Presses de l'Université Laval and Peeters, 2001). Previous preliminary publications include translations in English by S. Giversen and B. A. Pearson, "Melchizedek (IX,1), in *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*, ed. J. M. Robinson (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1977), 438–444, and in German by H. M. Schenke, "Die jüdische Melchisedek-Gestalt als Thema in der Gnosis," in *Altes Testament—Frühjudentum—Gnosis. Neue Studien zu "Gnosis und Bibel,"* ed. K. W. Tröger (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus G. Mohn, 1980), 111–136. Also see the new translations of H. M. Schenke, "Melchisedek (NHC IX,1)," in *Nag Hammadi deutsch*, 2 vols., ed. H. G. Bethge, U. U. Kaiser and H. M. Schenke, GCS, N.F. 8 and 12 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001–03), 2:677–689; J. P. Mahé, "Melchisédek (NH IX, 1)," in *Écrits gnostiques*, ed. J. P. Mahé and P. H. Poirier, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 538

be to map the territory of early Christianity, providing an outline of modern scholarship since the end of the nineteenth century that will be followed by a panoramic view of the main Christian texts that deal, from the second century until the end of Late Antiquity,[4] with Melchizedek and/or Melchizedekian groups. In our conclusions, we will dare to suggest some hypothetical explanations for the popularity of the priest-king of Salem among early Christian authors and the Second Temple Jewish roots of this phenomenon.

The Austrian Moritz Friedländer was probably the first Western scholar to envision the key role played by such a biblical figure in the speculations that went along with the transformation of Jewish Hellenistic apocalypticism into Christian gnosticism. In a long and learned essay devoted to "The Sect of Melchizedek and the Epistle to the Hebrews," published in 1882–83, he argued that the sect of the Melchizedekians mentioned by Christian heresiologists was of Jewish (actually, "Essene"), Alexandrian, pre-Christian origins and that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews—eventually to be identified with the Alexandrian missionary Apollos (Acts 18:24–19:1)—was either a former Melchizedekian or someone acquainted with the doctrines of the sect.[5]

Obviously enough, few of today's specialists would be eager to subscribe to Friedländer's interpretation of the main second-century Gnostic heresies (Ophites, Cainites, and Sethians) as the direct heirs of those antinomian "Jewish radicals of the pre-Christian Diaspora" whose influence was, in his opinion, also perceptible in their Palestinian homeland. In spite of this, Birger A. Pearson, an expert on the intersection between Jewish apocalypticism and Christian gnosticism, states that "[a]lthough much of the detail of Friedländer's argument is open to question, he has been vindicated in his basic contention, that Gnosticism is a pre-Christian phenomenon that developed on Jewish soil."[6] If Pearson is thinking of

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(Paris: Gallimard, 2007), 1345–1373; B. A. Pearson, "Melchizedek," in *The Nag Hammadi Scriptures: The International Edition*, ed. M. Meyer et alii (New York: HarperCollins, 2007), 595–605.

[4] This means that we are not going to specifically discuss the nature and purpose of the Epistle to the Hebrews, for which one can refer to H. W. Attridge's contribution to this volume.

[5] M. Friedländer, "La secte de Melchisédec et l'Épitre aux Hébreux," *RÉJ* 5 (1882): 1–26 and 188–198; 6 (1883): 187–199; Friedländer, *Der Vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1898), 28–40.

[6] B. A. Pearson, "Friedländer Revisited: Alexandrian Judaism and Gnostic Origins," *SPhilo* 2 (1973): 23–39 (39), reprinted in Pearson, *Gnosticism, Judaism, and Egyptian Christianity*, SAC (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1990, 2006^2), 10–28 (28).

Enochic-Essene apocalypticism and those Jewish mystics who were involved in it and/or the way of "Two Powers in Heaven"[7]—on which we will say a little more in our conclusions—, such an appraisal is fully justified. Regardless, Friedländer's insightful reading of the evidence provided by the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Christian heresiologists has been, at least posthumously, vindicated by the discovery of the texts about Melchizedek at Qumran and Nag Hammadi.

In the meantime, however, Friedländer's reconstruction was severely called into question by a series of studies on patristic traditions published by Gustave Bardy, Gottfried Wuttke, and Hellmuth Stork, in 1926–28, followed by an article by Marcel Simon, in 1937.[8] In their works—which continue to provide us with exhaustive and useful overviews of early Christian and patristic testimonies on Melchizedek—those French and German scholars tended to overemphasize the debt owed by early Christian "heretics" to the Epistle to the Hebrews, as though the latter's statements about Melchizedek were the exclusive source for their unbridled speculations. If we leave aside their derogatory judgments on Gnostics and other heterodox Christian teachers (who, in any case, were all Gnostics to them), the value of Bardy, Wuttke, and Stork's contributions still lies in their selection and classification of the patristic materials. Bardy also merits praise for acknowledging that some ancient sectarian labels, such as the designation "Melchizedekians," were but a polemical invention of the heresiologists, usually Epiphanius,[9] while Simon was able to demonstrate that Christian authors from Justin Martyr to John Chrysostom made use of the figure of Melchizedek in their polemical writings against rabbinic Judaism, thus provoking the defensive reaction of the Rabbis and their subsequent dismissal of the priest-king of Salem.[10]

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[7] A phenomenon originally brought to the foreground by A. F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism*, SJLA 25 (Leiden: Brill, 1977).

[8] G. Bardy, "Melchisédech dans la tradition patristique," *RB* 35 (1926): 496–509; 36 (1927): 25–45; G. Wuttke, *Melchisedech, der Priesterkönig von Salem. Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Exegese*, BZNW 5 (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1927); H. Stork, *Historische Studien zum Hebräerbrief. II. Teil: Die sogenannten Melchisedekianer. Mit Untersuchung ihrer Quellen auf Gedankengehalt und dogmengeschichtiche Entwicklung*, Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur 8.2 (Leipzig: Deichert, 1928); M. Simon, "Melchisédech dans la polémique entre juifs et chrétiens et dans la légende," *RHPR* 17 (1937): 58–93.

[9] Bardy, "Melchisédech," 509. This is also the case for the so-called "Cainites," a Gnostic group that probably never existed as such, on which see B. A. Pearson, "Cain and the Cainites," in Pearson, *Gnosticism, Judaism, and Egyptian Christianity*, 95–107.

[10] Simon, "Melchisédech," 59–69.

Simon was also sensitive to the later development of such a Jewish Christian dialogue and he rightly perceived the perverse effects of overstressing Melchizedek's priestly prerogatives among the Christian faithful. Accordingly, he interpreted the little-known pseudo-Athanasian apocryphal *Story of Melchizedek* as a narrative attempt, written at the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century, to provide a definitive, politically correct Christian explanation for the absence of any personal data in the Genesis story (14:18–20)—"without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life" (Heb 7:3)—about the strange guy "who met Abraham as he was returning from the slaughter of the kings" (Heb 7:1).[11]

The third and last significant wave of studies on early Christian Melchizedek traditions appeared in the wake of the Qumran and Nag Hammadi discoveries. Two outstanding monographs, the first by the American Fred L. Horton Jr., in 1976, and the second by the Italian Claudio Gianotto, in 1984, represent the best syntheses of the old and the new, Jewish and Christian, "canonical" and "apocryphal," "orthodox" and "heretical" (to use perfectly subjective and anachronistic labels) available evidence.[12] What follows is an attempt to summarize and put into historical perspective the results of Horton and Gianotto's research in the fields of Christian apologetic discourse, Christian Gnostic literature, and inner-Christian debates over the figure of Melchizedek.[13]

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[11] Simon, "Melchisédech," 70–91. The first scholar to notice the relevance of this apocryphal Greek text, published for the first time in the Heidelberg edition of Athanasius' works, in 1600–01, was I. Lévy, "Légendes judéo-chrétiennes," *RÉJ* 8 (1884): 197–205 (197–199). Also see Bardy, "Melchisédech," 40–42; Wuttke, *Melchisedech*, 39–40, and below, nn. 51–60.

[12] F. L. Horton Jr., *The Melchizedek Tradition: A Critical Examination of the Sources to the Fifth Century A.D. and in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, SNTSMS 30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); C. Gianotto, *Melchisedek e la sua tipologia. Tradizioni giudaiche, cristiane e gnostiche* (*sec. II a.C.–sec. III d.C.*), Supplementi alla Rivista biblica 12 (Brescia: Paideia, 1984). Also see C. Gianotto, "Melchisedek e lo Spirito santo. Alcuni aspetti della pneumatologia eterodossa tra il III e il IV secolo," *Aug* 20 (1980): 587–593; Gianotto, "La figura di Melchisedek nelle tradizioni giudaica, cristiana e gnostica (sec. II a.C.–III d.C.)," in *Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi. Atti del 1° seminario su "Storia dell'esegesi giudaica e cristiana antica". Idice di San Lazzaro* (*Bologna*)*, 2–29 ottobre 1983*, ed. P. C. Bori and M. Pesce, Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi 1 (Bologna: Dehoniane, 1984), 137–152. B. A. Pearson, "Melchizedek in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Gnosticism," in *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible*, ed. M. E. Stone and T. A. Bergren (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1998), 176–202, provides another excellent, albeit more succinct, overview.

[13] Here we are adopting the useful thematic subdivisions that correspond to chapters 4 ("Gli sviluppi dell'interpretazione cristiana di Melchisedek," 145–169), 6 ("La letteratura gnostica," 187–235), and 7 ("Le eresie melchisedechiane," 237–261) of Gianotto, *Melchisedek*.

The Christian apologists Justin Martyr and Tertullian can be considered as the true heirs to the line of interpretation inaugurated by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Melchizedek's priesthood is, for them, the archetypal model that announces Jesus' superior dignity according to the christological prophecy of Psalm 110:4, "You are a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek," already quoted in Hebrews 7:17, 21. The priest-king of Salem has, however, become the first "priest of the uncircumcised," and the main target of Christian polemics is no longer (or exclusively) the levitical priesthood, but the ensemble of observances prescribed in the Mosaic Torah (the circumcision, the Sabbath, the purity rules . . .) and, by inference, those people who still comply with them, not (or not only) the Jews, as Simon believed, but especially Jewish Christians and/or Judaizing fellows.[14]

Interestingly enough, other second- and third-century theologians, focusing on different details of the Genesis story, developed less supersessionist views of Melchizedek's role. Thus, for Clement of Alexandria and Cyprian of Carthage the "bread and wine" that the king offers, in his role as "priest of God Most High," to Abraham before blessing him (Gen 14:18–19), are the "prototype (τύπος) of the Eucharist."[15] There is also an Arabic fragment of a commentary attributed to Hippolytus that relates the intriguing story of how God appeared to Abraham and, before announcing the birth of Isaac, ordered him to circumcise all the men of his household (a very concise summary of Genesis 17:1–22). The patriarch went with them to see Melchizedek, "the priest of El Shaddai," and told him about God's instructions. "Then, Melchizedek took a well-sharpened knife and cut the flesh of Abraham's foreskin. It was on a Friday, Nisan 13, and Abraham was ninety-nine years old. Eight days later, Abraham circumcised his son Ishmael and, in the same day, all his male servants. Likewise, he circumcised the strangers who lived in his tribe, then his own slaves and, moreover, many Canaanites" (a paraphrase of Genesis 17:23–27).[16] Then, Hippolytus adds a

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[14] Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho* 19, 33; Tertullian, *Against the Jews* 2–3; *Against Marcion* V,9. See Horton, *Melchizedek*, 88–89; Gianotto, *Melchisedek*, 145–160. Similar arguments, taken from the Epistle to the Hebrews, were episodically recycled even in later anti-Jewish polemical texts. For a Syriac example as late as, perhaps, the eight century, see A. H. Becker, "The *Discourse on Priesthood* (BL Add 18295, ff. 137b–140b): An Anti-Jewish Text on the Abrogation of the Israelite Priesthood," *JSS* 51 (2006): 85–115.

[15] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* IV,161; Cyprian of Carthage, *The Testimonies to Qurinius* I,8; *Letter 63, To Caecilius* 4. See Horton, *Melchizedek*, 89–90; Gianotto, *Melchisedek*, 162–166.

[16] Note, however, the contradiction with Genesis 17:26, "in the very same day Abraham was circumcised, and Ishmael his son."

highly significant comment, "Melchizedek and Abraham were the figures of John the Baptist and the expected Christ. As Melchizedek circumcised Abraham, thus John baptized the Christ . . ."[17] We will find, later on, the same surprising typologies of Melchizedek/John the Baptist and the bread and wine/Eucharist at work in the *Story of Melchizedek*.

The discovery of a *Melchizedek* tractate among the Coptic codices found at Nag Hammadi has significantly changed and improved our perception of the Gnostic *Gestalt* of the priest-king of Salem. Prior to its publication in 1981,[18] the only available evidence was an extremely fragmentary text discovered in the ruins of the monastery of Apa Apollo at Deir el-Bala'izah, south of Asyut (ancient Lycopolis), and some "bizarre" (at least, for Bardy) passages in the late third or fourth century Coptic compilations of the *Second Book of Jeu* and the *Pistis Sophia*.

In the case of the first text—a question-and-answer dialogue[19] between John and (most likely) the risen Christ—, the apostle asks why Melchizedek is said to be without genealogy and date of birth or death, "resembling the Son [of] God, being a priest forever" (as in Hebrews 7:3). His next question and the Savior's reply are unfortunately lost in a lacuna.[20] As for the other texts, in the *Second Book of Jeu* a heavenly being called either "Zorokothora" (an Egyptian magical name) or "Zorokothora Melchizedek" is invited to "come and bring forth" (ⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, the same verb used in the Coptic version of Genesis 14:18), first "the water of the baptism of life in one of the pitchers of wine" which the disciples have brought from Galilee,

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[17] Published by H. Achelis, *Hippolytus Werke. I.2: Kleinere exegetische und homiletische Schriften*, GCS 1.2 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897), 91–92. See Gianotto, *Melchisedek*, 160–162. On the problematic question of distinguishing between an "eastern" Hippolytus, versed in biblical exegesis, and the author of the *Refutation* (*Elenchos*) *of All Heresies*, his "Roman" homonymous, see C. Moreschini and E. Norelli, *Early Christian Greek and Latin Literature: A Literary History*, 2 vols., trans. M. J. O'Connell (Peabody, MA: Hendrikson, 2005; original Italian edition, Brescia: Morcelliana, 1995–96), 1:232–238.

[18] See above, n. 3.

[19] On the conventions of this literary genre, see A. Volgers and C. Zamagni, eds., *Erotapokriseis: Early Christian Question-and-Answer Literature in Context. Proceedings of the Utrecht Colloquium, 13–14 October 2003*, CBET 37 (Leuven: Peeters, 2004).

[20] Published by W. E. Crum, "Coptic Anecdota. I: A Gnostic Fragment," *JTS* 44 (1943): 176–179, and reedited by P. E. Kahle, *Bala'izah: Coptic Texts from Deir El-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt*, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 1:473–477. See Horton, *Melchizedek*, 131–135; Gianotto, *Melchisedek*, 187–193; B. A. Pearson, "The Figure of Melchizedek in Gnostic Literature," in Pearson, *Gnosticism, Judaism, and Egyptian Christianity*, 108–123 (109–110).

and then "the water of the baptism of fire" (chapters 45–46).[21] In the fourth book of the *Pistis Sophia*, the same Zorokothora Melchizedek is an "envoy" (πρεσβεύτης) who acts as a heavenly savior depriving the cosmic archons of the particles of light they hold in their possession and taking them to the "Treasury of Light" or, for those souls captured and, so to speak, damaged by the archons because of the sins committed in their previous lives, causing them to be reborn (chapters 139–140).[22] Finally, in the most recent parts of the *Pistis Sophia*, books I to III, Melchizedek (never called, here, "Zorokothora") has become "the great Receiver" (παραλήμπτωρ or παραλημπτής) and "Purifier of Light" who supervises the team of "receivers" in charge of the cyclic retrieval of the particles of light and, eventually, the "sealing" (σφραγίζειν, not used here in a baptismal sense) of the souls (I,25–26; II,86; III,112, 128, 131).[23]

The origins of the heavenly exaltation of this priestly figure are probably to be found in the kind of Gnostic speculations which are present in the *Melchizedek* tractate from Nag Hammadi.[24] In spite of its extremely poor state of preservation and its numerous lacunae—at least half of the text being presently lost[25]—, Jean-Pierre Mahé and Claudio Gianotto have been able, in their new edition and commentary for the *Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi*, published, in collaboration with Wolf-Peter Funk, in 2001, to tentatively identify its narrative structure.[26] Thus *Melchizedek*

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[21] Published by C. Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften in koptischer Sprache aus dem Codex Brucianus*, TU 8.1–2 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1892), 99–141, and reedited by C. Schmidt and V. MacDermot, *The Books of Jeu and the Untitled Text in the Bruce Codex*, NHS 13 (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 125–211. See Horton, *Melchizedek*, 145–147; Gianotto, *Melchisedek*, 220–223; Pearson, "The Figure of Melchizedek," 114–116.

[22] Published by C. Schmidt, *Pistis Sophia*, Coptica 2 (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel-Nordisk Forlag, 1925), 353–385, and reedited by C. Schmidt and V. MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia*, NHS 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1978), 706–771. See Horton, *Melchizedek*, 142–145; Gianotto, *Melchisedek*, 223–226; Pearson, "The Figure of Melchizedek," 116–118.

[23] Published by Schmidt, *Pistis Sophia*, 1–352, and reedited by Schmidt and MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia*, 2–705. See Horton, *Melchizedek*, 135–142; Gianotto, *Melchisedek*, 226–233; Pearson, "The Figure of Melchizedek," 118–121.

[24] See Gianotto, *Melchisedek*, 193–216; Pearson, "The Figure of Melchizedek," 110–114. As for Horton's *Melchizedek*, it does not deal with this text because it was published a few years before the tractates of Nag Hammadi Codex IX were made available.

[25] According to Pearson, "[t]his tractate comprises 1,1–27,10 of the codex, approximately 745 lines in all. […] The total number of lines completely extant is a scant 19. 467 additional lines are partially preserved. Of these 199 have been completely restored by scholarly conjecture. Thus only about 47% of the text is recoverable" (Pearson and Giversen, "NHC IX,1," 19). Mahé basically agrees on those figures and confirms that 268 lines are still incomplete (Funk, Mahé and Gianotto, *Melchisédek*, 1).

[26] Funk, Mahé and Gianotto, *Melchisédek*, 7–12.

seems to consist of three parts of unequal length followed by a brief epilogue.

The text begins with a long revelatory discourse (1,2–14,15) on the part of the angel "[Gamal]iel who was se[nt] to [raptu]re[27] the congregation (ἐκκλησία) of [the] chil[dren] of Seth" (5,18–20). The divine messenger announces to Melchizedek the coming of Jesus Christ and his earthly ministry; Jesus' teachings will provoke the wrath of Death and his fellows—"[the] Cosm[o]crator, the archons, [together with the] principalities and authorities, the female gods and the male gods, [togeth]er with the [arch] angels" (2,8–11)—and will lead to his persecution, death, burial, and resurrection (1,2–3,11). Later, someone will begin to spread false doctrines—docetic ones!—, but those to whom the "H[igh-pr]iest" Melchizedek has given "[the] perfect hope [and] the gi[fts of] life" will not be deceived (4,4–5,17). After an invocation to the superior deities belonging to the realm of light, Gamaliel reveals to Melchizedek that "Jesus Christ, the Son of God," is truly "[from the r]ace of the High-[p]rie[s]t" (5,17–6,22). In the second, shorter, and transitional part of the tractate (14,15–18,20), Melchizedek acts as the earthly "likeness" (ιⲙⲉ) of that heavenly high priest and offers himself, together with his followers, as a non-bloody "sacrifice" (προσφορά) to the Father of the All. Actually, the text seems to imply that Melchizedek, as well as the members of the elected race of Seth who are going to imitate him, are initiated to the priestly office through a baptismal ritual (16,11–16).[28] The third part of the tractate (19,2–27,6) relates a new revelation by some heavenly messengers. After three extremely damaged pages (21, 22, and 24) and one that is apparently blank (23), there is a fragment that provides a first person discourse in which the risen Christ confronts his executioners (25,1–9). On the next page, the revelation reaches its climax when the angels (?) finally take leave of Melchizedek, parting with these words, "Be [strong, O Melchiz]edek, great [High-priest] of God [Most High, for the ar]chons who [are] your [enemies made w]ar (against you);

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[27] Adopting J. D. Turner's conjecture and reading ⲉ[ⲧⲱⲣ]ⲡ, literally, "to seize," the same verb used in a similar context in *Trimorphic Protennoia* (NHC XIII,1) 48,27 (Funk, Mahé and Gianotto, *Melchisédek*, 72 and 131). Other specialists, however, have suggested ⲉ[ⲥⲱⲗⲉ]ⲡ, "to reveal" (Pearson and Giversen, "NHC IX,*1*," 50); ⲉ[ⲥⲱⲧ]ⲡ, "to choose" (W.-P. Funk); ⲉ[ϩⲱⲧ]ⲡ, "to reconcile" (R. Charron), a variety of options that perfectly illustrates the uncertainties that surround the reconstruction and interpretation of *Melchizedek*.

[28] Cf. 7,25–8,10. See J. M. Sevrin, *Le dossier baptismal séthien. Études sur la sacramentaire gnostique*, BCNH, Études 2 (Québec and Leuven: Presses de l'Université Laval and Peeters, 1986), 222–246; W. Beltz, "Melchisedek—Eine gnostische Initiationliturgie," *ZRGG* 33 (1981): 155–158; Funk, Mahé and Gianotto, *Melchisédek*, 152–154.

you have prev[ailed over them, and] they di[d] not prevail over yo[u, and you] en[d]ured an[d destro]yed your enem[ies . . .]" (26,2–9).

One of the most difficult tasks for the editors and commentators of *Melchizedek* is the reconstruction and interpretation of the few fragmentary lines that follow Christ's words on page 25, just before a new lacuna of fourteen lines that separates them from the episode of the heavenly messengers' departure on the next page. According to Pearson, in 25,9–12 Jesus is still speaking and providing details on the circumstances of his resurrection;[29] while in Hans-Martin Schenke's opinion, presently followed by the majority of specialists, these are the first words that Melchizedek pronounces upon recovering from his ecstasy.[30] What is essentially at stake here is the interplay between Melchizedek and Jesus. "The juxtaposition of the victory of Jesus Christ over his enemies on page 25 and Melchizedek's victory over his enemies on page 26 poses a fundamental question: what is the relationship between Jesus Christ and Melchizedek?"[31] On the one hand, Pearson thinks that the two "are identified in some way," the ancient priest of God Most High becoming the future incarnation of the heavenly high priest in order to carry out the final judgment against his eschatological enemies.[32] On the other hand, Mahé more prudently prefers to consider Melchizedek as "the earthly figure" of the heavenly high priest, Jesus Christ.[33] Be that as it may, Melchizedek is depicted here as the initiator of a superior form of priesthood whose main goal is the offering and salvation of the souls. In this regard, the final warrior-like aspect of the Melchizedek figure in the Nag Hammadi tractate seems to stem from the image of the eschatological avenger found in 11QMelchizedek 2:13,

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[29] Pearson and Giversen, "NHC IX,*1*," 80–83; Pearson, "Melchizedek," 605, nn. 91–93.

[30] Schenke, "Die jüdische Melchisedek-Gestalt," 127; Schenke, "Melchisedek," 2:698; J. Helderman, "Melchisedeks Wirkung. Eine traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung eines Motivkomplexes in NHC IX, 1,1–27,10 (Melchisedek)," in *The New Testament in Early Christianity—La réception des écrits néotestamentaires dans le christianisme primitive*, ed. J. M. Sevrin, BETL 86 (Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 335–362 (346); Funk, Mahé and Gianotto, *Melchisédek*, 108–109 and 159.

[31] Pearson, "Melchizedek," 597.

[32] Ibid. Also see Pearson and Giversen, "NHC IX,*1*," 28–31; Pearson, "The Figure of Melchizedek," 111–112. Pearson finds some support for such an interpretation in the identification of Enoch with the heavenly Son of Man at the end of the Book of Parables (1 Enoch 71:14); in the belief of a series of successive incarnations of Melchizedek expressed in the long recension of 2 Enoch (i.e., the Christian interpolation 71:33–37?); in the characterization of Melchizedek as an eschatological warrior in 11QMelchizedek, and finally, in the identification of Melchizedek with Jesus Christ made by some Christian ascetics in Egypt (see below, n. 49).

[33] Funk, Mahé and Gianotto, *Melchisédek*, 6 and 15–17.

while other traits clearly anticipate the image of the heavenly savior in the *Second Book of Jeu* and the *Pistis Sophia*.[34]

Melchizedek's career as a divine redeemer is, however, not limited to Christian Gnostic circles. In fact, the opposite is true. Thus, at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century, a certain Theodotus the Money-changer, disciple of the adoptionist teacher Theodotus of Byzantium, was the first to attract, probably in Rome, the attention of a heresiologist, i.e., the author of the *Refutation* (*Elenchos*) *of All Heresies*, for his heterodox opinions.

> Different questions having arisen among them (i.e., the followers of Theodotus of Byzantium), a certain one, himself called Theodotus, a money-changer by trade, attempted to say that Melchizedek is a very great power (δύναμίν τινα τὸν Μελχισεδὲκ εἶναι μεγίστην), and this one is greater than the Christ, in whose likeness, they say, the Christ happens to be. And they, like the aforementioned Theodotians, say that Jesus is a man and just like them that the Christ came down unto him (VII,36; also summarized in X,24).[35]

Additional details can also be obtained from other works ascribed to Hippolytus (such as the *Little Labyrinth*, quoted by Eusebius of Caesarea in his *Ecclesiastical History*) or written by authors (such as Pseudo-Tertullian, Philastrius of Brescia, and Epiphanius of Salamis) who made use of Hippolytus' lost *Syntagma*.[36] Epiphanius' fanciful claims about the existence of a Melchizedekian sect have been legitimately called into question since, at least, the days of Bardy.[37] In contrast, the trustworthiness of the information provided in Pseudo-Tertullian's, *Against All Heresies* 8, has been confirmed by the subsequent discovery of the much older 11QMelchizedek.

> After him (i.e., Theodotus of Byzantium), appeared another heretic (called) Theodotus, who introduced another sect; he too affirms that the Christ is merely a human being, conceived by the Holy Spirit and born of the virgin Mary, who is, nonetheless, inferior to Melchizedek because the Scripture says about the Christ, "You are a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek" (Psalm 110:4). For (he says that) this Melchizedek, by a spe-

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[34] See Gianotto, *Melchisedek*, 233–235; Funk, Mahé and Gianotto, *Melchisédek*, 163–165.

[35] Horton's translation (*Melchizedek*, 90), slightly modified.

[36] Eusebius of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History* V,28,8–12; Pseudo-Tertullian, *Against All Heresies* 8; Philastrius of Brescia, *Heresies* 24; Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion* LV,1. See Horton, *Melchizedek*, 90–101; Gianotto, *Melchisedek*, 238–254.

[37] See above, n. 9.

> cial grace, is a heavenly power, and what the Christ does for human beings, having become their intercessor and advocate (*deprecator et advocatus ipsorum factus*), Melchizedek does for the heavenly angels and powers. For he is to such a point superior to the Christ that he is "without father, without mother, without genealogy, whose beginning and end are neither understood nor understandable" (Heb 7:3).[38]

Melchizedek's eschatological role as "intercessor and advocate [...] for the heavenly angels and powers" is quite exceptional in Christian literature: it goes far beyond his priestly prerogatives and recalls the function of an apocalyptic judge—an "*elohim*," as stated by Psalm 82:1, "in midst of the *elohim*"—against "Belial and the spirits of his lot" that the "angelomorphic"[39] priest-king of Salem shall fill "at the e[nd of] the tenth [ju]bilee" according to 11QMelchizedek 2:9–12.[40] This should incite us to wonder about the possible lines of transmission that relayed such a peculiar notion from a Second Temple sectarian community to an apparently conservative and marginal(ized) Christian group.

In Hippolytus' opinion, Theodotus of Byzantium and his followers "branched off from the school of the Gnostics, Cerinthus, and Ebion" (*Refutation of All Heresies* VII,35). In light of the rather rudimentary nature of their christology, coupled with their Qumranic proclivities in regards to Melchizedek's eschatological duties, it would seem more reasonable to infer that they had been influenced by some Jewish Christian traditions ("Ebion")[41] rather than by the Christian Gnostic speculations ("Cerinthus") that we have previously mentioned. If the Judaizing (?) Athingani—a group of Melchizedekians found in Phrygia in the second half of the sixth century, who "do not dare to touch anything," apparently "keep the Sabbath, even if they do not circumcise their flesh," and indulge in astrological and magical practices—were the true heirs of the Theodotians of old, as Timothy of Constantinople and the anonymous author of a notice, *On*

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[38] Our translation.

[39] As cogently argued by C. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 216–221, who considers the Qumran depiction of Melchizedek as that of "a priest with cosmic and divine credentials" (220).

[40] A parallelism that we had already noticed in our essay, "Les figures des leaders 'qui doivent venir': Genèse et théorisation du messianisme juif à l'époque du second Temple," in *Messianismes. Variations sur une figure juive*, ed. J. C. Attias, P. Gisel and L. Kaennel, Religions en perspective 10 (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2000), 31–58 (52).

[41] In spite of the hyperskepticism of some specialists, such as S. Häkkinen, "Ebionites," in *A Companion to Second-Century Christian "Heretics"*, ed. A. Marjanen and P. Luomanen, SupVC 76 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 247–278 (252).

the Melchizedekians, the Theodotians, and the Athingani claim,[42] such a Jewish Christian connection would become even stronger.

With the doctrines of the ascetic Hierakas, who lived in Egypt at the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century, the idea of a divinized Melchizedek finds its way independently into Egyptian Greek- and/or Coptic-speaking monastic milieus. According to Epiphanius, who is our only source of information about him, from the concatenation of Romans 8:26 ("the Spirit himself intercedes for us with groanings") along with Hebrews 7:3 (Melchizedek, "made like [ἀφωμοιωμένος] the Son of God, remains a priest perpetually") and Ascension of Isaiah 9:33 (the Holy Spirit "is like [ὅμοιος] the Beloved")—a telling example of the perfectly canonical status of such a pseudepigraphon in some Christian ascetic circles—Hierakas had deduced not only that Melchizedek is similar to the Christ, but also that he should be identified with the Holy Spirit.[43] In the last quarter of the fourth century the same correlation was mentioned in Pseudo-Augustine, *Questions on the Old and the New Testament* 109, and repeated by Jerome in his *Letter 73, To Evangelus* 1, written in 398 C.E. Other supposedly heretical identifications, either with the Father or the Logos,[44] were dismissed by Christian authors as biased as Epiphanius and Mark the Hermit, who had probably misunderstood the argument of their adversaries that Melchizedek and Jesus Christ share the same divine nature.[45]

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[42] See Bardy, "Melchisédech," 37–39; Wuttke, *Melchisedech*, 35; Stork, *Melchisedekianer*, 69–71; Y. Stoyanov, *The Other God: Dualist Religions from Antiquity to the Cathar Heresy*, Yale Nota Bene (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 149–150, 241–242, 386, and 414–415. In Byzantine sources the Athingani are generally associated with the Paulicians and the Bogomils. Some scholars have occasionally identified them with the ancestors of the Gypsies, called "Atzingani" in Medieval Greek.

[43] Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion* LV,5; LVII,1–8. See Horton, *Melchizedek*, 101–105; Gianotto, "Melchisedek e lo Spirito santo;" and Gianotto, *Melchisedek*, 254–258. We ignore the possibility that some members of the group of Theodotus the Money-changer were eventually able to relocate in Egypt, but it is, in any case, doubtful that Hierakas had any contact with them, their respective christologies being too different. See J. Helderman, "Melchisedek, Melchisedekianer und die koptische Frömmigkeit," in *Actes du IVe congrès copte. Louvain-la-Neuve, 5–10 septembre 1988*, 2 vols., ed. M. Rassart-Debergh and J. Ries, Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain 41 (Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste, 1992), 402–415 (406–408).

[44] Perhaps as a result of a Philonic influence. On Philo's interpretation of Melchizedek, in general, and his identification of him with the "priestly Logos" (λόγος ἱερεύς) in *Legum allegoriae* III.79–82; see Horton, *Melchizedek*, 54–60; Gianotto, *Melchisedek*, 87–99.

[45] Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion* LV,9.11–15; Mark the Hermit, *On Melchizedek* 2. See Horton, *Melchizedek*, 105–114; Gianotto, *Melchisedek*, 259–260. Concerning the probably inaccurate information, given by Jerome in *Letter 73, To Evangelus* 2, that both Origen

Traces of discussions about Melchizedek's controversial status are perceptible in Egypt, at the beginning of the fifth century and later, especially among the monks of Scetis (present day Wadi El Natrun). It is not clear if such a passion for the biblical priest-king of Salem was due to the legacy of Gnostic speculations among "intellectual" anchorites, prior to their expulsion from Egypt by the patriarch Theophilus (385–412 C.E.), or to a Hierakite influence on their "non-intellectual" successors in the days of Cyril of Alexandria (412–444 C.E.).[46] On one hand, Theophilus' intervention is mentioned by the nine-century Nestorian bishop Thomas of Marga;[47] on the other hand, aside from what he wrote in *Glaphyra on Genesis* II,7–11, Cyril did not hesitate to pronounce at least two homilies about Melchizedek's true identity that were later sent as far as the Aksumite kingdom.[48] Such an ambiguity is captured perfectly in one of the most vivid episodes of the *Apophtegmata Patrum*, attributed to Abba Daniel, a disciple of Arsenius the Great (who died ca. 430 C.E.) at Scetis. This is the story of a charismatic man of God who believed "that Melchizedek was the son of God." In the Greek text translated below, it is Cyril who cleverly convinces him that the priest-king of Salem was but one of the

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and Didymus the Blind believed Melchizedek to be an angel, see Gianotto, *Melchisedek*, 166–169; C. Noce, "Melchisedech era un angelo? Un riesame dell'accusa di Gerolamo a Origene," *Adamantius* 9 (2003): 94–101; Noce, "Cristo gran sacerdote secondo l'ordine di Melchisedech nel Commento a Giovanni," in *Il commento a Giovanni di Origene: Il testo e i suoi contesti. Atti dell'VIII Convegno di studi del Gruppo Italiano di Ricerca su Origene e la Tradizione Alessandrina* (*Roma, 28–30 settembre 2004*), ed. E. Prinzivalli, Biblioteca di Adamantius 3 (Villa Verucchio [Rimini]: Pazzini, 2005), 449–461.

[46] As argued by H. G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of Wadi 'n Natrûn. Part 2: The History of the Monasteries of Nitria and Scetis* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Arts, 1932), 115–117, but denied by J. E. Goehring, "Hierachas of Leontopolis: The Making of a Desert Ascetic," in Goehring, *Ascetics, Society, and the Desert: Studies in Early Egyptian Monasticism*, SAC (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1999), 110–136 (125–127). Also see Gianotto, *Melchisedek*, 260–262; Helderman, "Melchisedek, Melchisedekianer," 408–412.

[47] E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Governors: The Historia Monastica of Thomas, Bishop of Margâ, A.D. 840*, 2 vols. (London: Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1893), 2:94–95. A reference to a meeting held in Scetis in order to discuss Melchizedekian issues is also made in one of the *Apophtegmata Patrum* translated by B. Ward, *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection*, Cistercian Studies Series 59 (London: Mowbray; Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1975, 2002[2]), 101 (Copres 3).

[48] Published by A. Dillmann, "Cyrilli de Melchisedec homilia prior [et] altera," in Dillmann, *Chrestomathia Aethiopica* (Leipzig: Weigel, 1866, 1941[2]), 88–98; translated by S. Euringer, "Übersetzung der Homilien des Cyrillus von Alexandrien, des Severus von Synnada und des Theodotus von Ancyra in Dillmanns 'Chrestomathia Aethiopica'," *Or* 12 (1943): 113–134 (114–127); reedited by B. M. Weischer, *Qērellos. Vol. IV,3: Traktate des Severianos von Gabala, Gregorios Thaumaturgos und Kyrillos von Alexandrien,* Äthiopistische Forschungen 7 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1970), 82–117. For a fragment of the second homily, see B. M. Weischer, "Die äthiopischen Psalmen- und Qērlosfragmente in Erevan/Armenien," *OrChr* 53 (1969): 113–158 (130–137).

"patriarchs," while in the Syriac version of the same anecdote the credit for this initiative goes to Theophilus.

> The same Abba Daniel told of another great man who dwelt in Lower Egypt, who, in his simplicity, said that Melchizedek was the son of God. When blessed Cyril, archbishop of Alexandria, was told about this he sent someone to him. Learning that the old man was a worker of miracles and that all he asked of God was revealed to him, and that it was because of his simplicity that he had given utterance to this saying, using guile the archbishop said to him, "Abba, I think that Melchizedek is the son of God, while a contrary thought says to me, no, that he is simply a man, high priest of God. Since I am thus plagued, I have sent someone to you that you may pray God to reveal to you what he is." Confident of his gift, the old man said without hesitation, "Give me three days, I will ask God about this matter and I will tell you who he is." So he withdrew and prayed to God about this question. Coming three days later he said to the blessed Cyril that Melchizedek was a man. The archbishop said to him, "How do you know, Abba?" He replied, "God has showed me all the patriarchs in such a way that each one, from Adam to Melchizedek, passed before me. Therefore be sure that it is so." Then the old man withdrew, having preached to himself that Melchizedek was a man. Then the blessed Cyril rejoiced greatly.[49]

Eventually, more so than theological discourses, new apocryphal stories proved to be the most effective means of—paraphrasing Marcel Poorthuis—abandoning Melchizedek as a disturbing heavenly intermediary.[50] The *Story of Melchizedek*, written in Greek and attributed to Athanasius, was an extremely popular late antique work that was not only translated into all of the languages (Coptic, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, and Slavonic) of the Christian Orient and incorporated into the Greek and Slavonic *Palaea Historica*,[51] but that also became

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[49] Translated by Ward, *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, 45 (Daniel 8), with minor corrections.

[50] M. Poorthuis, "Enoch and Melchizedek in Judaism and Christianity: A Study in Intermediaries," in *Saints and Role Models in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. J. Schwartz and M. Poorthuis, Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 97–120 (115). Poorthuis identifies five stages in the changing Jewish and Christian perception of the biblical priest-king of Salem: (1) "the Jewish interpretation of Melchizedek as an intermediary"; (2) "the Christian appropriation of Melchizedek"; (3) "the Jewish reaction to Christian appropriation of Melchizedek"; (4) "the Christian abandonment of Melchizedek as an intermediary"; (5) "a Jewish rehabilitation of Melchizedek" (110–119).

[51] See J. C. Haelewyck, *Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti*, Corpus Christianorum (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 64–65; A. M. Denis et alii, *Introduction à la littérature religieuse judéo-hellénistique*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 1:215–220; J. Dochhorn, "Die Historia de Melchisedech (Hist Melch). Einführung, editorischer Vorbericht und Editiones praeliminares," *Mus* 117 (2004): 7–48, who gives a list of twenty nine Greek manuscripts (17–21).

a significant source of inspiration for the topography of the Holy Land[52] and for Coptic and Byzantine iconography.[53]

According to the Pseudo-Athanasius, a certain Melchi, king of Salem, son of Salaad and grandson of queen Salem, was married to a wife also named Salem and had two sons, Melchi Jr. and Melchizedek. When the latter, "after looking into heaven," had—as did Abraham in Jubilees 12:16–18 and Apocalypse of Abraham 7:6–7—a revelation of "the only true God," the king decided to sacrifice him to his idols "in the dodecatheum" temple. Melchizedek, however, was saved by his mother and Melchi had no choice but to immolate his other son together with five hundred and sixty-three boys. When he realized what was going on, Melchizedek was so deeply shocked that he escaped to the top of Mt. Tabor, where he prayed to the Lord that all the people who assisted in the sacrifice might die. God heard him and "all the family of Melchi together with the whole city" were swallowed up and completely disappeared. At that sight, Melchizedek lost his mind and—just as Nebuchadnezzar did in Daniel 4:31–33—isolated himself in the forest. "He went about naked as from his mother's womb, and his fingernails became overgrown, and the hair on his head hung down to his loins, and his back became like the shell of a tortoise. And fruits were his nourishment, and his drink was the dew which he lapped up." Seven years later, the voice of God ordered Abraham to go up on Mt. Tabor, find the wild Melchizedek, and "shave him, and clip his nails, and clothe him, and be blessed by him." So he did and Melchizedek, three days later, anointed and blessed Abraham, to whom he also gave his new and definitive name. This is the reason why—says the Lord—Melchizedek is "without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life, but made like the Son of God, he remains a priest perpetually" (Heb 7:3). Then, when he met Abraham for the second time and gave him the wine and the bread, "he was made like the Son of God, but not in grace" and "he became the prototype of the bloodless sacrifice

[52] For the reports of Christian pilgrims, see Simon, "Melchisédech," 79–80; S. E. Robinson, "The Apocryphal Story of Melchizedek," *JSJ* 18 (1987): 26–39 (38).

[53] Recently reexamined by G. J. M. van Loon, "The Meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek and the Communion of the Apostles," in *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium: Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies, Leiden, August 27–September 2, 2000*, 2 vols., ed. M. Immerzeel and J. van der Vliet, OLA 133 (Leuven: Peeter, 2004), 2:1373–1392.

of the Savior, bringing an offering in holiness.[54] Therefore he says, 'You are a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek' " (Ps 110:4).[55]

Stephen R. Robinson has the great merit of having rescued such a fascinating text from oblivion.[56] In order to do that, however, he has perhaps put too much emphasis on the use of Jewish written sources and oral traditions[57] that were readily available, in biblical and parabiblical literature, not to mention through personal contacts and discussions, to every late antique Christian author. Actually, the *Story of Melchizedek* is a perfect example of an Old Testament pseudepigraphon which bears too many explicitly Christian signatures to be considered of Jewish origins.[58] The first part of the text is all but extolling the figure of Melchizedek at the expense of Abraham. On the contrary, its aim is simply to provide a narrative explanation for the absence of any mention of Melchizedek's family in the Hebrew Bible, for his status of king of Salem, and for his faith in God. The interlude of Melchizedek's madness prepares for the intervention of Abraham, who delivers the "man of God" from his fate and helps him to reintegrate into human society. As a consequence, Melchizedek is no longer a stranger to Abraham and, full of gratitude, is going (in this order) to bless him and, later on, to receive him with an appropriate offering of wine and bread that makes him a true priest.

Was an early version of such a charming haggadic story already in circulation at the end of the Second Temple period or in early Tannaitic times? We honestly do not know.[59] What we do know, however, is what

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[54] Robinson, however, observes that "in one of the Coptic texts, in Vassiliev's Greek edition [of the *Palaea Historica* recension], and in many of the Greek manuscripts, it is Abraham who provides the bread and wine for Melchizedek" ("The Apocryphal Story," 36).

[55] The citations are taken from Robinson's translation ("The Apocryphal Story," 28–31).

[56] Among the new projects currently in preparation, besides J. Dochhorn's critical edition of the *Story of Melchizedek* there are a German translation by C. Böttrich for the "Neue Folge" of the *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* and an English translation by P. Piovanelli for the *More Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* volumes edited by R. Bauckham and J. R. Davila.

[57] Robinson, "The Apocryphal Story," 31–36.

[58] See the provocative, but still healthy critiques expressed by J. R. Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha: Jewish, Christian, or Other?*, JSJSup 105 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), as well as our comments, "In Praise of 'The Default Position,' or Reassessing the Christian Reception of the Jewish Pseudepigraphic Heritage," *NedTT* 61 (2007): 233–250.

[59] On the phenomenon of late antique "recycling" of Second Temple Jewish pseudepigraphic and early Christian apocryphal texts and traditions, see our studies, "Le recyclage des textes apocryphes à l'heure de la petite 'mondialisation' de l'Antiquité tardive (ca. 325–451). Quelques perspectives littéraires et historiques," in *Poussières de christianisme et de judaïsme antiques. Études réunies en l'honneur de Jean-Daniel Kaestli et Éric Junod*, ed.

Simon brilliantly demonstrated more than seventy years ago, i.e. that Melchizedek's priestly acts prefigure both the Eucharist *and* the baptism and that he himself has become the ideal archetype of both the Christ *and* John the Baptist, "the most illustrious of all the anchorites."[60] This interesting modification of the perspective of the Epistle to the Hebrews was probably the price to pay in order to completely domesticate the wild and controversial figure of the priest-king of Salem bringing that strange heavenly power firmly back to earth.

"About this we have much to say"—this is certainly true and we could, effectively, have included in our overview other significant late antique and early medieval texts such as the Syriac *Cave of Treasures*, the Arabic and Ethiopic *Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan*, or the Greek *Chronicon Paschale*. "And it is (really) hard to explain"—this is also precise and conscious of the difficulty of the task we are going to try to conclude with some suggestions and more open questions.

If we leave aside the milieu that produced the Epistle to the Hebrews, the three most important early Christian groups whose theological discourses have been impacted—directly or indirectly—by Second Temple Jewish speculations about a heavenly Melchizedek, seem to have been (in chronological order) Sethian Gnostics, second generation Theodotians, and Egyptian monks in Scetis at the turn of the fifth century. As for the *Story of Melchizedek*, it is the most eloquent example of "orthodox" narrative reaction to the previous flourishing of Melchizedekian "heresies." This remark is obviously not intended to deny the influence that the Epistle to the Hebrews certainly exerted on subsequent Christian conceptualizations of the priest-king of Salem, but rather to highlight the long term effect that Second Temple religious and cultural heritage had on early Christian communities, in whose midst the functions of a typically Jewish apocalyptic figure were amplified at the expense of the role attributed to the Christ. In this connection, we could legitimately wonder about the nature of Second Temple texts and/or traditions that would

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A. Frey and R. Gounelle, Publications de l'Institut romand des sciences bibliques 5 (Prahins, C.H.: Zèbre, 2007), 277–295, and "The Reception of Early Christian Texts and Traditions in Late Antiquity Apocryphal Literature," in *The Reception and Interpretation of the Bible in Late Antiquity: Proceedings of the Montréal Colloquium in Honour of Charles Kannengiesser, 11–13 October 2006*, ed. L. DiTommaso and L. Turcescu, The Bible in Ancient Christianity 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 429–439.

[60] Simon, "Melchisédech," 76–78 and 80–81.

have produced such a dramatic and lasting effect. They are probably to be identified neither with 11QMelchisedek (a sectarian exegetical document[61] written down for inner-Qumranic purposes), nor with the legend about Melchizedek's miraculous birth found in 2 Enoch 71–72,[62] nor with Philo's allegorical interpretations.[63] Perhaps such lost, non-sectarian texts and/or traditions were about a series of apocalyptic visions granted to the priest-king of Salem prior to his final "angelomorphic" apotheosis, to be located somewhere midway between the Book of the Parables and the Nag Hammadi *Melchizedek* tractate. Those apocalyptic texts and/or traditions probably ended up in a different, non-Gnostic but perhaps Jewish Christian milieu in which they were used to establish an unusual hierarchy of the heavenly saviors.

The presence of such an apocalyptic text on the shelves of Sethian Gnostic libraries compels us to ask the next question about the possible relationship between Second Temple Jewish apocalypticism and its second- and third-century Christian Gnostic counterparts. Is there any genetic link or is it simply a matter of literary imitation? After all, Michael Kaler has recently tried to demonstrate that both the Sethian *Apocalypse of Adam* (NHC V,5) and the Valentinian (?) *Apocalypse of Paul* (NHC V,2) are but subversive and ironic Gnostic *détournements* of the clichés of the Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literary genre.[64] As for *Melchizedek*, is it a truly Sethian document or rather, if we prefer to retain Pearson's initial opinion, "a gnosticized Jewish-Christian apocalypse?"[65] Be that as it may,

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[61] Following the British sociologist B. R. Wilson, we define sectarianism as a radical rejection of the world and human societies as fundamentally evil. For the application of such a social scientific ideal type to the community of Qumran, see D. J. Chalcraft, ed., *Sectarianism in Early Judaism: Sociological Advances* (London: Equinox, 2007); E. Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*, Religion and Society 45 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2007), together with our review in *Numen* 55 (2008): 489–493.

[62] A. A. Orlov, "Melchizedek Legend of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch," *JSJ* 31 (2000): 23–38, reprinted in Orlov, *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism: Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, JSJSup 114 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 423–439, has recently argued that such a Melchizedek section is but an integral part of a "sectarian"—not from a social scientific point of view, but simply as a document produced by a Second Temple Jewish "sect"—apocalyptic work written before 70 C.E. Concerning the provenance of 2 Enoch, see C. Böttrich's rejoinder, "The Melchizedek Story of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch: A Reaction to A. Orlov," *JSJ* 32 (2001): 445–470, as well as Orlov's reply, "On the Polemical Nature of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch: A Reply to C. Böttrich," *JSJ* 34 (2003): 274–303, reprinted in Orlov, *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism*, 239–268.

[63] See above, n. 44.

[64] M. Kaler, *Flora Tells a Story: The Apocalypse of Paul and Its Contexts*, Studies in Christianity and Judaism 19 (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2008), 151–165.

[65] Pearson and Giversen, "NHC IX,*1*," 38. Later, Pearson affirmed that "[t]he tractate as a

the tenuous but still perceptible links that exist between 11QMelchisedek and the Nag Hammadi *Melchizedek* tractate seem to point in the direction of an evolutive line from an Enochic-Essenic "Two Powers in Heaven" mysticism to a Sethian Gnostic dualistic system that incorporates many insights of the Jewish Memra-Logos theology described by Daniel Boyarin.[66] Therefore, could Second Temple Melchizedekian texts and/or traditions provide at least one of the keys to unlocking the mystery of the Jewish origins of Sethian Gnosticism?

At the end of this trajectory, the fact that Egyptian monks were probably, in the fourth century and later, the owners and the readers not only of the Nag Hammadi Codices, but also of the Deir el-Bala'izah fragment of a Gnostic dialogue,[67] should encourage us to see in the late reemergence of Melchizedek speculations in Lower Egypt another sign of the everlasting vitality of the Jewish and Gnostic apocalyptic heritage.[68]

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whole is generically an apocalypse infused with Christian traditions and a strong influence from the epistle to the Hebrews, together with pre-Christian Jewish speculations on the figure of Melchizedek" ("The Figure of Melchizedek," 114). More recently, he has suggested "that *Melch.*, as we now have it, is a non-Gnostic text that has been 'Sethianized' by the addition of Sethian Gnostic interpolations and glosses" (B. A. Pearson, *Ancient Gnosticism: Traditions and Literature* [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007], 83).

66 D. Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity*, Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Boyarin, "Two Powers in Heaven: Or, the Making of a Heresy," in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel*, ed. H. Najman and J. H. Newman, JSJSup 83 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 331–370.

67 See above, n. 20. The Pachomian provenance of the Nag Hammadi library is defended, for example, by J. E. Goehring, "New Frontiers in Pachomian Studies," in Goehring, *Ascetics, Society, and the Desert*, 162–186 (173–179), or T. Orlandi, "Nag Hammadi Texts and the Coptic Literature," in *Colloque international "L'Évangile selon Thomas et les textes de Nag Hammadi"* (*Québec, 29–31 mai 2003*), ed. L. Painchaud and P. H. Poirier, BCNH, Études 8 (Québec and Leuven: Presses de l'Université Laval and Peeters, 2007), 323–334.

68 See D. Frankfurter, "The Legacy of Jewish Apocalypses in Early Christianity: Regional Trajectories," in *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity*, ed. J. C. VanderKam and W. Adler, CRINT, Section Three: Jewish Traditions in Early Christian Literature 4 (Minneapolis and Assen: Fortress Press and Van Gorcum, 1996), 129–200 (183–185).

ON ADAM, ENOCH, MELCHIZEDEK, AND EVE*

Daphna Arbel

Introduction

A number of studies have illuminated key aspects related to the figures of Adam, Enoch, and Melchizedek as depicted in 2 Enoch. Primary attention has been directed to issues such as their various roles, the relations between the representation of these figures in 2 Enoch and in other sources, their shared features as divine mediators, as well as the variety of polemic appropriations of Noachic, Mosaic, and Adamic traditions that are associated with these three figures.[1] In this paper I address a less prominent, yet highly intriguing aspect and examine the presence and significance of traditions associated with the figure of Eve that echo throughout 2 Enoch's depiction of Adam, Enoch and Melchizedek, in various degrees of clarity.

Evidently, it is impossible to link the figure of Eve with a single tradition or with a single set of cultural symbols or signifiers. Eve is a multidimensional, constructed figure and is represented by a spectrum of traditions arising in a variety of contexts and sources.[2] 2 Enoch, I suggest, subtly alludes to what could be identified as a series of distinct "Eve traditions," which are indirectly associated with the mediatorial figures of

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* I thank James Davila, the respondent of this paper at the Fifth Enoch Seminar, for his constructive observations that helped me to sharpen the focus and tighten the argument throughout this paper.

[1] On 2 Enoch see discussions and references in F. I. Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalyse of) Enoch," *OTP* 1:91–100; C. Böttrich, *Weltweisheit, Menschheitsethik, Urkult: Studien zum slavischen Henochbuch*. WUNT 2:50 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992); *Das slavishe Henochbuch*, JSHRZ V/7 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1996); G. Macaskill, *Revealed Wisdom And Inaugurated Eschatology In Ancient Judaism And Early Christianity*, JSJSup 115 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 196–227; A. Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, TSAJ 107 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 148–206; A. Rubinstein, "Observations on the Slavonic Book of Enoch," *JJS* 15 (1962): 1–21.

[2] While Adamic traditions obviously include traditions related to Eve, the latter seems to embody a distinct subject matter, which has been explored in a wide range of scholarly studies. The literature is vast. See references in K. Kvam, L. Shearing, and C. Ziegler, eds., *Eve and Adam: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Readings on Genesis and Gender* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999).

Adam, Enoch, and Melchizedek. This occurs, in particular, in the longer recension. To be clear, these so-called Eve traditions do not play a critical role in 2 Enoch. That is, they do not advance the various narrative plots in 2 Enoch and do not introduce any direct exegetical interpretations into its framework. Nonetheless, I posit that select interpretive traditions associated with Eve resonate in several narrative scenes in 2 Enoch. These representations are not random, but rather evoke intriguing intertextual connotations that, in turn, contribute to and emphasize the ideological representation of Adam, Enoch, and Melchizedek in 2 Enoch.

Before I develop my argument further, it is important to emphasize that of these allusions to Eve traditions, two sets are found only in the long recension of 2 Enoch (in 2 En 30:17, 31:4–6), while the third set of allusions appears in both the long and short recensions of the Melchizedek section (in 2 En 71). Therefore, since questions related to the priority of the short and long recension and the relationship between them are still being debated at this stage of the research, it is difficult to assert with certainty if these allusions represent original material (if the longer recension is primary), or if they represent latter additions that were integrated into 2 Enoch during the text's long transmission into Slavonic circles (if the shorter recension is primary).[3] Since the complex recensional question is beyond my expertise, I will not take a strong stand on this critical issue.[4]

Rather, at this point in the study of 2 Enoch's manuscripts and recensions, my primary aim will be to identify aspects related to the ideological

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[3] I am grateful to James Davila's important comments about the significant implications arising from this point.

[4] On the priority of the longer and shorter recensions see the valuable discussion and references in Grant Macaskill's paper for this conference: G. Macaskill, "2 Enoch: Manuscripts, Recensions, and Original Language." In this paper Macaskill argues for the priority of the short recension. The new discovery of the Coptic manuscript of 2 Enoch by Joost Hagen may support this view. It is also important to note more complicated questions related 2 Enoch's recensions, pointed out by Gabriele Boccaccini in his closing address of the fifth Enoch seminar in Naples, and paraphrased by James Davila: "We must resist the temptation to place [the short and long recensions] in binary opposition as though one is 'original' and the other 'secondary.' The truth may be far more complicated. To take just one scenario as an illustration (many more are possible) they could share a common original archetype that each has distorted in its own way. The short recension may have cut parts of the original but preserved the rest of it relatively well. The long recension may have added considerably to the archetype without any (or with much less) cutting. The result would be that the short recension is missing original material while the long recension includes both secondary and original material not in the short recension. And still more complicated scenarios are possible . . ." See J. Davila, "2 Enoch: All Your Base Are Belong To Us." Cited: Saturday, June 20, 2009. No Pages. Online: http://paleojudaica.blogspot.com/2009_06_14_archive.html.

representation of its three mediatorial figures. My purpose here is to demonstrate the intriguing effects of a subtle literary/conceptual dialogue between 2 Enoch and a variety of Eve traditions, and the manner in which 2 Enoch appeals to such traditions for the purpose of substantiating specific positions about Adam, Enoch, and Melchizedek. Accordingly, in the following discussion I will show how writers and editors of 2 Enoch, be they early or late, engaged dialogically with select Eve traditions and implicitly interwove them in their text in order to generate meaning and to reinforce specific ideological, theological stances related to its three mediatorial figures, Adam, Enoch, and Melchizedek.

I will discuss this proposition in three sections. In each section I will identify and analyze distinct and subtle themes related to Eve that seem to resonate in 2 Enoch's depiction Adam, Enoch, and Melchizedek. These include the themes of Eve's culpability for Adam's death (2 En 30:17), the corruption of Eve by the sinful Watchers (2 En 31:4–6), and Sophanima's "untainted" conception and the pure birth of Melchizedek (2 En 71). I will further examine how these themes correspond to select Eve traditions located in sources such as earlier Enochic booklets, the primary Books of Adam and Eve, and other Jewish and Christian interpretive traditions, which seem to be known in the cultural world of the writers and audience of 2 Enoch. Because of the great difficulty in dating 2 Enoch and its recensions, it is impossible to make firm claims about its direct cultural and literary contacts with other sources. Instead, I will adopt the approach suggested by Moshe Idel: "Only an attempt to collect the relevant material from the many bodies of literature can facilitate the reconstruction of early conceptions or an intellectual system not explicitly found in any of the extant texts."[5] In each section I will further consider the possible intertextual connotations and affects of these traditions, and propose various ways in which they not only intersect with but also contribute to 2 Enoch's depictions of each of the three figures. As noted above, these allusions to the Eve traditions can represent original material or later interpolations that were introduced in a Slavonic-speaking cultural context. In both cases these allusions seem to ultimately convey concerns of a specific group of writers or editors, who employed them with the aim of underscoring specific stances of the book.

[5] See M. Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," *Immanuel* 24/25 (1990): 238.

I. *Adam and Eve Traditions: Death and Loss of Glory*

Adamic traditions occupy a prominent place in 2 Enoch and are found in major sections in both the longer and shorter recensions.[6] As Andrei Orlov has argued, the extensive presence of these Adamic traditions and their significance in the greater theology of 2 Enoch suggest that they were an integral part of the original text, and not incorporated as later secondary interpolations. Furthermore, the extensive presence of Adamic materials in 2 Enoch seems polemical in nature, as it presents Enoch as the Second Adam who recovers the initial glory of the protoplast.[7]

Few explicit references to Eve can be found in this Adamic material. One such reference, significant to this investigation, is found in 2 En 30:17. Presented as part of God's first person account to Enoch about his creation of the first humans, this reference mentions the creation of Eve from Adam's rib, and makes a succinct comment about Eve's accountability for Adam's death: "And while he [Adam] was sleeping, I took from him a rib. And I created for him a wife, so that death might come [to him] by his wife."[8]

This concise mention of death brought about by Eve does not advance the account in 2 Enoch in any meaningful way, nor does it contribute to its thematic development. How, therefore, does it function in the context of the Adamic tradition in 2 Enoch? What, if anything, can be inferred about the representation of Adam?

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[6] 2 Enoch 30:8–32:2; 33:10; 41:1; 42:5; 44:1; 58:1–3; 71:28. On Adamic traditions in 2 Enoch see C. Böttrich, *Adam als Microkosmos,* Judentum und Umwelt 59 (Berlin: Peter Lang, 1995); Orlov, *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition*, 211–252.

[7] See A. Orlov, " 'Without Measure and Without Analogy': The Tradition of the Divine Body in 2 (*Slavonic*) *Enoch*," in *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism: Studies in the Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, A. Orlov, JSJSup 114 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 149–174; Orlov, "On the Polemical Nature of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch: A Reply to C. Böttrich," in *From Apocalypticism to Merkabah Mysticism*, 239–268. This view has developed earlier works of Idel and Alexander. For their views on Enoch as the second Adam see, Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," 220–240; P. Alexander, "From Son of Adam to a Second God: Transformation of the Biblical Enoch," in *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible*, ed. M. E. Stone and T. A. Bergen (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998), 111.

[8] Only in the longer recension. See Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalyse of) Enoch," *OTP* 1:152. Throughout this paper I use Andersen's English translation included in Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalyse of) Enoch," *OTP* 1:102–212. In his paper for the fifth Enoch conference Grant Macaskill has argued that the Adam septipartite traditions in chapter 30 is secondary when compared to parallel traditions preserved in Latin and Old Irish. The latter list the seven parts of Adam's constitution separately and more coherently, whereas in 2 Enoch ten elements from different versions of the tradition are secondarily shoehorned into the seven slots. See Macaskill, "2 Enoch, Manuscripts, Recensions, and Original Language." According to this view the allusions to Eve traditions in the longer recension are late.

Evidently, Eve's accountability for Adam's death is not conclusively introduced in the biblical account of Genesis 2–3.[9] However, a wide array of early Jewish and Christian interpretive traditions includes parallel traditions about Eve's liability for Adam's death.[10] For instance, Midrash Genesis Rabbah 17:8 portrays Eve as the one who "shed the blood of Adam," and "extinguished [his] soul." A famous mishnaic passage in the Palestinian Talmud likewise blames the entire sin and its consequential death on Eve: "Adam was the candle of the world . . . the blood of the world . . . and Eve caused his death" (y. *Shabbat* 2:6 8b). The author of the Gospel of Philip from Nag Hammadi expresses a similar view: "When Eve was still with Adam, death did not exist. When she was separated from him, death came into being" (68:16–24).[11] Irenaeus, the bishop of Lyons has similarly stated: "By disobeying, Eve became the cause of death for herself and for the whole human race."[12] Tertullian of Carthage, a few years later, likewise accentuated Eve's culpability in Adam's death in the famous 'gateway passage': "You destroyed so easily God's image, man. On account of your desert— that is, death—even the Son of God had to die."[13] The Greek Life of Adam and Eve (henceforth GLAE), one of the earliest extended narratives of Adam and Eve after Gen 1–5, reveals similar views.[14]

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[9] For observations regarding discrepancies between the portrayals of Eve's sin and its consequences in Genesis and in later interpretive traditions that frequently emphasize Eve's culpability for Adam's demise see M. Bal, *Lethal Love: Feminist Literary Readings of Biblical Love Stories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987); P. A. Bird, *Missing Persons and Mistaken Identities. Women and Gender in Ancient Israel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press 1997), 45–66; C. M. Carmichael, "The Paradise Myth: Interpreting Without Jewish and Christian Spectacles," in *A Walk in the Garden: Biblical Iconographical and Literary Images of Eve*, ed. P. Morris and D. Sawyer (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 47–63; T. Frymer-Kensky, *In the Wake of the Goddesses* (New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1992), 108–117; C. Meyers, *Discovering Eve: Ancient Israelite Women in Context* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); P. Trible, "A Love Story Gone Awry" in *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978), 72–143.

[10] Ben Sira's statement "From a woman sin had its beginning and because of her we all die," is often cited as the first mention of death as Eve's liability. See, for example, W. C. Trenchard, *Ben Sira's View of Women: A Literary Analysis* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982). For a different view see J. Levinson's suggestion that the whole content of this passage is about the behavior of wives and not Eve: J. R. Levison, "Is Eve to Blame? A Contextual Analysis of Sirach 25:24," *CBQ* 47:4 (1985): 617–23.

[11] B. Layton, ed., *Nag Hammadi Codex* II.2–7 (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 1:179.

[12] Irenaeus of Lyons *Adversus haereses* 3:22.

[13] Tertullian, "On the Apparel of Women" I.1,2. See discussion in P. Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 77–78.

[14] On the Books of Adam and Eve (including the Greek, Latin, Armenian, Georgian, Slavonic, and Coptic versions) see discussions and references in *Literature on Adam and Eve. Collected Essays*, ed. G. A. Anderson, M. E. Stone, and J. Tromp, SVTP 15 (Leiden: Brill

Scholars such as Michael Stone, Gary Anderson, and, recently, Andrei Orlov have amply shown that 2 Enoch and the primary Books of Adam and Eve contain corresponding traditions. Attention has been directed to the themes of Adam and Enoch's exaltation, their veneration by angels, and Satan's fall.[15] I posit that the theme of Eve's accountability for Adam's death in 2 Enoch corresponds to similar conceptions found in the GLAE, which associate this accountability with Adam's loss of God's glory. Moreover, this correspondence appends 2 Enoch specific intertextual connotations that are significant to the characterization of Adam in 2 Enoch.

While the GLAE is not primary concerned with Adam's and Eve's culpability, it nonetheless contains repeated claims about Eve's responsibility for Adam's mortality, as well as for human mortality at large.[16] For example, in his version of the primary sin, Adam recounts to his son Seth: "When God made us, me and your mother, through whom also I die . . ." (GLAE 7:1).[17] In a similar vein, Adam's first person accusation in GLAE 14:2 asserts: "O Eve, What have you done to us? You have brought great wrath upon us which is death which will rule over our entire race."[18]

It is noteworthy that for the author of the GLAE the consequence of death, for which Eve is held accountable, is associated with Adam's loss

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2000); M. de Jonge and J. Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve and Related Literature Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, GAP (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1977); M. E. Stone, *A History of the Literature of Adam and Eve,* SBL.EJL 3 (Atlanta: Scholars Press 1992). On the Greek Life of Adam and Eve see M. de Jonge, "The Literary Development of the Life of Adam and Eve", in *Literature on Adam and Eve*, 239–49; de Jonge and Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve*, 18–20, 31–35, 45–55; M. D. Johnson, "Life of Adam and Eve," *OTP*, 2:249–95; J. R. Levison, *Texts in Transition: The Greek Life of Adam and Eve*, SBL.EJL 16 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars, 2001); J. Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve in Greek: A Critical Edition*, PVTG 6 (Leiden: Brill 2005).

[15] M. E. Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the *Books of Adam and Eve*" in *Literature on Adam and Eve*, 47–48; G. Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan" in *Literature on Adam and Eve*, 10; Orlov, "On the Polemical Nature of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch."

[16] On key concerns in the GLAE see de Jonge and Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve and Related Literature*, 70–75; J. Tromp, "The Story of Our Lives: The *qz*-Text of the Life of Adam and Eve, the Apostle Paul, and the Jewish-Christian Oral Tradition Concerning Adam and Eve," *NTS* 50 (2004): 218–223. For a full discussion see 205–23; J. R. Levison, "The Primacy of Pain and Disease in the Greek Life of Adam and Eve," *ZNW* 94 (2003): 15. For a full discussion see 1–16.

[17] In this paper I use the GLAE's English translation included in the *Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve* by Anderson and Stone because of its accessibility.

[18] On Eve's culpability in the GLAE see J. R. Levison, "The Exoneration and Denigration of Eve in the Greek Life of Adam and Eve," in *Literature on Adam and Eve: Collected Essays*, 251–75 (esp. 268–9); G. Anderson, "The Culpability of Eve: From Genesis to Timothy," in *From Prophecy to Testament: The Function of the Old Testament in the New*, ed. C. A. Evans (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004), 233–251.

of God's glory. As John Levison has amply demonstrated, this view arises in several GLAE narrative units, which envision glory as associated with immortality and sees the loss of both as the tragic effects of the first sin.[19] For example, repeating a similar style and vocabulary previously exercised by Adam's statement in GLAE 14:2, a statement in GLAE 21:5 associates human mortality with the loss of God's glory and further employs Adam's voice to announce: "O wicked woman, what have you brought about among us? You estranged me from the glory of God."

Eve's narrative voice advances a similar notion. Linking the effect of death with the loss of God's glory she confesses: "But when your father came, I spoke to him illicit words, which caused us to descend (κατήγαγον) from enormous glory" (GLAE 21:2). As Levison has further elucidated, the verb κατάγειν, which was adopted in antiquity to express various descents, was most typically associated with a descent to the grave.[20] Moreover, this verb was used to convey these connotations later in the narrative, in Adam's burial scene.[21] The GLAE therefore represents a tradition according to which Eve is blamed for having brought about the notion of death that is closely linked with the loss of the glory of God.

These connotations, namely Eve's responsibility for both Adam's death and the estrangement from God's glory, seem to resonate, subtly, in 2 Enoch 30:17. As noted above, scholars have demonstrated that 2 Enoch transfers Adam's former qualities to Enoch, portraying him as a second Adam. This is manifested especially in the depiction of Enoch's luminous metamorphosis in 2 Enoch 22, which presents him as one who regains Adam's lost splendor.[22] Yet, the loss of Adam's glory is not narrated specifically in the context of 2 Enoch. This is notable in light of other pseudepigraphic accounts that provide specific details about this key event. For instance, Moshe Idel has shown how the Armenian text known as *The*

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[19] J. R. Levison, "Adam and Eve in Romans 1.18–25 and the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*," *NTS* 50 (2004): 527–530. For a full discussion see 519–534.

[20] Levison, "Adam and Eve in Romans," 529. For a discussion of shared theological views between the GLAE and Irenaues, Tertullian, and Theophilus of Antioch see M. de Jonge, "The Christian Origin of the Greek Life of Adam and Eve", in *Literature on Adam and Eve: Collected Essays*, 347–63 (esp. 363).

[21] Compare scene of Adam's burial in GLAE 39.1–3. See discussion in Levison, "Adam and Eve in Romans," 529.

[22] On Enoch's transformation attested in 2 Enoch 22 see Idel, "Enoch is Metatron," 220–240; P. Alexander, "3 (Hebrew Apocalypse of) Enoch," *OTP* 1:248; A. Orlov, "Ex 33 on God's Face: A Lesson from the Enochic Tradition," *SBL Seminar Papers 39, Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting 2000* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 130–147; Orlov, "On the Polemical Nature," 278–280.

Words of Adam and Seth describes how Adam was "stripped of the divine light," which, in turn, Enoch inherited when he "was found worthy of divine glory."[23] In comparison, all passages that relate to Adam in 2 Enoch do not mention this event directly, even though they include references to Enoch's luminous metamorphosis and his recovery of his lost glory.

It seems plausible that the reference to Adam's death brought by Eve in 2 Enoch 31:13 evokes the notion of Adam's loss of glory, represented in traditions such as the GLAE examined above. This reference indirectly points to the dramatic development of Adam's loss of the glory of God in 2 Enoch, and thus further support polemical tendencies taking place in 2 Enoch. In other words, it appears that the reference to Eve's responsibility for Adam's death in 2 Enoch 30:17 is more than a value-neutral detail. Ultimately, it alludes to a crucial event, not narrated directly in 2 Enoch, in which Adam's former immortal glory was exchanged for human mortality. Furthermore, this reference to Eve's accountability makes some indirect claims about Adam's nature and standing. It appears to contribute to his characterization as a fallen figure who has lost his previous glory to Enoch and thus further supports the polemical tendencies in 2 Enoch.

II. *Enoch and Eve Traditions: Primary Sins of Angels and Humans*

An additional intriguing reference to Eve is found in the short passage in the long recension of 2 Enoch 31. Like her previous mention, this reference is presented through God's first person voice and reveals to Enoch details about the fall of Adam through Satan.[24] The reference is laconic and arises in the context of God's description of Eve's corruption by Satan/Satanail in paradise:

> The devil is of the lowest places. And he will become a demon, because he fled from heaven; Sotona, because his name is Satanail. In this way he became different from the angels. His nature did not change (but) his thought did, since he consciousness of righteousness and sinful things changed. And he became aware of his condemnation and of the sin he sinned previously.

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[23] See "The Words of Adam and Seth," in M. E. Stone, *Armenian Apocrypha Relating to the Patriarchs and Prophets* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1982), 12–13.

[24] On this theme see G. Anderson, "The Exaltation of Adam and the Fall of Satan," *JJTP* 6 (1997): 105–134; M. Stone, "The Fall of Satan and Adam's Penance: Three Notes on the Books of Adam and Eve," *JTS* 44 (1993): 153–155.

> And that is why he thought up the scheme against Adam. In such a form he entered paradise, and corrupted Eve (31: 4–6).[25]

Several dimensions of this sparse description are relevant to our examination. First, interweaving themes from both Adamic and Enochic traditions,[26] the passage seems to cast the figure of Satan/Satanail in the traditional role of Shemihazah and Asael, the well-known leaders of the Watchers, fallen angels described in the Book of the Watchers (henceforth BW).[27] It refers to Satan's celestial origin, former angelic status, his transgression and changed nature, his sinful plot against Adam and his corruption of the fist human woman. This depiction of Satan is developed earlier in chapters seven and eighteen and employs several themes related to the Adamic Fall of Satan tradition. Specifically, it employs themes rooted in

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[25] In the long recension. See Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," *OTP*, 1:154.

As Grant Macaskill has demonstrated, the episode in 31:3–8, which includes Satan's corruption of Eve, arguably contains two puns that only work in Slavonic. See his paper for the fifth Enoch conference, Macaskill, "2 Enoch, Manuscripts, Recensions, and Original Language." In his response to this paper, James Davila has added that the figure of Satanail is not found elsewhere in 2 Enoch except in long recension 18:3 and 29:3. He is not known outside the Slavonic tradition and this name is not preserved in Jewish or Christian literature from the Second Temple to Byzantine periods, somewhere in which 2 Enoch originated. Thus there is reason to suspect that this tradition about Eve is late, perhaps originating only in Slavonic-speaking circles.

[26] Among the etiologies of sin that were prevalent in the apocalyptic literature the two Adamic and Enochic differ in their perspectives, as John J. Collins and Michael Stone, among others, have demonstrated. Where Adamic traditions link the origin of evil to the human actions of Adam and Eve, as described in the Genesis account and later expansions (esp. 2 Baruch; 4 Ezra), the Enochic traditions trace the source of evil to the sins of the fallen angels, as depicted in the Book of the Watchers. See J. J. Collins, *Seers, Sybils, and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 292–98. M. Stone, "The Axis of History at Qumran," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and The Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. E. Chazon and M. E. Stone, STDJ 31 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 133–149.

[27] On the Book of the Watchers, commonly dated to the third or early second century B.C.E. see J. C. VanderKam, "1 Enoch, Enochic Motifs, and Enoch in Early Christian Literature," in *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity*, ed. J. C. VanderKam and W. Adler (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 84–87. For recent comprehensive examinations of the composite literary history of the BW, its various units, multiple traditions, and content see L. T. Stuckenbruck, "The Origins of Evil in Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition: The Interpretation of Genesis 6:1–4 in the Second and Third Centuries BCE," in *In The Fall of the Angels,* ed. C. Auffarth and L. T. Stuckenbruck (Leiden: Brill 2004), 87–118 (esp. 99–104); A. T. Wright, *The Origin of Evil Spirits: The Reception of Genesis 6:1–4 in Early Jewish Literature*, WUNT 2/198 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 11–95. For the reception of the BW and its complex widespread impact on Jewish and Christian sources see A. Y. Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005). A discussion of the Book of the Watchers and its author and audience can be found at 24–83.

the Primary Books of Adam and Eve, as well as themes related to the Enochic fall of the Watchers tradition from BW, to discuss Satanail and the punished angels.[28]

Accordingly, chapter seven seems to refer to Satanail as the prince of the rebellious angels, "who did not obey the Lord's commandments, but of their own will plotted together and turned away" (7:3) and thus are kept as prisoners. In a more direct way chapter eighteen depicts Satanail as the leader of fallen angels, the "Grigori, who turned aside from the Lord, 200 myriad together with their prince Satanai. And similar to them are those who went down as prisoners in their train who are in the second heaven, imprisoned in great darkness" (18:7–8). These descriptions provide explicit details about the sins of the angels, their places of punishment in the second and fifth heavens, as well as about Enoch's encounters with them during his celestial journey, and his commission to intercede on their behalf in front of God.[29]

The second notable feature in 2 Enoch 31, quoted above, is how it evokes the tradition of Eve's transgression and links it to her corruption by a satanic fallen angel, Satanail. Evidently, the description does not provide details about the nature of the corruption, or about the active transgression of Eve, who, according to an array of interpretive traditions, typically signifies the sins of humanity.[30] Yet, the laconic reference to Satanail who "entered paradise and corrupted Eve," appears to allude to a tradition that conflates the Genesis tradition of Eve's primary sin in the garden of Eden, found in Genesis 3, with traditions about the primeval sins of the Watchers and their leader, found particularly in the BW. Here, in 2 Enoch 31, the forbidden fruit, the tempting serpent, and Eve's transgression of God's

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[28] There are conflicting views regarding the fallen angels tradition, its origin and context. See, for instance, P. D. Hanson, "Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in *1 Enoch* 6–11," *JBL* 96 (1977): 195–233; P. Grelot, "La legende d'Henoch dans les Apocryphes et dans le Bible," *Recherches de science religieuse* 46 (1958): 5–26; G. Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth in*1 Enoch* 6–11," *JBL* 96 (1977): 195–233; D. Suter, "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in *1 Enoch* 6–16," *HUCA* 50 (1979): 115–35; J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1984), 127.

[29] On the angels on the second and fifth heavens see Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 102–4.

[30] There are numerous Jewish and Christian representations of this view, including Tertullian's famous statement regarding Eve/Women as the Devil gateway ("On the Apparel of Women," I.1,2). See an additional array of references to this view in J. L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible as It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 100–102; Kvam, Shearing, and Ziegler, eds., *Eve and Adam*, 41–155.

command, are all missing from the description. Instead, Eve's sin is associated with the evil fallen angel who corrupted her.

In light of the strong impact of the Watcher tradition on 2 Enoch, and the specific previous reference to the sexual sins of the Watchers in chapter 18 it is possible, albeit not certain, to assume that the reference to the corruption of Eve by Satalail in 2 En 31:6 is reminiscent of the sexual corruption of women by the fallen angels and their leaders, as recounted in the Shemihazah material in the BW.[31] For our discussion, however, the exact nature of the corruption is less significant than the perception of Eve's transgression as closely connected to the transgression of the fallen angel Satanail. This tradition is clearly not rooted in Genesis. Yet, it is not attested uniquely only in 2 Enoch. Rather, parallel accounts within various texts of formative Judaism and Christianity include similar traditions, which present the figure of Eve not as having been tempted by the serpent to disobey God's command, but as having been tempted by an evil angel.

One example is the Similitudes of Enoch, (1 En 37–71), which is considered by many scholars to be a Jewish work from the early centuries C.E.[32] This work presents Gadreel, one of the fallen angels, as the one who led Eve to sin.[33] Here, unlike the BW, this fallen angel is accountable not for corrupting human women in general, but for leading Eve astray. Accordingly, 1 En 69:4–14 reads: "And the third [fallen angel] was Gadreel: he showed the children of men all the blows of death, and he led astray Eve, and he showed the shield and the coat of mail, and the sword for battle, and all the weapons of death to the children of men . . ." Here too the description does not specify how this fallen angel misleads Eve. Yet, similar to 2 En 31:6, it seems reasonable to assume that this description in 1 En 69 alludes to the Shemihazah material, including its references to the illicit lust of the Watchers and their sexual corruption of human women. Once again, in the context of this investigation the specific nature of Eve's temptation is less meaningful than the presentation of Eve's transgression as closely connected the sins of the fallen angel Gadreel.

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[31] On the sexual corruption of women by the fallen angels and their leaders, as recounted in the Shemihazah material in the BW see G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch I: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 176.

[32] E. Isaac, "1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch," *OTP*, 1:7. On the Similitudes of Enoch see discussion and references in J. R. Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha: Jewish, Christian, or Other?*, JSJSup 105 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 132–37. As has been noted, Gadreel's teaching alludes to that of Asael in 1 Enoch 8:1–2. See Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 114–116.

[33] See Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 114–16.

Several primary Adam and Eve books likewise merge of the figure of Satan with a figure of a wicked fallen angel who initiates the primary human transgression and led Eve astray.[34] For example, in its account of the primary sin, GLAE 17:1–2 compellingly describes how Satan adopts an angelic persona as he first speaks to Eve as follows: "And instantly he [the serpent/Satan] hung himself from the wall of paradise, and when the angels ascended to worship God, then Satan appeared in the form of an angel and sang hymns like the angels. And he bent over the wall and I saw him, like an angel. And he said to me: 'Are you Eve?' And I said to him, 'I am.' " The repeated mention of Satan's angelic character in this passage stresses that he not only looks like an angel, but also plays the typical liturgical role of angels as he chants angelic hymns.[35] Given that this description highlights both the angelic appearance and actions of Satan, it leads to Eve's observation: "I saw him [Satan] like an angel," implying, reminiscent of BW, that Eve was seduced to sin not by the serpent but by a satanic wicked angel.

In a similar vein, both the Latin Vita of Adam and Eve 9:1–5 and the GLAE 29:12–13 describe how Satan, in his angelic persona, tempts Eve to stop her thirty-seven days of penitence in the waters of the Tigris river, and to get out of the water.[36] Emphasizing the angelic semblance of Satan,

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[34] On the identification of Satan with the figure of a fallen angel see B. J. Bamberger, *Fallen Angels*: The *Soldiers of Satan's Realm* (*Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America*, 2006), 35–37. As James Davila has suggested, 2 Corinthians 11also seems to link Eve with the figure of Satan. Accordingly, 2 Cor 11:3 describes how the serpent deceived Eve by his cunning: "But I am afraid that as the serpent deceived Eve by its cunning, your thoughts will be led astray from a sincere and pure devotion to Christ." A few verses later 2 Cor 11: 13–14 explains the duplicity of Paul's apostle opponents by asserting that even Satan disguises himself as an angel of light: "For such boasters are false apostles, deceitful workers, disguising themselves as apostles of Christ. And no wonder! Even Satan disguises himself as an angel of light." The close proximity of the verses in the same chapter may have contributed to the identification of the deceptive serpent with the deceiver Satan. As Davila, in his response to this paper at the fifth Enoch Seminar, has proposed, this identification between Satan and Eve, which is found also in GLAE 29:12–13; 33 and LLAE 16, and, may be inspired by a midrashic reading of 2 Corinthians 11 and may even inform 2 En 31:4–6, which emphasizes that it was not Satanail's nature that changed, but his inner disposition, thus implying indirectly that his corruption of Eve came in the apparent form of a legitimate angel. The characterization of the serpent as Satan may have also been prompted or inspired by mythical elements embedded in Isaiah 14: 12–15 and Ezekiel 28:12–19 and by exegetical traditions of these sources. See H. A. Kelly, *Satan: A Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 191–196.

[35] See S. Piñero, "Angels and Demons in the Greek Life of Adam and Eve," *JSJ* 24 (1993): 196. For a full discussion see 191–214.

[36] On the penitence of Eve and her second temptation see de Jonge and Tromp, *The Life of Adam and Eve*, 19, 50. Compare the penitence narrative in the Armenian and Georgian

GLAE 29 presents Eve's testament regarding this event as follows: "But the Devil, not finding a place with respect to Adam, came to the Tigris river to me. And assuming the form of an angel he stood before me weeping and his tears flowed upon the ground. And he said to me, 'Come forth from the water and cease your crying, for God has heard your request because even we, the angels, and all things made by him, have beseeched God on your behalf.' And when he said these things, the enemy deceived me a second time. And I came out of the water."[37] Echoes of a similar tradition, which merges the themes of Eve's transgression and the fallen angels' sin is also found in later sources.[38]

Thus far we have seen that 2 En 31:4–6 employs a known tradition that integrates strands from both Adamic and Enochic sources to characterize Satan as a fallen angel. Moreover, 2 En 31:4–6 also alludes to a tradition which associates the primary transgressions of Eve—the paradigmatic sinner of the Adamic tradition—with the primeval sins of the fallen Watchers. But how does this allusion function in the context of 2 Enoch? Its significance, I suggest, may be elucidated by examining the role that Enoch plays in this context, particularly given 2 Enoch's tendency to prioritize the figure of Enoch, and to use the references to the Watchers' sin as an opportunity to elevate the righteous Enoch who intervene for their behalf.

In her study of the fallen angels traditions Annette Yoshiko Reed has suggested that, parallel to depictions in 1 Enoch, passages in 2 Enoch emphasize the theme of the sinful Watchers in order to elevate Enoch, the one who visits their otherworldly places of punishments and is commissioned to intercede on their behalf in front of God.[39]

This tendency is manifested in several scenes. For example, drawing on1 Enoch, 2 En 7 describes Enoch's celestial journey during which he encounters the fallen Watchers in their place of punishment in the second heaven. Enoch refuses their plea to intercede on their behalf explaining: "Who am I, a mortal, that I should pray for angels" (7:5). Later, chapter 18 describes Enoch's encounter with the sinful Watchers in the fifth heaven,

versions of the Books of Adam and Eve. As Gary Anderson has demonstrated, these versions preserve more clearly than others the exegetical motifs from what was presumably the earliest form of the text: G. Anderson "The Penitence Narrative in the Life of Adam and Eve," *HUCA* 63 (1992): 1–38.

[37] Compare LLAE 9: 1–5.

[38] See discussion in section III of this paper.

[39] Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 103–104.

when he assures them that he has prayed for them and encourages them to join the heavenly liturgy (18:8–9). As Reed proposes, "this marks a key moment in Enoch's own transformation from a human being, who sees himself as categorically subordinate even to sinful angels, to a human who can petition God on behalf on the angels to an angel himself," a superior celestial being, exalted above the angelic world as described in 2 En 19:17–19. [40]

However, in light of our previous examination of conflated human/angelic sins, it is important to note that Enoch subtly emerges here as a figure who can mediate and appeal to God not only for the angelic sins but also, in a roundabout way, for the paradigmatic human sins of Eve and, through her, of Adam. This aspect may be connected to the designation of Enoch in 2 En 64:5, "the one who carried away the sin of humankind." Because of the grammatical structure and verb tenses of several terms (i.e. "carried away" rather than "carries away" and the generic reference to "mankind" in the longer recension), Orlov has argued that Enoch's redeeming functions are not related to his intercession for the sins of the fallen angels or of other people. Rather they pertain to the sin of Adam, which Enoch "carried away" and restored by his righteousness and transformation.[41] From a different perspective, I suggest that this designation of Enoch as "one who carried away the sin of humankind" may be related to his function as a mediating figure who, in addition to his plea for the primeval angelic sins, intercedes before God for the primeval human sins, characteristically signified by Eve and consequently shared by Adam.

As noted, the allusion to Eve in 2 En 31:6 seems to employ a cultural discourse that harmonizes Eve and the fallen angels' transgressions. Like the previous example, this allusion does not seem value neutral, but rather seems to indirectly strengthen the portrayal of Enoch's elevated position, providing another example of his superiority and unique position. This, I post, contributes to the polemic aims of 2 Enoch and its attempts to prioritize Enoch.

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[40] Reed, *Fallen Angels*, 104.

[41] Orlov, "On The Polemical Nature Of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch," 229–302. Compare Böttrich's view that this designation of Enoch reflects future expectation of the "elders of the people": Böttrich, *Weltweisheit, Menschheitsethik, Urkult*, 194–95; Böttrich, "The Melchizedek Story of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch: A Reaction to A. Orlov," *JJS* 32/4 (2001): 457 n. 55. Compare Martha Himmelfarb's view that the designation of Enoch as "the one who carried away the sin of mankind" expresses one of his priestly functions: M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 40–41.

III. *Melchizedek and Eve Traditions: Inverted Notions of Sin*

The section about Melchizedek, the legendary priest of God Most High, is included at the end of 2 Enoch (chapters 69–73), in what seem to be separate midrashim about Enoch's descendant Methuselah, Nir, and Melchizedek.[42] On one level, the section introduces a straightforward account about Melchizedek, which does not include any explicit and recognizable reference to Eve. On another level, I propose, a careful reading suggests that the enigmatic account of Sopanima's conception and the birth of her son Melchizedek (2 En 71) not only alludes to, but, in so doing, also inverts several interrelated traditions of sin associated with Eve. In turn, these inverted allusions contribute to the characterization of Melchizedek, make subtle statements about his purity, and indirectly affirm his supreme standing. In what follows I will examine this suggestion further.

2 Enoch 71 includes an enigmatic account about the wondrous child Melchizedek, who was miraculously born to Sopanima at an old age, without a male partner. Taken by surprise, Sopanima's husband, the priest Nir, Noah's brother, was both distressed and disgraced. He attempted to reject his wife, but she unexpectedly died at his feet and Melchizedek was born from her corpse. The child Melchizedek was fully developed at birth, he "spoke with his lips and blessed the Lord," and was "marked by the sign of priesthood on his chest" (71:19). Melchizedek was then made a priest by Nir and Noah, and was later taken to the Garden of Eden ("Edem") by the archangel Michael (in the longer recension), or Gabriel (in the shorter recension) so that he might become the high priest after the flood.[43]

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[42] On Melchizedek traditions see Böttrich, "The Melchizedek Story of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch," 445–70; J. Davila, "Melchizedek, Michael, and War in Heaven," *SBLSP* 35 (1996): 259–72; Davila, "Melchizedek: King, Priest, and God" in *The Seductiveness of Jewish Myth: Challenge or Response?,* ed. S. Daniel Breslauer (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997), 217–34; M. Delcor, "Melchizedek from Genesis to the Qumran texts and the Epistle to the Hebrews," *JSJ* 2 (1971): 115–35; F. L. Horton, *The Melchizedek Tradition: A Critical Examination of the Sources to the Fifth Century A.D. and in the Epistle to the Hebrews,* SNTSMS 30 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976); I. Gruenwald, "The Messianic Image of Melchizedek," *Mahanayim* 124 (1970): 88–98 (Hebrew); J. A. Fitzmyer, "Further Light on Melchizedek from Qumran Cave 11," JBL 84 (1967): 25–41; A. Orlov, "Melchizedek Legend of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch," *JSJ* 31 (2000): 23–38. While for a long time the Melchizedek section was considered to be an interpolated appendix to the original corpus, most scholars today agree that this material belongs to the original 2 Enoch, as all its manuscripts demonstrate.

[43] Compare the long and short recensions: the longer emphasizes the priestly character of Melchizedek's later role; the shorter suggests that Melchizedek would establish a new "people who will sanctify" the Lord.

Among the many unclear themes that arise in this depiction, two key notions will be considered here: the significance of Sopanima's "untainted" conception, and the remarkable features related to the child Melchizedek. Many scholars have demonstrated that this birth account integrates select themes found in standardized birth stories of significant figures in Biblical, Jewish, Greco-Roman, and Christian sources.[44] In addition, I suggest, the account seems to both respond to and invert distinct Eve traditions found in several early Jewish and Christian exegetical sources. These traditions—related to Eve's sin, her sexual encounter with Satan, and the birth of her evil son Cain—appear in a wide number of sources in antiquity, as James Kugel has shown.[45] Since the scope of this paper does not allow an exhaustive investigation, I will restrict myself to what I identify to be the most significant examples.

One notable case in point is the modification of Genesis 3 in GLAE 19.3. This scene describes how the serpent/Satan placed its "poison of wickedness" in the fruit that Eve ate, and further identifies this poison as desire—ἐπιθυμία—which is ultimately declared as the origin of every sin. Presented through Eve's narrative voice, the text reads: "And when he [Satan] had received the oath from me, he came and entered and placed upon the fruit the poison of his wickedness—which is (the sense of) desire, for it is the beginning of every sin—and he bent the branch on the earth and I took of the fruit and I ate" (19:3).[46] Evidently, this short passage does overtly describe sexual relations between Eve and Satan. Nonetheless it seems to eroticize Eve's transgression by linking it directly with Satan's lust—ἐπιθυμία.[47] Other sources include more explicit assertions

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[44] See B. A. Bow "Melchizedek's Birth Narrative in *2 Enoch* 68–73: Christian Correlations," in *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*, ed. R. A. Argall, B. A. Bow, and R. A. Werline (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2000), 33–41 (esp. 35–37). On Melchizedek's conception and birth and the Noah story in 1 Enoch see 1 Enoch 106:5. Compare 1 QapGen 5:12–13, 1 Q19 3 Apocryphon. See discussion in G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), 185–188 (esp. 188); Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalyse of) Enoch," *OTP*, 1:97, 204; A. Rubinstein, "Observations on the Slavonic Book of Enoch," *JJS* 15 (1962): 8.

[45] Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, 94–101, 146–8, and 157–8.

[46] Compare GLAE 25:4: "And on this account, from your own words I will judge you, by reason of the enmity which the enemy has planted in you. And you shall return again to your husband and he will rule over you."

[47] The sinful sexual aspects of Eve's sin are further insinuated by God's accusing sentence in GLAE 25.3: "But you shall confess and say: 'Lord, Lord, save me, and I will turn no more to the sin of the flesh.' But even another time you shall so turn." On the sexual aspect of Eve's sin in the GLAE sin see Levison, *Portraits of Adam*, 169. It is possible, as James

about illicit sexual relations between Eve and Satan, and further describe the birth of the evil Cain as a result of this union. For example, Tertullian of Carthage portrays Cain as the illicit offspring of Satan and Eve, as follows: "Having been made pregnant by the seed of the Devil . . . she brought forth a son."[48] *Yebamoth* 103b similarly highlights the notion of lust in its description of how, through a sexual intercourse with Eve, the serpent implanted his lust in her: "For R. Johanan stated: When the serpent copulated with Eve, he infused her with lust. The lust of the Israelites who stood at Mount Sinai, came to an end, the lust of the idolaters who did not stand at Mount Sinai did not come to an end."[49] *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* preserves an additional interpretive element, which explains Eve's cryptic words in Genesis 4:1—"I have begotten a man with the lord"—by emphasizing the unlawful sexual encounter between Eve and Satan (Samael). This resulted in the birth of Cain, seen also as "the [sinful] angel of the Lord": "And Adam knew Eve his wife, who had desired the angel; and she conceived from Samael, the angel of the Lord, and bore Cain; and she said: 'I have acquired a man, the angel of the Lord.' "[50] A tradition found in the later text *Pirqei de R. Eliezer* 21 conveys a similar notion regarding Cain's mixed origin and mixed human and superhuman nature, which

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Davila has suggested, that the references to "desire" and the "sins of the flesh" in GLAE 25:3 could be adequately explained by the eating of the fruit itself. I am more convinced by Levison's reading that associates the description of the sin with elements of desire or covetousness. Especially in light of BW 6:2, which diverges from Gen 6 by presenting the sin of the angels as related to sexual lust and desire as George Nickelsburg has succinctly elucidated: ". . . the most significant addition to Gen 6.2 in the Book of the Watchers 6.2 is the clause 'and they desire them.' The verb ἐπιθυμεῖν seems to have the derogative meaning 'to lust after.' Since this desire and its fulfillment are outlawed, as the content indicates, the use of the verb introduces the motif of sin." See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch I*, 176. As Nickelsburg has elucidated further, it is the fallen angels' intercourse with women that renders them unclean. It seems to me that the concise report of Eve's sin in GLAE 19.3 betrays distinct thematic and verbal affinities with this earlier Enochic portrayal of the lustful angels that is found in BW. On Jewish and Christian interpretations of Adam and Eve's sexual life in the Garden of Eden see further G. Anderson, "Celibacy or Consummation in the Garden? Reflections on Early Jewish and Christian Interpretation of the Garden of Eden," *HTR* 82 (1989): 121–148.

[48] Tertullian, *On Patience* 5.15. See discussion in Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, 146–147.

[49] Compare *Sabbath* 145b–46a; *Avodah Zara* 22b.

[50] M. Maher, *Targum Pseudo Jonathan: Genesis*, The Aramaic Bible (Edinburgh: Liturgical Press, 1992), 31. For a comprehensive discussion and examples of Cain's depiction as the son of an evil angel in the Targummin see F. García Martínez, "Eve's Children in the Targumim," in *Eve's Children: The Biblical Stories Retold and Interpreted in Jewish and Christian Traditions*, ed. G. P. Luttikhuizen (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 25–45 (esp. 28–35). See additional Jewish and Christian examples in Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, 146–148.

results from the union of Eve, the human mother, and Satan or Samael, the heavenly demonic partner:

> Just as this garden, whatever is sown in it, it grows and brings forth, so [too] this woman, whatever she is sown with, she conceives and gives birth from her husband. [Samael] came to her riding on the serpent, and she conceived Cain; afterwards Adam came to her and she conceived Abel. As it is written and Adam knew Eve his woman (Genesis 4.1). What is the meaning of 'knew'? [He knew] that she had conceived [by Samael] and nonetheless had intercourse with her]. And she saw his [Cain's] appearance that is not of the lower [earthly beings], but of the upper [heavenly beings] and she looked and said "I have created a man with the Lord."[51]

In addition to this prominent depiction of Cain as the offspring of Eve and Satan, several sources associate him with specific characteristics. For example, LLAE describes his radiant appearance and unusual physical maturity at birth: "She [Eve] brought forth a son who shone brilliantly. At once the infant stood up and ran out and brought some grass with his own hands and gave it to his mother. His name was called Cain" (LLAE 21:3a).[52] 1 John 3:10–12 underscores the sinful and wicked nature of Cain: "The children of God and the children of the Devil are revealed in this way: all who do not do what is right are not from God, nor are those who do not love their brothers and sisters. For this is the message you have heard from the beginning that we should love one another. We must *not be like Cain who was from the evil one* and murdered his brother. And why did he murder him? Because his own deeds were evil and his brother's righteous." A variety of sources further focus on the meaning of the "mark" God placed on Cain, as laconically described in Gen 4:15.[53] Accordingly, Philo, Josephus, *Genesis Rabbah*, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, for example, offer an array of contradictory interpretations and speculations which associate Cain's mark with notions such as his pardon, repentance, God's protection, as well as with his sin and with God's punishment.[54] In the context of our discussion, however, the exact significance of the

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[51] G. Friedlander, trans., *Pirkei de Rabbi Eliezer* (London, 1916; reprint, New York: Hermon Press, 1965). Compare, The Gnostic Gospel of Phillip 61:5–10.

[52] Compare the Armenian version (21:3) and the Georgian version (21:30) in which Cain leaps and plucks the grass of the earth.

[53] For bibliography and survey of options see C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, ed. and trans. J. Scullion (London: SPCK, 1984), 312–14.

[54] For early Jewish and Christine interpretations see R. Mellinkoff, *The Mark Of Cain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 14–21. On the many contradictory interpretations see W. Brueggemann, *Genesis—Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching* (Atlanta, Ga.: John Knox Press, 1982), 60.

mark is less important than the persistent image of Cain, prevalent in early Jewish and Christian writings, as an evil sinner marked by God. Yet another aspect related to Cain, is his accountability for spilling human blood. LLAE 2:4b, for instance, depicts Eve's dream in which she reports to Adam: "My lord, while asleep I saw a vision like the blood of our son Abel on the hand of Cain who tasted it with his mouth. On account of this I am pained."[55] Notably, in this description the violence of Cain is intensified, and includes not only killing but also blood drinking. Moreover, resonating with the brutal acts that BW attributes to the giants and their offspring, Cain emerges here as an ultimate sinner, who not only kills living beings but also drinks their blood, in an ultimate abomination and violation of created life.[56]

This brief survey intends to consider several traditions that seem relevant for our discussion of Melchizedek of 2 Enoch. But how significant are these traditions of Eve, Satan, and Cain? It seems plausible, I suggest, that in some way the Melchizedek account has been constructed against these traditions. It appears to subtly evoke traditions about Eve's lustful sexual encounter with Satan and their evil offspring Cain and consequently to subvert them in its account about Sophanima's "untainted" conception, the divine participation of God, the birth of the righteous child Melchizedek.

For instance, alluding and inverting traditions about Eve and her illicit lustful sexual conception, descriptions of both Sopanima's old age and bareness, as well as the sexual asceticism of her husband continually underscore the 'pure' non-sexual nature of her conception.[57] Thus in 2 En 71:7 she is made to state: "O my lord! Behold, it is the time of my old age, and there was not in me any (ardor of) youth and I do not know how the

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[55] Compare GLAE 2:2: "My lord, Adam, behold, I have seen in a dream this night the blood of my son Amilabes who is styled Abel being poured into the mouth of Cain his brother and he went on drinking it without mercy. But he begged him to leave a little of it."

[56] 1 Enoch 7:5. Compare concerns about drinking or eating blood in Jubilees 6:18, 38 and 7:29–33 (not associated with the Giants).

[57] A parallel development is evident in the "Mary as the Second Eve" paradigm, which became part of Christian tradition from as early as the second century. Distinctive versions are recounted in the apocryphal Protevangelium of James, the writings of Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Tertullian. On Mary/Second Eve traditions see J. Pelikan, *Mary through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 39–52; M. Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London: Picador, 1976), 50–67; G. A. Anderson, *The Genesis of Perfection. Adam and Eve in Jewish and Christian Imagination* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 75–97.

indecency of my womb has been conceived."[58] Further descriptions likewise affirm that the child Melchizedek was chastely conceived, not as a result of a sexual encounter and with no participation of a human father: "She conceived in her womb, but Nir the priest had not slept with her, nor had he touched her from the day that the Lord had appointed him to conduct the liturgy in front of the face of the people" (71:2).[59] Alluding and inverting traditions about the evil Cain, the offspring of the human mother Eve and the superhuman Satan, the Melchizedek account grounds the conception of Sopanima in the power of the Lord and associates the pure Melchizedek with a human mother and a divine father. Nir's statement in 2 En 71.30 declares the participation of God in this extraordinary event and confirms God's active role in creating a child in the womb of Sopanima: "And Nir arose from his sleep and blessed the Lord, who had appeared to him, saying: 'Blessed be the Lord the God of my fathers, who has told me, how he has created a great priest in my days in the womb of my wife.' "

Several characteristics associated with Melchizedek seem to further resonate with and subvert depictions of the evil Cain. For example, the portrayal of Melchizedek's mature physical appearance at birth recalls the depiction of Cain's extraordinary appearance and size in the GLAE noted above. In contrast, however, Melchizedek's extraordinary nature is unmistakably associated with notions of holiness and God: "And a child came out from the dead Sopanima and he sat on the bed at her side. And Noe and Nir were very terrified with a great fear, because the child was fully developed physically like a three-year old. And he spoke with his lips and he blessed the Lord" (71:18).[60] It is also plausible that disapproving traditions about Cain's mark, and his illicit spilling of blood are evoked and inverted in the Melchizedek account. Reminiscent of the guilty Cain, who is marked by God after his sin, Melchizedek is singled out by God and marked. Yet, his mark is the "glorious badge of priesthood" (71:19) that

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[58] So the short version. Compare the long recension: "I do not know how the menopause and the bareness of my womb have been reversed." See Andersen, 2 (Slavonic Apocalyse of) Enoch," *OTP*, 1:205–6.

[59] While several scholars have demonstrated affinities between the Melchizedek's birth account and Christian themes (e.g. Bow, "Melchizedek's Birth Narrative"), others have rejected this idea. See, for example, Andersen's conclusion: "It is certainly not an imitation of the account of Jesus' birth found in Matthew and Luke . . . No Christian could have developed such a blasphemy." See Andersen, "2 (Slavonic Apocalyse of) Enoch," *OTP*, 1:97.

[60] Andersen has noted similarities to other legends of child prodigies. See Andersen, 2 (Slavonic Apocalyse of) Enoch," *OTP*, 1:206.

signifies his elevated status, nearness to God, and religiousness. Parallel to Cain, Melchizedek is also associated with blood. Yet, in contrast to Cain's sinful acts of spilling or drinking human blood, Melchizedek is associated with sacred priestly sacrificial duties, and with God's "priesthood from blood"[61] as stated: "And Noe and Nir said, 'behold, God is renewing his priesthood from blood related to us, just as he pleases.' And Noe and Nir hurried, and they washed the child and gave him the holy bread and he ate it. And theycalled his name Melchizedek" (71:21).

As suggested above, it is plausible that on some level, the Melchizedek birth account in 2 Enoch 71 indirectly responds to distinct Eve traditions. This account does not include direct references to Eve, yet it seems to echo, and at the same time invert, various traditions related to Eve's and Satan's illicit sexual sin, and to Cain's impure birth. Presented, implicitly, as a corrective commentary on these traditions, the Melchizedek birth account indirectly characterizes Sopanima as a figure of undefiled virtue, who transcends the error of Eve's flesh through the "untainted" conception of her son. It further, indirectly, typifies Melchizedek as Cain's "positive other," a figure of divine origin, pure virtues, and uprightness. As Charles Gieschen has emphasized, the Melchizedek section is situated in a narrative context that is deeply concerned with the question of purity from sin and deliverance from evil.[62] This concern is conveyed, for example, by Nir, who is troubled by the "lawlessness that has begun to become abundant over the earth," and is concerned about the destiny of Melchizedek (71:26). God offers a solution by designating Melchizedek as the appointed exalted priestly mediator outside the Leviticus priesthood and as the ultimate priest: "He will be the priest to all holy priests and I will establish him so he will be the head of the priests for the future" (71:29). In this context, I posit, the writers of 2 Enoch might have sought to make further claims about Melchizedek's purity by introducing inverted

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[61] On the priestly features of Melchizedek see R. Elior, *The Three Temples: On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism* (Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004), 173, 213, 228; Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, 41–44; Orlov, "Melchizedek Legend of 2 (Slavonic) Enoch." On the priestly functions of Melchizedek in the post-diluvian and in the end-time see B. A. Pearson, ed., *Nag Hammadi Codices IX and X*, NHS, 15 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 30. About the Melchizedek account and its Enochic priestly tradition in the context of first-century Jewish thought see P. Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and its History*, Trans. W. J. Short, JSPSup, 20 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 157–158, 234–235.

[62] C. A. Gieschen, "The Different Functions of a Similar Melchizedek Tradition in *2 Enoch* and the Epistle to the Hebrews," in *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel: Investigations and Proposals*, ed. C. A. Evans and J. A. Sanders (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic 1997), 364–79.

allusions to Eve traditions. In other words, these allusions are not value-free or random. Rather, they affirm Melchizedek's pure origin and characteristics, and thus amplify and accentuate his ideological characterization as a holy figure, a supreme divine mediator, and the faultless "priest to all holy priests" in the end-time.

Summary

In this paper I have examined the presence and significance of Eve traditions that resonate, in various degrees of clarity, throughout 2 Enoch's depiction of its three key mediatorial figures, namely Adam, Enoch, and Melchizedek. While these echoes do not play a visible critical role in 2 Enoch, they nonetheless evoke intriguing intertextual connotations, and support specific ideological-theological positions associated with the role, character, and standing of these key figures. Three different examples were examined. First, in considering Adam and Eve traditions, I suggested that the reference to Eve's responsibility for Adam's death in 2 Enoch 30:17 is more than a value-neutral detail. Rather, it alludes to traditions, found in sources such as the GLAE, which explain how Adam's former immortal glory was exchanged for human mortality because of Eve. In turn, this allusion makes some implicit claims about Adam's fallen nature and standing that are not explicitly asserted in the narrative. Moreover, it also supports polemical tendencies in 2 Enoch, which present Enoch as the Second Adam who recovers the initial glory of the protoplast.

Second, in considering Enoch and Eve traditions, I suggested that the reference to the corruption of Eve by Satan in 2 Enoch 31: 4–6 may allude to a tradition that conflates the primary transgressions of Eve with the primeval sins of the Watchers. This allusion, in turn, may contribute to 2 Enoch's tendency to prioritize the figure of Enoch, who is here subtly characterized as a figure who appeals to God not only for the Watchers' sins but also, in a roundabout way, for the paradigmatic human sins of Eve, and through her, for the sins of Adam. Third, in considering Melchizedek and Eve traditions, I suggested that the enigmatic account of Melchizedek's birth in 2 Enoch 71 appears to subtly evoke and subvert traditions about Eve's lustful sexual encounter with Satan and their evil offspring Cain. This is done primarily through its depictions of Sophanima's "untainted" conception, the divine participation of God, and the birth of the righteous child Melchizedek. These inverted allusions consequently accentuate the depiction of Melchizedek's purity and uprightness,

and validate his portrayal as an exalted "priest to all holy priests." This, I posited, is especially imperative in the ideological context of this account and its key concerns with purity from sin and deliverance from evil.

In sum, although the allusions to the so-called Eve traditions in 2 Enoch are not easily noticed, they are integrated seamlessly into its narrative fabric, especially in the long recension. These allusions contribute considerably to the ideological representation of its three main mediatorial figures, Adam, Enoch, and Melchizedek. As mentioned earlier, it is difficult to assert with certainty if this process occurred in the primary or the secondary recension of 2 Enoch. Nonetheless, its significance cannot be ignored. In my view the above noted allusions to Eve traditions not only demonstrate a literary dialogue and an interesting phase in the blending traditions, they also enhance an array of ideological and theological concerns that are embedded in 2 Enoch, and seem to subtly function as a "reader's guide." It is therefore quite plausible that early or later writers of 2 Enoch, who were familiar with the prevalent Eve traditions found in other sources, engaged these in an ongoing process of absorption and interchange. I posit that through this process, various themes and concepts prevalent in the Eve traditions were internalized and further introduced into 2 Enoch, and thus underscore and reinforce its specific stances regarding the characterization and function of its three main figures, Adam, Enoch, and Melchizedek.

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